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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

VOL VII.

Printed by Joyce Gold, Shoe-lane, London.

Printed by Joyce Gold, Shoe-lane, London.

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THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY;

OR, A

COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE, CURIOUS, AND ENTERTAINING

PAMPHLETS AND TRACTS,

AS WELL IN MANUSCRIPT AS IN PRINT,

FOUND IN THE LATE

EARL OF OXFORD'S LIBRARY,

INTERSPERSED WITH

HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND CRITICAL

NOTES.

VOL. VII.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR ROBERT DUTTON, GRACECHURCH-STREET.

1810.

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Strangulat inclusus dolor, atque cor æstuat intus.
Ov. Trist. L. v.

London: Printed by T. N. for R. Clavell, at the Stag's-Head in St. Paul's Church-yard, by St. Gregory's Church, 1659. Quarto, containing thirty-two pages . . . 9

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Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness that they have prescribed: to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless. Isa. x. 1, 2.

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JUDGES xix. 30. *Consider of it, take advice, and speak your minds.*

PROV. xii. 19, 20. *Deceit is in the heart of them that imagine evil, but to the counsellors of peace is joy. There shall no evil happen to the just, but the wicked shall be filled with mischief.*

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Die Lunæ, 26 Martii, 1660.

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London, printed for John Stafford, and Edward Thomas, 1660. Quarto, containing eight pages 137

Bibliotheca Fanatica: Or, the Fanatick Library, being a Catalogue of such books as have been lately made, and, by the authors, presented to the College of Bedlam. Printed in the year 1660. Quarto, containing eight pages 141

A Letter of Advice to his Excellency Lord General Monk. London, printed in the year 1660, Quarto, containing eight pages 144

An exact Account of the Receipts and Disbursements expended by the Committee of Safety, upon the emergent occasions of the nation. Delivered in by M. R. Secretary to the said Committee, to prevent false reports and prejudicate censures. London, printed for Jeremiah Hanzen, 1660. Folio, containing twelve pages 147

The Manner of creating the Knights of the antient and honourable Order of the Bath, according to the custom used in England, in time of peace; with a List of those honourable persons, who are to be created Knights of the Bath at his Majesty's Coronation, the twenty-third of April, 1661. [From a Quarto, containing ten pages, printed at London, for Philip Stephens, at the King's Arms, over against the Middle Temple, 1661.] . 155

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A general Bill of the Mortality of the Clergy of London: Or, a brief Martyrology and Catalogue of the learned, grave, religious, and painful Ministers of the City of London, who have been imprisoned, plundered, and barbarously used, and deprived of all livelihood for themselves and their families in the late Rebellion, for their constancy in the Protestant Religion, established in this kingdom, and their loyalty to their king, under that grand persecution. London, printed against St. Bartholomew-day, 1661. Quarto, containing six pages 181

A short History of the English Rebellion. Compiled in verse, by Marchamont Nedham, author of Mercurius Pragmaticus. London, printed in 1661. Quarto, containing thirty-seven pages 185

A Vision, concerning his late pretended Highness Cromwell, the wicked:

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Containing a Discourse in Vindication of him, by a pretended Angel, and the confutation thereof, by the author, Abraham Cowley.

——— *Sua cuique Deus fit dira Libido.* Virgil.

London, printed for Henry Herringman, at the Anchor in the Lower-walk in the New-exchange, 1661. Twelves, containing ninety pages. . 209

A Relation of the true Funerals of the Great Lord Marquis of Montrose, his Majesty's Lord High Commissioner, and Captain-general of his Forces in Scotland, with that of the renowned Knight, Sir William Hay, of Delgity, Printed in the year 1661. Quarto, containing twenty-four pages . 236

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1 Tim. iv. 1. *In the latter times, some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to the seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils.*

London, printed for Richard Lownds, at the White-Lion in St. Paul's Church-yard, over against the little North-door, 1661. Quarto, containing twenty-four pages 251

An Epistle to Charles the Second, King of England, and to every individual member of his council. Presented to them in pure love and good-will, that they might consider of the things herein contained, before the king was crowned or had taken his oath; forasmuch as a necessity from the Lord was laid upon the penman of the said Epistle, in order thereto, who is known to divers people, by the name of Christopher Cheesman. From the town of Reading in Berkshire, the 15th of the second month, 1661 . 265

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The History of the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, the late Usurper, and pretended Protector of England, &c. truly collected and published, for a warning to all tyrants and usurpers. By J. H. Gent. London, printed for F. Coles, at the Lamb in the Old Bailey, 1663 . . 273

A Narrative of the Imprisonment and Usage of Col. John Hutchinson of Owthorp, in the County of Nottingham, Esq. now close prisoner in the Tower of London. Written by himself, on the sixth of April, 1664, having then received intimation that he was to be sent away to another prison; and therefore he thought fit to print this, for the satisfying his relations and friends of his innocence.

Let the proud be ashamed, for they deal perversly with me, without a cause; but I will meditate in thy precepts. Psal. cxix. 78.

Printed in the year 1664. Quarto, containing twelve pages . . 284

The Orders, Laws, and ancient Customs of Swans. By John Witherings, Esq. Master and Governor of the Royal Game of Swans and Cygnets throughout England. London, printed in 1664. Quarto, containing six pages 291

The Examination and Trial of Margaret Fell and George Fox (at the several assizes held at Lancaster, the fourteenth and sixteenth days of the first

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month, 1663-4, and the twenty-ninth of the sixth month, 1664) for their obedience to Christ's command, who saith, 'Swear not at all;' also something in answer to Bishop Lancelot Andrews's Sermon concerning swearing.

MATT. xv. 6. *Thus have ye made the commandment of God of none effect, by your tradition.*

Printed in the year 1664. Quarto, containing thirty-four pages . 296

An Answer to the French Declaration of War, in alliance with the Dutch and Danes, in the year 1665. London, printed for the author, in 1665-6, on a Broadside 320

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Observations, both Historical and Moral, upon the Burning of London, September 1666. With an account of the losses. And a most remarkable Parallel between London and Moscow, both as to the plague and fire. Also an Essay touching the easterly wind. Written by way of Narrative, for satisfaction of the present and future ages. By Rege Sincera. London, printed by Thomas Ratcliffe, and are to be sold by Robert Pawlet, at the Bible in Chancery-lane, 1667. Quarto, containing thirty-eight pages 324

Experimented Proposals, how the king may have money to pay and maintain his fleets, with ease to his people, London may be rebuilt, and all proprietors satisfied; money to be lent at six per cent. on pawns, and the fishing-trade set up, which alone is able and sure to inrich us all. And all this without altering, straining, or thwarting any of our laws or customs now in use. By Sir Edward Forde. Licensed, November 2, 1666. Roger L'Estrange. London, printed by William Godbid, 1666. Quarto, containing one sheet. 341

The humble Petition and Address of Edward, Earl of Clarendon. M S. 1667. 343

The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell: Or, a short political Discourse, shewing, that Cromwell's male-administration, during his four years and nine months pretended Protectorship, laid the foundation of our present condition, in the decay of trade, 1668. Quarto, containing sixteen pages 347

The Nicker nick'd, Or, the Cheats of Gaming discovered. The third edition.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

Licensed November 4, 1668. Printed in the year 1669. Quarto, containing nine pages 361

A Discourse upon prodigious Abstinence, occasioned by the twelve months fasting of Martha Taylor, the famed Derbyshire Damsel: proving that, without any miracle, the texture of human bodies may be so altered, that life may be long continued without the supplies of meat and drink. With an account of the heart, and how far it is interested in the business of fermentation. By John Reynolds. Humbly offered to the Royal Society. London, printed by R. W. for Nevil Simmons, at the Sign of the Three Crowns, near Holbourn-conduit; and for Dorman Newman, at the Surgeon's-Arms, in Little-Britain, 1669. Quarto, containing thirty-seven pages, besides the Title and Dedication. 365

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A brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles: with the taking away the lands and castle of Sherburn, in Dorset, from him and his heirs, being his indubitable inheritance. London, printed for W. T. 1669. Quarto, containing eleven pages 388

The Memoirs of Monsieur Du Vall, containing the History of his Life and Death. Whereunto are annexed his last Speech and Epitaph. Intended as a severe Reflexion on the too great fondness of English ladies towards French footmen, which, at that time of day, was a too common complaint.

——————— *Si quis*
Opprobriis dignos latraverit, integer ipse,
Solventur risu tabulæ.————Horat.

London, printed 1670. Quarto, containing nineteen pages . . 392

The Royal Fishing revived. Wherein is demonstrated from what causes the Dutch have upon the matter ingrossed the Fishing Trade in his Majesty's seas, wherein the principles of all the trades they drive in the world are chiefly founded: as also, from what causes the English have lost the fishing trade, to the endangering the small remainder of the trades they yet enjoy. Together with Expedients by which the fishing trade may be redeemed by the English, and proposals for carrying on so great a work. Humbly offered to the consideration of the King and Parliament. London, printed by Thomas Ratcliffe, for the Author, 1670. Quarto, containing twelve pages 403

The Cloud opened: Or, The English Hero. By a loyal and impartial pen.

Quam facile fit cæcus dux vitæ, et obscura lux temporum historia? Si non amentiæ, rarus est qui non ineptiæ litavit, unicus sit qui Deo et veritati obtulit.

London, printed, A. D. 1670. Quarto, containing forty-eight pages 408

Two Letters written by the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon, late Lord High Chancellor of England: One to his Royal Highness the Duke of York: the other to the Duchess, occasioned by her embracing the Roman Catholick Religion. 430

A modern Account of Scotland: Being an exact description of the country, and a true character of the people and their manners. Written from thence by an English gentleman. Printed in the year 1670. Quarto, containing twenty pages. 435

The Queen's Wells: that is, a Treatise of the nature and vertues of Tunbridge Water. Together with an enumeration of the chiefest diseases, which it is good for, and against which it may be used, and the manner and order of taking it. By Lodowick Rowzee, doctor of physick, practising at Ashford, in Kent. London, printed for Robert Boulter, at the Turk's-Head, Bishop's-gate-street, 1670. Octavo, containing eighty-two pages. . . 446

A Discourse, setting forth the unhappy condition of the practice of physick, in London, and offering some means to put it into a better; for the interests of patients, no less, or rather much more, than of physicians. By Jonathan Goddard, doctor of physick, fellow of the college of physicians, and of the Royal Society, and a professor of physick, in Gresham college. London, printed by John Martyn and James Allestry, printers to the Royal Society, 1670. Quarto, containing sixty-two pages. . 468

Reasons and Proposals for a Registry or Remembrancer of all Deeds and Incumbrances of real estates, to be had in every county, most necessary and advantageous as well for sellers and borrowers, as purchasers and lenders. To the advance of credit and the general good, without prejudice to any honest-minded person, most humbly offered to consideration. By Nicho-

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las Philpot, of New Inn, Oxford, printed by W. Hall, for Richard Davis, 1670. Quarto, containing ten pages. 488

A Treatise, concerning Registers to be made of estates, bonds, bills, &c. With Reasons against such registers by the Honourable Mr. William Pierrepoint. M S. 493

A Letter to Mr. Serjant, a Romish priest, concerning the Impossibility of the publick establishment of Popery here in England. 501

The Dutch Remonstrance, concerning the proceedings and practices of John de Witt, pensionary, and Ruwaert Van Putten, his brother; with others of that faction. Drawn up by a person of eminency there, and printed at the Hague. And translated out of Dutch, August the 30th, 1672. London, printed by S. and B. G. and are to be sold by R. C. over-against the Globe in Little Britain. Quarto, containing thirty-five pages. 504

The Dutch Usurpation: Or, a brief View of the behaviour of the States-general of the United Provinces, towards the kings of Great-Britain: with some of their cruelties and injustices exercised upon the subjects of the English nation: as also, a discovery of what arts they have used to arrive at their late grandeur, &c. By William de Britaine.

Et genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma;
At sperare deos. Virg.

London, printed in 1672. Quarto, containing thirty-five pages. 521

A Justification of the present war against the United Netherlands. Wherein the Declaration of his Majesty is vindicated, and the war proved to be just, honourable, and necessary; the dominion of the sea explained, and his Majesty's rights thereunto asserted; the obligations of the Dutch to England, and their continual Ingratitude: In answer to a Dutch treatise, intitled, Considerations upon the present state of the United Netherlands. By an Englishman.

Pompeii omne consilium Themistocleum est: existimat enim, qui mare teneat, eum necesse rerum potiri.
Cicero ad Atticum, lib. x. ep. 7.

Pudebat nobilem populum, ablato mari, raptis insulis, dare tributa quæ jubere consueverat.
Lucius Florus.

London, printed for Henry Hills and John Starkey, and are to be sold at the Bell in St. Paul's Church-yard, and the Mitre within Temple-Bar, 1672. Quarto, containing eighty-eight pages. 544

A Letter written by an unknown hand, whereof many copies were dispersed among the Commanders of the English Fleet. Quarto, containing four pages 603

Honour's Invitation, or a Call to the Camp. Wherein the triumphant genius of Great-Britain, by a poetical alarm, awakens the youth of the three nations, to generous attempts, for the glory of their country. Written by a young Gentleman of quality, now in the service.

Dignos laude viros musa vetabit mori.

From a Folio edition, printed at London, by H. B. 1673, containing four pages 606

THE

HARLEIAN MISCELLANY.

THE UNHAPPY MARKSMAN:

OR,

A PERFECT AND IMPARTIAL DISCOVERY OF THAT LATE BARBAROUS AND UNPARALLELED MURDER COMMITTED BY

MR. GEORGE STRANGEWAYS,

FORMERLY A MAJOR IN THE KING'S ARMY,

ON HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW,

MR. JOHN FUSSEL, AN ATTORNEY,

ON FRIDAY, THE ELEVENTH OF FEBRUARY.

Together with a full Discovery of the fatal Cause of those unhappy Differences which first occasioned the Suits in Law betwixt them. Also the Behaviour of Mr. STRANGEWAYS at his Tryal—the dreadful Sentence pronounced against him—his Letter to his Brother-in-Law, a Member of Parliament—the Words by him delivered at his Death; and his stout, but christian-like Manner of dying. Published by a faithful Hand.

Strangulat inclusus dolor, atque cor æstuat intus. OV. TRIST. l. v.

London: Printed by T. N. for R. Clavell, at the Stag's Head, in St. Paul's Church-yard, by St. Gregory's Church. 1659. Quarto, containing thirty-two Pages.

SINCE* the various relations of this sad and horrid act, even in the city where it was committed, are so many, that the illegitimate births of those corrupted parents must of necessity fill more distant places with so spurious an issue, that when it comes to be nursed with those usual adjuncts, which either envy or love will extort from most relators, it may possibly grow to so monstrous a form, that all the vestigia of verity must of necessity be lost in its variety of disguise; wherefore it was thought fit by one that is not only a lover of truth, but an honourer of both the parties deceased, before a farther travel hath warmed her with impudence, to unveil report in so clear and impartial a discovery, as may neither deform the truth, nor disgust their relations.

Mr. George Strangeways, commonly known in the country, where he chiefly resided, by the name of Major Strangeways, an office which he had, with much honour and gallantry, performed in the unhappy war*, was second son to Mr. James Strangeways, of Mussen, in the county of Dorset: a gentleman of an antient and unblemished family, whose virtues this unhappy son of his, till sullied by this rash act of ungoverned fury, did rather seem to illustrate by a constant course of worthy and manly actions, than any ways to degenerate from the best atchievements of his most successful predecessors. He was now about the five or six-and-fortieth year of his age: a person that had a brave and generous soul, included in a stout and active body. He was of stature tall, and framed to the most masculine proportion of man; his constitution, such as rather fitted him for the active employments of busy war, than the more quiet affairs of peace-affecting studies; yet was he not so much a stranger to those arts, which are the adorning qualifications of a gentleman, but that he had sacrificed to Minerva, whilst in the Temple of Mars; and, in the most serious consultations, had always a judgment as dexterous to advise, as a heart daring to act. What he appeared most unskilled in, was love's polemicks, he having spun out the thread of his life without twisting it in matrimony.

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* This is the 57th in the catalogue of the Harleian Pamphlets; and published at the request of one who signed the recommendation with E. F.

He was in some trivial actions, performed since the time of his imprisonment, condemned for a parsimonious sparing, too low for the quality of a gentleman; which, if true, I much wonder that he, whose former frugality was but the child of discretion, being now so near a *supersedeas* from all the afflicting wants mortality trembles at, and having none of his relations, whose necessities craved a subsistence from what he left behind, should, near his death, save that with dishonour, which in his life he spent with reputation.

But to detain thee no longer with the character either of his person or qualities, which probably some of his many enemies may unjustly censure for partiality; I will hasten to as full a relation, both of the original ground of their unhappy difference, and the fatal conclusion of his implacable wrath, as it hath been possible by the most diligent inquisition to obtain, both from the nearest in acquaintance to both parties, and such ocular informations as were observable in much of the time from his sentence to his execution.

The father of Mr. Strangeways, dying about some ten years since, left him in possession of the farm of Mussen, leaving his eldest daughter, Mrs. Mabel Strangeways, since wife to Mr. Fussel, his executrix.

The estate being thus left, Mrs. Mabel, being then an ancient maid, rents the farm of her brother George, and stocks it at her own cost; towards the procuring of which stock, she engaged herself, in a bond of three hundred and fifty pounds, to her brother George, who, presuming on her continuance of a single life, and, by consequence, that her personal estate might, in time, return to her then nearest relations (of which himself had a just reason to expect, if not the whole, the greatest share), he not only entrusted her with the fore-mentioned bond, but likewise with that part of the stock, and such utensils of the house, as, by his father's will, properly belonged to himself; which, he presumed, she could better secure, passing under the notion of her's, than he, whose whole estate was liable to the dangerous hazard of sequestration*; a disaster so epidemical, as many thousands, besides himself, by sad experience know, that honesty, the common preservative against other calamities, was the principal means that made them obnoxious to this.

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* Between the king and parliament, in 1642.

His estate being, as he then conceived, thus in a fair probability of preservation from those vultures of a commonwealth, sequestrators, by the calm neutrality of a discreet sister, they, for some time, lived very happily together, he making the farm of Mussen the common place of his residence: but, on a sudden, the scene alters, and she, whom, he thought, age and a long-continued single life had imprisoned too fast in her virgin ice, ever to be thawed with the thoughts of a matrimonial life, began to express some resentments of affection towards Mr. Fussel, a gentleman of good esteem in the country where he lived, and of much repute for his eminent abilities in matters of law. He had formerly bore arms under the same royal standard which Major Strangeways did, in which troublesome time of action he always proved himself a very useful member of that unfortunate army, serving them faithfully, till their sad declination, with many other noble sufferers, forced him a long time to mourn both his and their calamities, in an uncouth jail. His ordinary place of residence was now in Blandford, an eminent town in Dorsetshire; in and about which place, though some, that feared his vigorous proceedings in the law, may seem glad to have their weakness protected by the absence of so able a prosecutor, the major part, especially such as had the happiness to experiment his honesty and ability in solliciting their causes, will, with a far greater weight both of reason and religion, have a just cause to repent so considerable a loss.

But not to dismantle too many of those unhappy differences which were the prodigious monsters that first hatched this horrid murther, it looking too much like a crime to pollute the ashes of the dead with the sins of the living, wishing all the enmity, that, like Hydra's fruitful heads, may spring up between the friends of both the deceased parties, were sepulchered in their grave; we will only insist upon what appears to be the first and most fatal argument of their quarrel. Mrs. Mabel Strangeways, now no longer disguising her affections to Mr. Fussel, being then a widower, lets her resolutions discover themselves in so publick a way, that it soon arrives to the ear of her discontented brother, who, though not apparently for any former hate between them, yet, as is most likely, doubting those abilities of Mr. Fussel, which, since in relation to the law, he, with many others, were pleased, by an easy metaphor, to term *subtlety*, might, if not prejudice him in part of his own estate, yet wholly deprive him of that part of his sister's, which before, hope, grounded on fair probabilities, told him he was of all men most likely to enjoy.

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* By the parliament forces.

To prevent this approaching storm, he lets his sister know his disgust of her intended marriage; and being farther exasperated by her unmoveable constancy, as it is affirmed by the friends of Mr. Fussel, broke out into such exuberant expressions of passion, that to her terror, he affirms, if ever she married Mr. Fussel, to be the death of him, either in his study or elsewhere; which bloody resolution, since the time wherein those black thoughts, disveloped themselves by action, she hath under her hand confirmed, as is reported by the relations to Mr. Fussel, by several letters; but such, as since they contain little, besides this asseveration, concerning our present purpose, I shall omit the inserting of them, presuming all wives, especially good ones, need not a pattern by which to be taught to mourn such losses as these.

To trouble thee no further with a digression, whilst this paroxysm of his passion continues in such a dreadful vigour, he and his sister are parted; at which time, as she pretends, he unjustly detained much of the stock belonging to the farm, which either by her father's will, or her own purchase, was properly her's; withal she denies any such thing as the sealing the fore-mentioned bond, pretending it only a forgery of her brother's.

On the other side, he complains of injuries done to him, of no less extent than the endeavouring to defraud him of a part of his estate, besides the money due by bond. These were the differences which first fomented a rage, not to be quenched but by blood; over which part unspotted justice spread her wings. Who groaned under the burthen of afflicting wrongs, or who had the greater unhappiness to be the oppressor of the innocent, since the law hath left it undetermined, I think it not only an audacious presumption, but savouring very much of partiality, and a soul biassed by a self-interested affection, than of an even and equal-tempered friend, in whoever should so peremptorily affirm the justice of one cause, as to brand the other with an ignominious scandal of forgeries and oppression. Their bodies are both at rest in their silent dormitories, their souls, no doubt, triumphing in eternal joys; and shall we, whose uncertainty of life, and certainty of sin and its consequence, death (which we know not in what shape the eternal Disposer of the Universe will send to assault us) with uncertain censures sully their memories, the only, and that doubtful, remainder of swiftly-fading mortality? No; let their fames rest as peaceable, as we know their bodies, and hope their souls do. If thou hast been a friend to either, be not so much an enemy to thyself as to abuse the other; but let thy resentments of love or sorrow rather disvelope themselves in a sober and silent pity, than loud and clamorous censures; that being the dress, in which, I can assure thee, it will appear most lovely to the view of those, which, having to neither party any more of concern, than what pity extracted from the goodness of their natures, look upon the action with a general sorrow; upon the parties deceased, with a charitable remorse; and upon their surviving friends, with the wishes of a hearty reconciliation.

And here (though I would not have it look like flattery) he being a person I have little acquaintance with, and one that, probably, may never know me, as author of these papers, I cannot choose but commend the calm and equal temper of Mr. John Fussel, eldest son to the gentleman that was slain; whom, as well by the publick report, as by my own private experience (I having been since some time in his company), I find to behave himself with that comely discretion, that, though he did violently prosecute him, as his father's murderer, he hath not been, at any time, heard to let fall any undecent language concerning his uncle Strangeways, but such as appears to express more sorrow for the offence, than envy to the man: a temper which, by preserving, will gain him, whilst living, the love of all, whom the common invitation of a general pity, or the nearer call of relative respects, summons, as mourners for either of the lamented dead.

I have now done with the introduction to this tragick and dismal story, having unravelled almost as many of those almost occult causes, by which, being first propagated, it since hath been made horridly publick, as civility or necessity in enucleating the truth requires. For he that would see more, it is his best course to confer with their council, and look over the large impertinencies of litigious courts, than to expect them in this piece, whose small bulk, by as much of their sense, as, in an ordinary dialect, might be expressed in two lines, when stuffed with their fucagoes of tautologies, would be swelled beyond its intended growth: wherefore, to leave that to those it more concerns, I shall hasten to reveal how he carried on the design, since any discovery on his confession argues, he intended to murder him. Mr. Fussel, both for the better prosecuting his own suits against his brother Strangeways, as likewise for the following of several causes for many others (he being a man of very great employment), being in this city on Hilary term last, had his lodging one story high, at the sign of the George and Half-Moon, three doors farther, without the Bar. than the Palsgrave's-Head tavern, opposite to a pewterer's shop: He being retired to his lodgings between nine and ten, not having been in it above a quarter of an hour before the fact was done, he sitting writing at his desk, with his face towards the window, the curtain belonging to it being so near drawn, that there was only left room enough to discern him, two bullets, shot from a carbine, struck him, the one through the forehead, and the other in about his mouth; the third bullet or slug stuck in the lower part of the timber of the window, the passage, where the other two came in (since in the corner of the window), being so narrow, that little more than an inch over, or under, had saved his life, by obstructing their passage: but,

> Nemo tam dives habuit faventes,
> Crastinum ut possit sibi polliceri. SEN. in Hippol.

His appointed time was come, and those eternal decrees, by which all men are ordained once to die, had stinted the farther progress of his life to this fatal minute. In that punctilio of time, wherein the bullets struck him, e're giving warning by a dying groan, or being tortured by those almost inseparable concomitants of death, convulsive motions, he is in an instant disanimated, the swiftness of the action not giving warning to his clerk, though then in the room, to assist his murdered master, till, perceiving him lean his head on the desk, and knowing him not apt to fall asleep as he wrote, conceiving that some more than ordinary distemper was the cause of it, he draws near to assist him; but, being suddenly terrified with the unexpected sight of blood, such an amazing horror seizes him, that, for the present, he is, in a dreadful extasy, lost to action: but, speedily recollecting himself, he, with an hasty summons, calls up some of the houshold, by whose assistance he discovers what sad disaster had bereaved him of his master. They speedily make down into the street, but found there nothing that might light them with the least beam of information; all, as if directed by those evil angels that favour such black designs, appearing, as they conceived, more silent and still than is usual in this populous city, at that time of night. Officers are raised, and Mr. Fussel's son acquainted with the sad news; who, e're he could spare time to mourn his father's unexpected death, must, with more active passion (as near as those dark suspicions, which only directed them, could give leave), prosecute his revenge. Several places are troubled with a fruitless search; the first, that was apprehended, being a barber, whose lodging being in the same house with Mr. Fussel's, and he that night absent, gave them very pregnant causes of suspicion, all being aggravated by the wild humour of his wife, and she exasperated by the extravagancy of her husband, as if she had done it purposely to foment their suspicion: besides, that constant torrent of her passion, which ran with the usual current of ordinary scolds, had some collateral streams of expressions; so that, had not the sudden providence of the Almighty, Protector of innocence, by as much of miracle as this latter age hath heard of, discovered the author of the murder, it had, without doubt, wafted her husband to a gibbet: but, presuming that, for what she did then, in the hot intemperance of a jealous rage, she hath long since made a calm recantation, I will here give no farther occasion of continuing a difference betwixt them, but go on in the prosecution of my story, which proceeded thus:

Having yet apprehended none, that they had, on former differences, any important reasons to suspect, young Mr. Fussel, calling to mind these irreconcileable quarrels, which had of long time been between his father and his uncle Strangeways; and knowing him to be a man, whose impetuous rage had formerly been so often allayed in blood, that, though the then motive to it being a legitimate war, made the action not only honest, but honourable, yet, being so well versed in that killing trade, he might still retain enough of the sharp humour to sharpen his anger into so vindictive a guilt, that he might be prompted to act what weaker spirits would tremble to think.

Upon which considerations, he propounds to the officers the apprehending of him; which motion, finding a general approbation, is suddenly prosecuted, and he apprehended between two and three in the morning, being then in bed at his lodging in the Strand, over against Ivy bridge, at one Mr. Pim's, a tailor, a door on this side the Black Bull. He, being now in the officers' custody, is had before Justice Blake, by whom, although with an undaunted confidence denying the act, he is committed to Newgate, where remaining till the next morning, he is then by a guard conveyed to the place where Mr. Fussel's body lay, where, before the coroner's jury, he is commanded to take his dead brother-in-law by the hand, and to touch his wounds; a way of discovery, which the defenders of sympathy highly applaud (on what grounds, here is no place to dispute). But here the magnetism fails; and those effluviums, which, according to their opinion, being part of the *anima media*, tenaciously adhere to the body, till separated by its corruption, being the same that, by united atoms becoming visible, compose those spectrums that wander about the cœnotaphs and dormitories of the dead; and do, when hurried from the actions of vitality by a violent death, as endeavouring to revenge its wrongs, fly in the face of the murderer, and, though in such minute parts as are too subtile for the observations of sense, keep still hovering about him; and, when he is brought to touch the murdered body, which was its former habitation, by the motion of sympathy, calls from those sally-ports of life some of those parts of her life, which yet remain within it; who, that they may flow forth to meet it, are conveyed in the *vehiculum* of the blood. They illustrate this by dogs, and other animals, which, with a violent impetuosity, assail those that make a custom of murdering things of the same species.

There having been nothing discoverable by this experiment, he is returned back to the prison, and the jury, though but with little hopes of satisfaction, continue their inquest; when now, to the amazing wonder of future ages, and the farther confirmation of those continued miracles, by which the all-discerning power of the eternal and ever-living God pleases often to manifest itself in the discovery of black and secret murders, which, though acted in the silent region of the night, and plotted with all the deep obscurity that hell and the black spirits of eternal darkness can lend to the assistance of such dismal and horrid designs, yet are disveloped by ways so unthought of, even by those which torture their wits for discovery, that man, though adorned with all the knowledge the world's first transgressors ravished from the forbidden tree, instead of an angel-illuminated paradise, finds his fancy clouded in a chaos of confusion, black and obscure as that which, e're penetrated by heaven's segregating breath, spread its gloomy curtains over the first unformed matter.

Several questions are propounded amongst all, by the foreman of the jury; one of which, though not to the disparagement of the gentleman, succeeding ages will count more fortunate than wise. It was this: that all the gunsmiths' shops in London, and the adjacent places, should be examined what guns they had either sold or lent that day. This being a question, in the apprehension of most of the jury, so near approaching to an impossibility, as not, without much difficulty, to be done; one Mr. Holloway, a gunsmith, living in the Strand, then one of the jury, makes answer, It was a task, in his opinion, who knew how numerous men of that profession were, in and about the city, not to be done; withal replying, that, for his own part, he lent one, and made no question but several others had done the like. This answer of his being, by the apprehensive foreman, speedily took notice of, he is demanded, for the satisfaction of the rest of the jury, to declare to whom he lent the gun. He, after some small recollection, answers, to one Mr. Thomson, living in Long-Acre, formerly a major in the king's army, and now married to a daughter of Sir James Aston. Upon this, a speedy search is made after Major Thomson, who, being abroad, as some say fled, though most moderate men conceive, about his ordinary occasions, it being unlikely any man would discover a guilt by flight, which, if culpable of, though by all charitable people the contrary is generally hoped, he might rationally expect more security in a confident stay, than in a betraying absence; besides, being of no former acquaintance with Mr. Fussel, there was no probable cause to render him suspected.

But, with our charitable prayers for his freedom, referring our censures, either of his innocence or guilt, to his further trial at the next sessions, we will return to our relation.

Major Thomson not being found, his wife is taken in hold, who, though clearing herself from the knowledge of any such thing as borrowing of the gun, yet is continued a prisoner till her husband shall be produced; who, being then about some urgent occasions in the country, on the first news of her confinement, suddenly hastens to London, where, being examined before a justice of peace, he confesses he borrowed a carbine that day of Mr. Holloway, and that he borrowed it at the desire of Mr. George Strangeways, who acquainted him with no farther use he intended to make of it, than for the killing of a deer: for which use, he charged it with a lease of bullets, and, as some say, a slug, which, I believe not, there being but two orifices, where they entered his head, and one bullet sticking in the window.

If any object two bullets may enter at one orifice, though it be something unlikely, we will not stand to dispute it; the number not being so uncertain, as their fatal errand was certainly performed.

Being thus charged and primed, between the hours of seven and eight at night, he meets Mr. Strangeways in St. Clement's Churchyard, to whom he delivers the gun. Where he spent that interval of time, between the reception of it and the execution of the murther, is uncertain, he having left in that kind no satisfying relation. It is, most like, traversing the streets near the place, that so he might take advantage of the fairest opportunity which now unluckily offers itself.

Mr. Fussel, in the manner as is declared before, was retired into his chamber; he that shot the gun, as some report, stood on a bulk belonging to a pewterer, living over-right Mr. Fussel's lodging; but it is something unlikely, the bulk being of such a shelving form, as not to admit a firm standing place, unless he stood on that end of it next to Temple-Bar, which, if so, the situation of the window would have forced him to shoot much sloping; wherefore I rather conceive, which hath been to some confirmed by Major Strangeways's own confession, that he which shot stood on the ground, which hath the most probable appearance of truth, the window not being so high as to impede his aim, nor the distance so great for the shot to lose its force, though the carlip is but short, wanting some inches of a yard in the barrel, as is affirmed by young Mr. Fussel, in whose hands it now is.

To give you a certain relation who fired the gun, is that which I believe no man living can do, except there be, which I hope not, some such unhappy person yet alive, Mr. Strangeways carrying that great secret with him to his grave, denying to reveal it at the sessions here, as reserving it for the general assize hereafter; but, joining with the common opinion of most men, I think it to be himself, knowing him to be a person that, through the whole course of his life, in those actions that deserved the name of discreet, shewed too great a want of that in this, where a wicked subtlety was as requisite as ever, in his former actions, a noble policy had been, to commit his life, which lay exposed to the danger of every engager's discovery, into the hands of many, in the performing an act which might, with more facility, be done by one. When he had fired it, the streets were so empty, that he passed unnoted by any. Between the hours of ten and eleven, he brought back the gun to Major Thomson's house, where leaving it, he retires to his lodging, where, in his absence, he had left one to personate him. That piece of policy being thus performed, he comes, according to his usual custom, into his lodging, about seven in the evening, and, going up into his chamber, made some small stay there; from whence, taking the advantage of a time, in which he found the employments of the houshold such, as not to have the leisure to take much notice of his actions, he secretly conveys himself down the stairs, and, having a private way of opening the door, conveys himself out, and his disguised friend in; who, by those of the family, being oft heard walking about the chamber, occasions that mistaken deposition of theirs, concerning his being in the house.

Having now concluded that act of darkness he went about, he is once more returned to his lodging, and secretly discharges his disguised friend; hastening to bed, he lay there, though, in all probability, with no very quiet night's rest, till three in the morning, at which time the officers, sent to apprehend him, enter the house, and, hastening to his chamber, make known their dreadful errand; an act enough to have frighted a timerous soul to a present confession; but he, with a resolved constancy, slights those terrors of the law, and, without any such reluctancy, as argued the least depression of spirit, goes with them before Justice Blake, by whom, though carefully examined, there was nothing discoverable that could render him any ways suspected, more than the former enmity betwixt them. However, he is on suspicion committed to Newgate; where, remaining with a countenance that appeared no ways clouded with guilt, he continued constant in the denial of the fact. In the interval between the time he was first committed, and his confession, he fell violently ill of a sharp and dangerous pleurisy; in which acute distemper, though summoned by the approaches of death, he continued in a resolute denial of the fact. But God, whose judgments here in this appeared but the road to his mercies hereafter, freed him from that less ignominious death, that, dying by the formalities of law, the burthening of his body might in confession disburthen his soul. This was the time in which some of the church of Rome, and those of the more learned sort of the clergy, gave him frequent visits, and, as they have caused it to be reported, converted him to their church. What of truth there is in this, with what the opinion generally received is, you shall hear toward the conclusion of our story.

On the Monday following the time of his being apprehended, being the one-and-twentieth of February, Major Thomson, to hasten the enlargement of his imprisoned wife, being returned to London, makes a full discovery before an officer, on what occasion he borrowed the gun, and in what manner, and at what time, he delivered it to Mr. Strangeways, in St. Clement's church-yard; who, on this happy discovery, is brought before Justice La Wright, he that took the examination of Mr. Thomson. Here it being demanded of him, on what occasion he caused the gun to be borrowed, and brought to him charged at that time of the night, with such other questions as most immediately concerned the business in hand; and withal, seeing Major Thomson there, whose discovery he had so little cause to doubt; that now seeing it performed, and not being able to apprehend the manner how, he, in an amazed terror, after some minutes of a deep and considerate silence, in a most pathetical manner, acknowledging the immediate hand of God to be in this wonderful detection, no longer veils his guilt with confident denials, but, in an humble and submissive lowliness of spirit, such as rather strove with the tears of a penitential Magdalen, to expunge the rubrick characters of his guilt, than with the brazen impudence of a despairing Cain, by a sullen and surly denial, to fly the mercies of that God, whose vengeance will pursue him: he hath now confessed the fact—he stands now a contrite penitent, with the excellent Seneca, acknowledging that,

> Maxima peccantium pœna est peccâsse. Epist. 97.

Yet, though a convicted murtherer, he is the compassionated object of all the beholders, whose heads he now makes fountains of tears, by having so lately made his brother's a fountain of blood.

This doleful scene, with the pity of most, but the wonder of all, being thus past over, he is now returned again, a much-lamented prisoner, to Newgate, from whence, February the four-and-twentieth, he was brought to his trial at the Sessions-house in the Old Bailey, where, appearing with a countenance that carried in it a mixture of courage and contrition, being such as rather semed dejected for offending the law of God, than any ways terrified for any torments that could be inflicted upon him by the laws of man; being demanded to plead, he answers, that, if it might, on his being tried, be admitted him to die by that manner of death by which his brother fell, he would plead; if not, by refusing to plead, he would both preserve an estate to bestow on such friends for whom he had most affection, and withal free himself from the ignominious death of a publick gibbet.

Many arguments, and those urgent and pressing, were used by the Lord Chief Justice Glyn, and the rest of the bench, to induce him to plead, as laying before him the sin he committed, in refusing to submit to the ordinary course of law, the terror of the death his obstinate silence would force them to inflict upon him.

These, with many other motives, were used, but all invalid; he remains impenetrable, refusing either to plead, or to discover who it was that fired the gun; only affirms, which he continued till his death, that, whoever fired it, it was done by his directions, but with no intent to be the death of his brother-in-law, but only, as he was pleased to say, to let him know, that a life, made odious by so many pressing acts of injustice, as he had received from him, though, by their politick contrivance, defended from any punishment the law could inflict, yet was not safe, where the person offended hath spirit enough to revenge an injury.

This, not-to-be-justified resolution, cherished a long time by his hot and haughty spirit, had often, on the sight of Mr. Fussel, raised in him impetuous storms of rage; such that often broke out into that intemperance, as, both by word and letter, he several times challenges him; and, in consideration of his being something more impaired by age than himself, offers him what odds, in length of weapon, he could with reason and honour demand. This encountering nought but a silent and slighting repulse, he, one day, meeting him in Westminster-hall, accosts him with this compliment:—

'Brother Fussel, It argues not discretion in us of either side, 'we being both cavaliers, to submit our causes to this present 'course of law, where the most of our judges are such as formerly 'were our enemies—Calais Sands were a fitter place for our dispute, 'than Westminster-hall.'

These affronts finding a man too subtle to seek any other revenge, than what lay safe under the sure guard of the law, he rather seeks from thence to do him a certain mischief, than, by the uncertain managing of a duel, to run the hazard of being mischieved himself; so that he not only refused that way of deciding the quarrel, but indicts his brother Strangeways as a challenger; which, adding more fewel to his former conceived rage, puts him upon this dangerous way of satisfying his vindictive passion; and though he, by a constant asseveration, affirms, that the firing of the gun was only intended to terrify him; he affirming, that, had not the hand of him who fired it fell lower than was intended, it had been impossible for the bullets to have so unhappily hit the mark; yet, its being charged with three bullets, whereas small shot, if only intended to affright, would have been a more certain terror, with less hazard of danger, is an argument so prevalent with most men, that the action carries no fairer a face, than a horrid and wilful murther.

But, not to ingulf too far in censuring the act, we hasten to declare, as far as concerns our business in hand, the demeanor of the actor, who, persisting in his first resolution not to plead, hears from the offended court this dreadful sentence:

"That the prisoner at the bar be sent to the place from whence he came; and that he be put into a mean house stopped from any light; and that he be laid upon his back, with his body bare, saving something to cover his privy parts; that his arms shall be stretched forth with a cord, the one to the one side of the prison, the other to the other side of the prison; and in like manner shall his legs be used: and that upon his body shall be laid as much iron and stone as he can bear, and more; and the first day shall he have three morsels of barley-bread, and the next day shall he drink thrice of the water in the next channel to the prison door, but no spring or fountain water: and this shall be his punishment till he die."

This thunderbolt of judgment, levelled at his life, he yet, with a passive valour (high as ever was his active), with a constancy, which might cast a blush on the ghost of an ancient Roman hearse, but continues his resolution; and, being returned to the prison, from thence writes this sad letter to his brother-in-law, Major Dewie, a member of parliament, and a gentleman that had married another of his sisters.

'Dear Brother,

'I hope these lines, and pressing death, will so far expiate my 'crime, as to procure your and my other friends forgiveness, for 'my conscience bears me witness, I was provoked by many of my 'brother-in-law's insufferable wrongs. After divers parlies, finding his inveterate spleen so implacable, as to indict and inform 'against me at the open bench, my flesh and blood held no longer 'patience, but sought to usurp the revengeful attribute which God 'appropriates to himself, when he would not answer me in single 'combate, though I offered him advantage in the length of weapon; 'yet this I will assure you, that I did not intend his death, but, 'by the discharging of a warning-piece, to have only terrified his 'heart from practising litigious suits, and thereby to let him 'know, that he was at another man's mercy, if he contemned 'the same.

'In a word, each man oweth a death, I two, by this untimely 'fact: the one to my Maker, the other to the law; which invokes 'to pay the one the more willingly, being confident that the other 'is cancelled, by the all-seeing eye of Divine mercy and justice. 'These, in short, are the last words of

'Your dying Brother,
'GEORGE STRANGEWAYS.'

From the Press-yard in Newgate,
13 February, 1658.

This being one of the last scenes he was to act on the stage of mortality, he now retires, by Divine contemplation, to dress his soul in those robes of repentance, wherewith she was suddenly to meet her celestial bridegroom. In which pious action, he hath the frequent assistance of divines, some of excellent abilities, as Dr. Wilde and Dr. Warmsley; there was also with him Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Watson, and Mr. Norton, to all of which, by a repentant acknowledgment of the foulness of his crime, by a detestation of all those thoughts that had formerly fomented his malice, and, by a solemn and serious invocation of his Redeemer, for the increasing of those rays of mercy, which (even in that dark and dismal agony the apprehension or guilt might have plunged her into) he yet found irradiated the darkest apprehensions of a soul clouded with sin and sorrow.

To some, whose zeal (if meriting the name) was more in that act than their discretion, when, with the harsh and unseasonable rigid means of the law, they appeared rather as if they came to fright his soul into a distracting despair, than to fortify her with comforts fit to undergo so sad a conflict, he desired them to proceed no further in so unseasonable a discourse; with an exalted heighth of christian confidence affirming, that, through the powerful operation of mercy, whose restoratives he felt even in the grasp of death, he doubted not but his scarlet sins were washed white as wool; and that (through the Red sea of his brother's blood) he should safely arrive at the celestial Canaan. Thus spending that narrow stock of time, allowed him for the levelling his accounts with heaven, as if his soul, which before travelled with a snail-like slowness towards her celestial home, were now in her full career, the fatal day arrives. On Monday, the last of January, about eleven of the clock in the morning, the sheriffs of London, accompanied with divers officers, came to the Press-yard, where, after a short time of stay, Major Strangeways was guarded down. He was cloathed all in white; waistcoat, stockings, drawers, and cap, over which was cast a long mourning cloak; a dress that handsomely emblemed the condition he was then in, who, though his soul wore a sable robe of mourning for her former sins, it was now become her upper garment, and, in some few minutes, being cast off, would discover the immaculate dress of mercy which was under it.

From hence is he guarded to the dungeon, the sad and dismal place of execution, being accompanied by some few of his friends, amongst which was the Rev. Dr. Warmsley, whose pious care intended now to be near as inseparable to him as life itself. Having asked the executioner for a place to kneel in, and being answered, that there was none of more conveniency than the bottom of the dungeon, 'Well,' said he, 'this place must then serve him, who is forced immaturely to fall; for there can be no greater vanity in the world, than to esteem the world, which regardeth no man, and to make slight account of God, who greatly respecteth all men; for only, Gentlemen, let me tell you, had I served my God as faithfully as I served my lord and master, my King, I had never come to this untimely end. But, blessed be God for all—I shall willingly submit, and earnestly implore your prayers for the carrying me through this great work.' Then, turning to Dr. Warmsley, he said, 'Will you be pleased to assist me with your prayers?'—Doctor. 'Yes, Major, I come to officiate that christian work, and the Lord strengthen your faith, and give you confidence and assurance in the merits of Jesus Christ.'

After they had spent some short time in prayer, Dr. Warmsley, taking him aside, had with him some small time of private conference, concerning the clear demonstration of the faith he died in, and about receiving the sacrament. They appeared something to differ in opinion, which renders the world much unsatisfied, as, in point of religion, whether he died a protestant or not; those of the church of Rome affirming, that, whilst he lay sick of his pleurisy, he was visited by several catholicks that are in orders, some of whose names I have heard, and that they proved so prevalent with him, that they had wrought him to an absolute conversion, and that they were confident, though he had not long lived so, in that faith he died. Whether this be true, I leave every judicious reader to judge, by the succeeding circumstance, when he had left off his conference with Dr. Warmsley, in which he desired him not to press at that unseasonable time matters of controversy, it being a matter full of danger to disturb that calm the soul ought to wear when she comes to encounter death: and then, applying himself to the company in general, with a voice something more elevated than ordinary, he speaks these words:

'For my religion (I thank my God) I never had thought in 'my heart to doubt it; I die in the christian religion (but never 'mentioned the protestant), and am assured of my interest in 'Christ Jesus, by whose merits I question not but my soul shall, 'e're long, triumph over these present afflictions in eternity of 'glory, being reconciled to the mercies of my God, through my 'Saviour Jesus Christ, into whose bosom I hope to be gathered, 'there to enjoy that eternal, infinite, and boundless happiness, 'wherewith he rewards all the elect; so the Lord bless you all, 'bless you in this world, till he brings you to a world ever blessed; 'and bless me in this last and dreadful trial. So let us all pray; 'Jesus! Jesus! have mercy on me!'

Having said this, he takes his solemn and last leave of all his lamenting friends, and now prepares for that dreadful assault of death he was speedily to encounter. His friends placed themselves at the corners of the press, whom he desired, when he gave the words, to lay on the weights. His hands and legs are extended, in which action he cries out, 'thus were the sacred limbs of my ever blessed Saviour stretched forth on the cross, when suffering to free the sin-polluted world from an eternal curse.' Then crying forth, with a clear and sprightful voice, 'Lord Jesus receive my soul,' which was the promised signal, those sad assistants perform their dreadful task; and laid on at first-weight, which, finding too light for a sudden execution, many of those standing by added their burthens to disburthen him of his pain; which, notwithstanding, for the time of his continuance, as it was to him a dreadful sufferance, so was it to them a horrid spectacle, his dying groans filling the uncouth dungeon with the voice of terror. But this dismal scene soon finds a quiet catastrophe, for, in the space of eight or ten minutes at the most, his unfettered soul left her tortured mansion, and he, from that violent paroxysm, falls into the quiet sleep of death.

His body having laid some time in the press, he was brought forth, in which action, e're coffined, it was so much exposed to publick view, that many standers-by beheld the bruise made by the press, whose triangular form, being placed with the acute angle about the region of the heart, did soon deprive that fountain of life of its necessary motion, though he was prohibited that usual favour in that kind, to have a sharp piece of timber laid under his back to accelerate its penetration. The body appeared void of all scars, and not deformed with blood, but where the eminencies of the press touched on the middle parts of his breast, and upper of the belly; his face was bloody, but, as it appeared to the most inquisitive spectators, not from any external injury, but the violent forcing of the blood from the larger vessels into the veins of the nose and eyes, whose smaller branches, forced open by so sudden a compression, as if they mourned in the colour of his crime, had their last tears composed of blood: and, now committed to that sable cabinet, his coffin, he is, in a cart that attended at the prison door, conveyed to Christ-church, where his ashes shall sleep, till time herself be dissolved to eternity: and, as it is our christian duty to hope, hath made good, in every part, this excellent saying of an ancient philosophical poet:

> Cedit item retro, de terra quod fuit ante,
> In terram, & quod missum est ex ætheris oris
> In rursum cœli fulgentia templa receptant. LUCRETIUS, lib. iv.

THUS did they leave the busy world, the one
So swiftly from all mortal trouble gone;
As if his soul practis'd at first to fly
With the light motions of eternity:
Gone with such silence, as his hasty breath
By a few groans disdain'd to parl with death:

Which fatal swiftness did the other lead,
A sad slow road to th' grave; his soul to read
Repentant lectures, being taught before;
It in a storm of tortures did pass o'er
The rubrick sea of life, whose high-swoln flood,
Passions, hot dictates, doubly dy'd in blood.
When scarce this nation e'er saw son of her's,
That wrote revenge in such red characters:
Can she but mourn, her offspring should inherit,
With English valour, an Italian spirit?
Such as is, by a hot intemp'rate rage,
Become the shame and wonder of the age.
  No, let her mourn; the sad expression runs
  In the same strain with what her true-born sons
Disrobe their thoughts in; but methinks I hear
A sort whose separation would appear,
As if refin'd with purer flames of zeal,
Than other christians are; by no appeal
Made to the throne of Mercy to be won,
From harshly censuring: but such acts being done
By men, whose different judgments not embrace
Their tenents in the whole, defects of grace,
Not human lapses. But take heed thy proud
And pharisaick heart speak not too loud,
Where heaven commands a silence. Since none knows
To what mysterious destiny he owes
A debt to nature, in whose gloomy cell
Life's fairest transcripts have too often fell
By sad untimely deaths. Then, with the free
And christian candour of white charity,
Forbear to cast thy sable censure on
This sanguine guilt; and, since that both are gone
Beyond the verge of mortal knowledge, let
Not thy harsh censure aggravate the debt,
Which (if they Nature's common laws obey)
Just sorrow teaches all their friends to pay.

A ROD FOR THE LAWYERS:

WHO ARE HEREBY DECLARED TO BE THE GRAND ROBBERS AND DECEIVERS OF THE NATION;

GREEDILY DEVOURING YEARLY MANY MILLIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S MONEY.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A WORD TO THE PARLIAMENT,

AND,

A WORD TO THE ARMY.

BY WILLIAM COLE, A LOVER OF HIS COUNTRY.

ISA. x. 1, 2.—Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness that they have prescribed: To turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless.

ISA. iii. 14.—The spoil of the poor is in your houses.

London: Printed in the year 1659. Quarto, containing twenty pages*.

COURTEOUS READER,

HAD not my affections to my countrymen more engaged me, than any particular enmity I have against the lawyers corrupt interest, by any damage I have sustained by them, I should have forborne publishing the ensuing lines. But if the very heathens could say, "non solùm nobis nati sumus," we are not only born for ourselves, but that, next to the duty we owe to God, we are bound, every individual man, to be a helpful member to his country. Why should I, or any man, keep silence, whilst this pestiferous generation of the lawyers runs from city to country, seeking whom they may devour? It is thy duty, as well as mine, to cry aloud for justice against them; it is thy duty, and every honest

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* This is the fortieth number in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

Englishman's to the land, to take care hereafter never to chuse any of that generation to make laws for us: I say, not to chuse them for parliament men. Were not there too many of them now in this present parliament, I should hope and expect far better things than now I do; but now God is pulling down the high and mighty, is discovering the wickedness of men in power, hath, most miraculously, slain the glory of princes, I can with confidence say, "Deus dabit his quoque finem." I do not altogether despair, that, before I die, I may see the Inns of courts, of dens of thieves, converted into hospitals, which were a rare piece of justice: that so as they formerly have immured those that robbed the poor of houses, so they may, at last, preserve the poor themselves.

That the end of all laws and magistracy ought principally to tend to the ease safety, and well-being of the people governed, I presume no rational man or men will deny. And, indeed, therefore it is the usual cry and saying, both among the masters of oppression, the lawyers, and the ignorant people that know no better, that the laws of England, as also the ways of executing them, are the safest and best laws in the world; and whosoever shall alter the said laws, or ways of executing them, will unavoidably introduce a mischief instead of a benefit. But to those is answered, that the major part of the laws, made in this nation, are founded on principles of tyranny, fallacy, and oppression, for the profit and benefit of those that made them; for know this, that when William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, undertook to conquer this nation, he was not singly himself able to raise money or men enough to perform such a design, without the voluntary conjunction of most of the nobles and gentry that were his subjects; who sold and mortgaged almost all the lands and estates they had in Normandy, to furnish them out in that design. Now, therefore, when the said William had conquered this nation, he was forced to suffer those his Norman peers to share with him in the benefit, as they voluntarily did in the hazard. From him it came to pass, that he, the said conqueror, and his nobles, made a division of the land amongst themselves, and whosoever were tenants to the said conquerors, held all their lands for a long space in vassalage under them, merely at their will and mercy; whereupon all laws were made in French, and it was accounted a base thing in England to be called an Englishman. Then did these conquerors make such laws as suited best to keep the people in slavery and subjection, as the English now use the Irish, that they might have all the benefit they possibly could screw out of the people. Hence came it to pass, that all penal laws were made for the benefit of the king, the lords of manors, and other great officers, who were the king's creatures. This was, and still is, the ground and reason why the life of man, which assuredly, by the law of reason, is sufficient to answer any crime, was not alone taken away upon conviction of treason, murther, or felony, but also the estates of offenders were forfeited by law to the king, or lord of the manor; which hath been the cause that many an innocent hath suffered, as Naboth, who was destroyed by Ahab, that so he might enjoy his vineyard. These laws were not before the conquest, neither have been since the conquest ever introduced in Kent; which county submitted to the said Duke of Normandy, reserving to themselves their laws and rights; and therefore it is the saying in Kent, "the father to the bough, and the son to the plough:" and surely in that county is as little robbing, murthering, &c. as in other counties; and therefore there is not such necessity for that law, as some sophisters pretend, to keep the people in dread and awe: neither indeed do I think there is such an absolute necessity for the hanging men for theft, but, as heretofore in the nation, there may be another way found out, more agreeable to the laws of God and reason, for punishing of theft, as selling to foreign plantations, or the like, &c. But, if at last the law to hang thieves must continue, I wish it may take hold of the great ones first, lest we renew the practice once in Athens, where they hanged none but little thieves, and the great thieves pronounced sentence. "Verbum sat sapienti:" I am more afraid of those that rob by power of a law, than those that sneakingly endeavour to take my purse on the highway. Now, although it may be alledged, and truly that is all, for by reason it cannot be proved, that there is some reason for the forfeiting the estates aforesaid; yet, at least, let the person damnified be the enjoyer, or the wife and children of the person murdered. But why there should come forfeitures on ships cast away, driven up to full sea-mark, to lose the best cable and anchor; men to be carried away into slavery, taken at sea, the ship remaining with her lading firm and sound, to be forfeited to the lord admiral for a deodand to be forfeited; to say, if a horse drown his master, the horse to be forfeited, and this to be pleaded for; or many such laws, to be grounded on reason, is so ridiculous, that I think the first and grand deceiver of mankind cannot find sophistry enough to furnish the lawyers with to plead for it.

But some will say, 'that, though we were conquered, yet our 'noble ancestors, by dint of sword in the barons wars, regained 'their freedom, and forced the king to condescend to that famous 'law, called Magna Charta.'

For answer, know this, that when the nobles in those days found the king altogether inclined to his minions and flatterers, and thereby made laws to inslave the said nobles as well as the commons had been before, they saw there was a necessity for them to stand up for their own privileges; who, being popular, what by fear and love, they engaged the commons with them in war, and took the king prisoner, forcing him to consent to all things that were necessary, to preserve themselves from the king's will, but never, in the least, acted from any love to the poor commons, but what they were absolutely necessitated to; neither freed the said commons from the bondage they were in to themselves. Now, as all the laws of the land have been made by the king, the great lords, gentry, and lawyers, when the lower house, one-third part whereof usually consisted of lawyers, had gratified the king and upper house; so also did the king gratify the lower house, both the gentry and lawyers, and agreed to laws for their advantage. For indeed, it is not much for the advantage of the gentry, that seeing the laws are so corrupt and chargeable, they thereby can, and indeed have done, and in most parts do still keep the poor in such subjection, that not only their own tenants, but other poor that live near them, must run and go, and work, and obey them, as they shall please to command them, else they run the hazard of being undone; and what advantage the charge and delay of law-suits is to the great lawyers, you may judge. How have some lawyers, from being worth nothing but their books, come to purchase thousands yearly lands, as it is commonly called, by the sins of the people? This is the reason why parliaments have not made the nation free; our pretending deliverers have been our destroyers; and, indeed, it was irrational to expect better things. Who will expect grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles? Who will expect ease from oppression, from masters of oppression, the lawyers? If you will have clean streams flow from the fountain, you must be sure to cleanse the fountain itself.

That the lawyers have only sought their own advantage, although to the total impoverishing the nation, consider this following:—

I have often, both in city and country, made as near an inquiry as possibly I could in a general way, what number of lawyers there might be in England and Wales, in all offices, as judges, masters of chancery, serjeants at law, counsellors, attornies, sollicitors, with the rest of the rabble; and I cannot find, by calculation, but that there are, great and small, masters and servants, by the best account I can estimate, above thirty thousand. Now, consider at what high rates the very meanest of these live; see but a very country hackney, and you will find he goeth clothed in a genteel garb, and all his family; he keeps company with the gentry, and yet usually quickly getteth an estate over and above his expences, which cannot possibly be less than one hundred and fifty pounds per annum. Now, if such country lawyers live at that rate, bring the judges, masters of rolls, counsellors, attornies, registers, *cum multis aliis*, in the common law, chancery, and admiralty, and you will find that this mercenary generation, one with another, do not receive less yearly from the people, in their law practice, I say the number of thirty thousand, than two hundred and fifty pounds per annum each man. What, if some have but fifty, then know some have thousands. Surely, I believe, that Prideaux and Maynard will not, nor can deny it. Now, at this rate, to say, two hundred and fifty pounds per annum to each lawyer, these thirty thousand receive seven millions and half of money yearly, which is seventy-five hundred thousand pounds;

and what a charge are the people at to attend their tedious and vexatious trials! Consider, what doth it cost to ride and go from all countries and towns to London, to attend the terms. It cannot be less than one million of money yearly; and to what purpose observe:—

Whosoever contends in law against another either for land, debt, or trespass, must, by the law, try his title, debt, or damage, by witness, after it hath been never so long delayed by sophistry, quirks, and quibbles of the lawyers. Now, therefore, if it must be of necessity proved at the last, why is it not better to have it tried in the neighbourhood, while it is fresh, green, and new, when the witnesses are alive, and in places, wherein their lives and conversations are known, than seven, ten, twenty, or thirty years after the suit is commenced, when knights of the post may be taken as witnesses, when the lawyers shall baffle and confound witness and jury by their impudent sophistry and prattle, when things at great courts assizes are passed over in hugger-mugger for want of time to examine them, there being more care taken to keep a precise hour for a dinner, than precisely and strictly to see the execution of justice and true judgment, in behalf of the poor, the fatherless, the widow, and the orphan; and when either party sees he is like to have the worst, by common law, then they have liberty to remove unto the Chancery, where a suit commonly depends as long as a buff coat will endure wearing, especially if the parties have, as it is said, good stomachs and strong purses; but, when their purses grow empty, their stomachs fail; then, when no more corn is like to be brought to the lawyer's mill, it is usual to ordain some men to hear and end the business; but, alas! then it is too late, for then, probably, both parties, or at least one of them, are ruined utterly in prosecuting the suit, want of his stock, and following of his calling. What a folly is it, that all bargains in trade and commerce, foreign and domestick, must unavoidably run into this channel, to be debated by lawyers, that understand it as little as they have uprightness, and be tried by jurymen, of which, probably, not one of the number hath the least knowledge in merchandise? What an injustice is it, that all wills must be proved in London, at such a vast charge and distance from the place where the party deceased, where they usually cannot know the truth of things, or little care whether they do or no, so their fees be paid; where they often either take no security at all, or if they do, it may be it is such that is as good as nothing; where every tapster or chamberlain, &c. that pretends himself a freeman, is legal security; how many fatherless, widows, and orphans, are utterly ruined by this? The scripture saith, "he is worse than an infidel, that provides not for his family;" and to what purpose is it in these times of corruption to work for children? If men die, while their children are young, then they chuse some, whom they expect will prove shepherds to preserve their children; but if they prove wolves, where is the remedy? If men be in a way of trade, it is probable they may have, in goods, twice or three times as much left in their hands, as they are really worth. These goods the executors or overseers may and often have procured means to be appraised at half, or one-third of the value; so accordingly they pay debts with a *plene administravit.* These poor young children or simple women think not, neither know how to prevent it. By this means, let a man die that is worth one thousand pounds, and the goods in his custody worth three or four thousand pounds, his creditors may be cheated of the most part of their debts, and his children left a burthen to the parish. O England! England! why dost thou profess thyself the most sincere nation for christianity on the earth, and dost suffer these things, that the very heathens have abhorred.

Object.—But, if men were not contentious, they might speedily and cheaply try any suit at law. It is the fault of froward spirits that cause the great charge and delay, and not the law itself: and it is just that the law should be chargeable, else every man would be at strife with his neighbour, when the charges were little.

Answ.—It is true, that injustice, of one part or other, is indisputably the cause of all difference, for both the plaintiff and defendant cannot be in the right; but, were the law made according to the mind of God, for punishment of those that do evil, and for encouragement of those that do well, then it would be founded on principles of justice indeed; it would suppress strife, contention, and debate; it would quickly put an end to all suits and controversies; it would not protect the contentious spirits, nor nourish their devilish nature; it would not suffer might to overcome right, as usually it doth in these days; it would not shelter great landed men in prison, in the King's Bench and Fleet, &c. that have large, real estates, which they spend voluptuously and riotously, whilst their poor creditors lie starving in nasty prisons. This is monstrum horrendum, an abomination that, let what will be pretended for it, is not tolerable under the government of a right constituted commonwealth, how long soever it hath been continued under tyrannical monarchy. But, to sum up all in brief, the law in the generality is unjust and irrational, the execution desperately dangerous and chargeable; it is easier to find a thousand evils in it, than one true principle in matter and form. What, if an attorney or council take cunningly a bribe from an adversary, and make a compact with him to cheat his client, as it is too often practised, and seldom discovered?

What, if a judge accept of a bribe, and, by over-awing the court, carry a case against law and right? if he make it a precedent, may it not be the ground to cheat many after it? It is remarkable, when neither the letter of the law nor reason carry a business, then those, that are subtle counsellors, and are highly feed, for, without that, nothing can be expected, usually produce precedents; and these are imposed on the jury for current justice, when probably the ground of them was bribery and baseness.

There is law, reason, or equity, in England, to try and end all titles, debts, and trespasses, depending by suits, in all courts, or there is not. If there be, let the parliament appoint a certain number of knowing men, the most conscientious they can think of, in several cities and counties, to make it their sole business, in a limited time, to hear and determine all old suits, allowing them a moderate salary by the pound, to be paid by him that is found the offender; and let not things depend *ad infinitum* in courts. There may be as much injury suffered by the delay of justice, as by denial of justice. When all old suits are ended, were there order taken in hundreds and counties to have all laws, leases, mortgages registered, and all those that should pretend any title, to make their claim in such a limited time, as in reason may be thought fit, reserving some exceptions for some years for children, men in foreign parts, &c.; and, when all old suits were ended, all lands registered, and none to be leased, sold, or mortgaged, in each respective hundred, within one month after the contract, it would take away the cause of most contention, and, until the cause be taken away, the effect will never cease. Having often discoursed with lawyers and others about the delays, burthen, and uncertainty of trials at law, I very seldom found any averse to merchants courts; in regard, that it is apparent the affairs and dealings of merchants cannot properly be understood but by merchants who know the mystery of trade, which neither judge, council, nor gentlemen, that never were educated therein, can possibly do; for what a ridiculous thing is it, that the judges in chancery must determine of merchants negotiations transacted in foreign parts, which they understand no better than do their seats they sit on; and so they are as capable to do equity therein, as a blind man to shoot a hare. Now, if courts of merchants are most, nay, I say, absolutely necessary for deciding of controversies in commerce, (and the reason given for it is, because they best understand it); the same reason holds good, that countrymen, clothiers, weavers, &c. are most competent judges of country affairs, of those callings they live on, and understand. They better know the value of trespass that is committed by cattle on corn, &c. than do the citizens that hardly know how corn groweth. Can the people of London, or masters of chancery, judge the equity of things acted in Cornwal or Wales, better than the chief able men of the neighbourhood? Now, if England was so happy to have respective hundred courts, and no appeals to be made further than the quarter sessions; were these courts rightly constituted, and strict penalties to be inflicted on the receivers of bribes, as cutting off their noses, banishment, or the like (which is absolutely necessary for a false judge, as both a thief and murtherer), where none of the court, the register excepted, should continue in power to judge, but one year together; where they should not be mercenary; where a man might speak his own cause, or employ his friend whom he pleased to speak for him; there would be then ground to expect justice and equity speedily: there would not be, neither rationally could, lying sophistry, or quibbles, to pervert the understanding of the court, there being always time deliberately to hear the business, and to examine the witnesses, when the matter was green and new. Were it ordained, that all wills should be registered in each respective hundred where the party had his abode or trade; that the overseers of the parish were bound by oath and penalty forthwith to inform some members of the court, who had power upon the first notice to appoint one or two able men to take care for the preservation of the goods of the party deceased; that, at a certain day, all the moveables were to be sold to him that would give most; with this reservation made, that the wife, children, executor, or administrator might, when the highest price were offered, have liberty to take it at the same; that, when the goods were sold, the true value was registered in the court; that no executor should have any administration granted, without giving security, to the court's liking, of two able men besides himself; that, in case the executor neither could nor would give good security, that then the court should be the executor, and take care for the discharging the debts, providing for the widow and children; that none belonging to this court, the register excepted, should continue in power above one year together; that the executor should yearly give an account how he did dispose and manage the estate to the court; how he educated or bred up the children, &c.; that, if the court remained in possession of the estate, then that it might be lawful for the widow, children, or friends, to have redress by the sessions court, upon complaint and proof of injury; that the lands and estates of all and each respective person in the hundred were liable to make satisfaction for any widows, fatherless, or orphans estates, that were put into the court's hands. This would make the people take care in the choice of their yearly court, called judges, or juries, or the like. Now, if these registers of lands were kept; if the estates of the deceased were so to be secured; if all debts were liable to be recovered in each respective hundred; this would prevent law-suits; this would disable the cunning, subtle people, from finding out ways to cheat their neighbours; this would discover those that were contentious and troublesome; on which people truly, I think, it were but just to inflict some badge of disgrace; whereas, in these days, none are more encouraged by lawyers, counsellors, &c. than those that are most contentious.

A WORD TO THE PARLIAMENT.

Right Honourable,

I do not give this title to flatter and collogue with you, but do really hope that your future actions and designs will make you worthy of it. Ye have now a great and weighty work to perform, even the restoring to life, liberty, and security, a dying, inslaved, destroyed nation, whose utter ruin will quickly ensue, unless you work whilst it is day, unless you make use of the present opportunity that God hath put into your hands. It is not now time for you to think of framing a commonwealth government, by any precedent or practices of monarchical laws, formerly made by king or single persons, which solely tended to preserve themselves and their posterities in their unlimited oppressions. Monarchy is an absolute antagonist to a free state; and so are all the laws and rules made by monarchs. The Hollanders, when they relished the tyranny and persecution of the Spanish king (who had a far more legal title to be their sovereign, than the late Norman Scottish family had to be the English), never consulted with the laws of their king to make fundamentals for a free state; they nobly and resolvedly shook off all the props of tyranny, as they had done the tyrant himself: and to their gallant resolution God gave such a blessing, that, from a poor miserable people, a distressed state, they are now become potent, rich, and dreadful. Ye are now involved in a labyrinth of debts, contracted by the late usurper, not on necessity, but on ambition. The people of the land are almost generally impoverished and indebted; and yet ye will unavoidably be forced to raise great sums to pay the arrears of the army and fleet. Now, as ye are necessitated yet to continue some burdens on the people; so also there is a little necessity, in point of justice and prudence, for you to ease the people of others. The lawyer's interest tends neither to the honour, safety, nor benefit of the people, nor your own in particular. Who have been greater enemies against the establishing a free state than that generation? Who have done and still do more discourage the nation from a cordial compliance to this government than they? How often have they cried up a necessity of the executing law in the name of a single person, alledging the laws of England cou'd not be managed any other way? As their interest is engaged to monarchy, so let it fall with it; let them be condemned out of their own mouths, "nec lex est justior ulla, quam necis artifices arte perire sua." Must the people not only pay for the charge of your forces by land and sea, but must they pay also millions of money hereby to a mercenary, corrupt, useless generation of men, who are worse than the Ægyptian caterpillars, for they devour not only the green leaves, but hundreds of poor widows, fatherless, and orphans. These are the insatiate cannibals, whose carcasses will never be full gorged with the spoil of the poor and innocent, until the worm gorgeth himself on theirs. Those gentlemen of the long robe that are amongst you, I hope, cannot say less, than that there is great reason to ease the people herein. What, if they have heretofore thriven highly by the practice of law, "nunquam sera ad bonos mores via:" are they not thereby the better able to maintain their port and garb? Is it now time to think of their latter end, to cease to do evil, and learn to do well? I hope the proverb will not hold true in them,—"the older the more covetous." Now it is time for them, and the whole parliament, unanimously and vigorously to do good, to vindicate their former, almost (shall I say deservedly) lost honour and reputation, and to secure their estates to their posterities. Ye have now the hearts and purses of a resolved honest party, that will not only make addresses to you, like the addresses to the single person, but will stand and fall with you in all just things. But if ye turn back from the strait way of justice; if ye seek to make yourselves, families, or relations great, by ruining or burdening your country; if ye make or maintain the lawyers interest, turn aside the needy from judgments, and rob the widow and fatherless, then will ye be forsaken by God, and all just men; then will not your mountains of treasures, nor numbers of lordships, nor fawning, flattering parasites, any ways help you, nor deliver you, *sed meliora spero.*

A WORD TO THE ARMY.

SIRS,

YE have once more erected the words of Salus Populi, and declare it ought to be Suprema Lex, the good old cause is now cried up. If your words and hearts go together, it is well; it will be the people's profit, your honour and safety; but, if your zeal exceed not Jehu's, it will signify nothing. The nation hath been too long abused and cousened by fair words, so that they begin to say, Who will now not only speak, but do us any good? Who will prove such self-deniers, as to prefer the country's case before their own honour or profit? This is what is expected from all sorts, and satisfaction cannot be given to the people but by it. It is not now a time to cry out for acts of indemnity, which will unavoidably burden and punish the innocent, and let the guilty go free. Will ye have all the corrupt mercenary creatures of the late tyrant's lust justified, and all their ill-gotten goods secured? Is there no pity, remorse, nor compassion dwelling in you, in tenderness to the undone people? What mean all your glorious declarations? What mean all your pretences of religion? What mean your fasts? Will ye, under pretence of long prayers, devour widows houses? Consider what fast God requireth at your hands. Isa. lviii.

But if, at last, nothing will divert you from this stream of injustice, give the people, who have long fed and cloathed you, some satisfaction. As ye are willing to excuse the guilty, so pray let the innocent go free. Give the people an act of indemnity, and free them from paying all, or any part of arrears, that remain due to you for your service in the tyrant's usurpation, especially you that are the grandees of the army (who have sufficiently already gotten by the poor soldiery, in putting a necessity on them to sell their arrears to you for a matter of nought). Think no more of forcing or persuading the parliament, by your proposals (which are not worth ———) to gratify a single family and interest, for doing those things that rather deserve punishment. Have ye so much pity to a particular family, that have a long space lived in pride and voluptuousness, and have unwarrantable boons given so to continue; and is there no dram of compassion left in you to the dying starving nation? O tempora! O mores! Neither alone would I have you to cease from pressing these things aforesaid, but also to be instrumental to remove those grand needless oppressions which lie on the nation. Be you at last instrumental to free your country from the intolerable burden of the needless lawyers, who love none but themselves. Can ye forget that they were, in the late great protectorian parliament, using all means to ordain laws to hang or banish you, and shall they now be protected in ruining the country by you? God forbid. Surely it is sufficient for the people to pay millions yearly to pay the army and navy, and not to pay millions yearly to that oppressing needless generation. I should wonder what spirits do possess you, if you now, at last, after all the conviction that you have declared, should think on nothing but cloathing yourselves in vanity, in raising your families to high estates, in insulting over your brethren the people of the land, who have not bread, nor cloaths to cover their nakedness. It is probable (and less than which I expect not) that there will be many, or some among you, that will passionately disrespect these sins. But, if I am become your enemy for telling you the truth, let it be so: "Me, me, adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum;" think not but that many others, as well as myself, will still disrelish self-seeking and oppression in you, as well as they did in the king, protector, &c. Let England never cease to cry out with the poet, "Rara fides probitasque viris qui castra sequuntur."

A WORD TO THE LAWYERS.

Ye have plowed wickedness, ye have reaped iniquity, ye have eaten the fruit of lyes, Hosea x. 13. The spoil of the poor and fatherless is in your houses; ye are weighed in the balance of justice, ye are found as light as chaff; there is a wind risen up, that will blow your interest into the land of oblivion; all the mischiefs and evils that ye have done in secret, are now discovered on the house-top. The cries of the wronged and oppressed, the lamentations of the widows, fatherless, and orphans, God hath heard. Your wickedness is now, like the Amorites, at the height; the sword of justice is ready to cut it down; the decree is passed against your legal robberies; strive, therefore, now to learn peace and patience, and an honester calling; this will be your benefit and content: but, if ye will resist, and gainsay, know this, that assuredly ye will perish in the attempt.

THE LEVELLER;

OR,

THE PRINCIPLES AND MAXIMS CONCERNING

GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION,

WHICH ARE ASSERTED BY THOSE THAT ARE COMMONLY CALLED

LEVELLERS.

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WHEN the sect of the christians first arose, the tyrants wrapped them in beasts skins, to provoke the wild beasts to rend them in pieces; and, when Christ their Lord descended to earth, the priests and pharisees, finding his doctrine and holiness against their interest, cast upon him all the dirt of blasphemy, drunkenness, and confederacy with the worst of sinners; and, to make sure of his life, they rendered him an enemy to government, and told Pilate that he was no friend to Cæsar if he let him go. It hath been the common practice of all tyrants, to cover the face of honesty with the mask of scandal and reproach, lest the people should be enamoured with its beauty. It is a master-piece in their politicks, to persuade the people that their best friends are their worst enemies, and that whosoever asserts their rights and liberties, is factious and seditious, and a disturber of their peace. Did not the Gracchi, in Rome, by such policy, perish by the people's hands, whose liberties they sought to vindicate? And do not some Englishmen now suffer deeply upon the same account, from the people's hands, for whose sakes they have prodigally hazarded their estates and lives? Are not some lovers of their country defamed, and esteemed prodigious monsters, being branded with the name of levellers, whilst those, that reproach and hate them, neither know their principles or opinions concerning government, nor the good they intend to their very enemies? Those that have designed to prey upon the people's estates and liberties, have put the frightful vizard of levelling upon those men's faces; and most people are aghast at them, like children at raw-head and bloody-bones, and dare not ask who they are, or peep under their vizard, to see their true faces, principles, and designs. Doubtless, if the people durst but look behind them upon the bugbear from which they fly, they would be ashamed of their own childish fear of the levellers designs, to make all men's estates to be equal, and to divide the land by telling noses. They would easily discern (if they durst consider it) that no number of men out of Bedlam could resolve upon a thing so impossible, that every hour would alter by the birth of some child, if it were possible once to make out equal shares; nor upon a thing so brutish and destructive to all ingenuity and industry, as to put the idle useless drone into as good condition as the laborious useful bee. Neither could the people think that any number of men, fit to be feared, rather than scorned and pitied, could gain by levelling estates, for they can never have power and interest enough to disquiet the nation, unless their estates be much greater than they can be possible upon an equal division; and, surely, it is a bugbear fit for none but children, to fear any man's designs, to reduce their own estates to little better than nothing; for so it would be, if all the land were distributed like a three-penny dole.

But to satisfy such as desire to know what they are, who are now, for distinction sake, though formerly by their enemies scandalously called levellers, and what their designs are; I shall tell you their fundamental doctrines or maxims concerning our government, and from thence you may make a true judgment of all their plots, and either fear them, or favour them accordingly.

I. First, they assert it as fundamental, that the government of England ought to be by laws, and not by men. They say, the laws ought to be the protectors and preservers, under God, of all our persons and estates, and that every man may challenge that protection as his right, without a ticket from a major-general, and live under that protection, and safely, without fear of a red coat, or a pursuivant from Whitehall. They say, that Englishmen ought to fear nothing but God, and the breach of the laws, not to depend upon the will of a court and their council for the security of themselves and their estates. They say, the laws ought to judge of all offences and offenders, and all penalties and punishments to be inflicted upon criminals; and that the pleasure of his highness, or his council, ought not to make whom they please offenders, and punish and imprison whom they please, and during their pleasure.

They say also, that the laws ought to decide all controversies, and repair every man's injuries, and that the rod of the people's supreme judicature ought to be over the magistrates, to prevent their corruption, or turning aside from the laws; but that the magistrates for executing the laws should not hold their offices at the pleasure of a king, or protector, lest the fear of displeasing him perverts justice. In their opinions, it is highly criminal that a king, or protector, or court, should presume to interpose by letters, threats, or promises, to obstruct the due course of the laws, or countenance and abet, or discountenance and brow-beat any man's cause whatsoever. In fine, they say the laws that are incapable of partiality, interest, or passion, ought so to govern, as no man should be subject to the crooked will, or corrupt affections, of any man.

II. The levellers second maxim or principle about government is, that all the laws, levies of monies, war, and peace, ought to be made by the people's deputies in parliament, to be chosen by them successively at certain periods of time, and that no council-table, orders, or ordinances, or court-proclamations, to bind the people's persons or estates. It is the first principle of a people's liberty, that they shall not be bound but by their own consent; and this our ancestors left to England as its undoubted right, that no laws to bind our persons or estates could be imposed upon us against our wills; and they challenged it as their native right, not to be controuled in making such laws as concerned their common right and interests, as may appear by the parliaments records in the time of Edward the Second, and Richard the Second. The levellers say, that those, whose interests are in all things one with the whole people's, are the only proper uninterested judges of what laws are most fit to preserve and provide for that common interest. Such are the people in parliament rightly constituted and methodised, and they may be depended upon to provide remedies for the people's grievances, because they themselves are sharers in every common grievance, and they will be naturally led to study the common good, because they shall share in it. But, if a monarch's pleasure should controul the people's deputies in their parliaments, the laws must be fitted for the interest of the monarch and his family, to keep him in a condition to overtop the people, not for the common and equal good of the whole nation; and then the monarch's fears on the one hand, lest the people should be able to diminish his greatness, or that he should hold his greatness at their mercy; and the people's fears on the other hand, lest the monarch should be able to make them slaves, and they come to hold their estates and lives at his mercy. These, I say, would set two opposite interests always at contention, in the composing of laws; and the wisdom and industry of the people's deputies, that should be spent in contriving the advancement of the people's common good in the laws, would be taken up, endeavouring to defend and preserve the people's interests against the monarch's: therefore, say the levellers, it is equal, necessary, and of natural right, that the people by their deputies should chuse their own laws. Yet they conceive it would be of much greater good to our country, if our parliaments were moulded into a better form, and some deputies were chosen by the people, only to give their consent or dissent unto laws proposed; and other deputies were chosen for senators, that should consult and debate of the necessity and conveniency of all laws, levies of monies, war, and peace, and then propose all to the great assembly of the people's deputies, to resolve; that so the proposing and resolving power, not being in the same assembly, all faction and private interests may be avoided, which may possibly arise in a single council, vested with the sole sovereign law-making power. This second doctrine of the levellers had been fit for all England to have asserted some years since, and then so many fatherless and widows had not now been weeping for their lost husbands and fathers in Jamaica, and other foreign countries; nor had so many families been ruined, nor England impoverished by the loss of trade, occasioned by the Spanish war, begun and prosecuted upon private interests or fancies, without advice or consent of the people in parliament.

III. The levellers assert it, as another principle, that every man, of what quality or condition, place or office whatsoever, ought to be equally subject to the laws. Every man, say they, high and low, rich and poor, must be accountable to the laws, and either obey them, or suffer the penalties ordained for the transgressors. There ought to be no more respect of persons, in the execution of the laws, than is with God himself, if the law be transgressed. No regard should be had who is the offender, but of what kind, nature, and degree, is the offence. It is destructive to the end of a government by law, that any magistrate, or other, should be exempt from the obedience or justice of the laws. It dissolves the government, *ipso facto*, and exposeth all the people to rapine and oppression, without security of their persons and estates, for which the laws are intended; therefore, say they, great thieves, and little, must alike to the gallows; and the meanest man as readily and easily obtain justice and relief of any injury and oppression, against the greatest, as he shall do against the lowest of the people; and therefore, say they, it ought not to be in the power of any single person to defend himself from the impartial stroke of the laws, or to pervert justice by force; and that brings in their fourth principle, viz.

IV. That the people ought to be formed into such a constant military posture, by and under the commands of their parliament, that, by their own strength, they may be able to compel every man to be subject to the laws, and to defend their country from foreigners, and inforce right and justice from them, upon all emergent occasions. No government can stand without force of arms, to subdue such as shall rebel against the laws, and to defend their territories from the rapine and violence of strangers; and the people must either hire mercenary soldiers, to be the guardians of their laws, and their country, or take the care upon themselves, by disposing themselves into a posture of arms, that may make them ready and able to be their own guard. Now, say the levellers, it is neither prudent nor safe that the people's arms should be put into mercenary soldiers hands. What reason can induce any people to believe that their laws, estates, liberties, and lives, shall be more secure in the hands of mercenaries, than in their own? Who can think his estate, his liberty, or his life, in safety, when he knows they are all at the mercy and will of hirelings, that are led by no other motive than that of profit or pay to serve them? and may be led by any proposal, or temptation of greater profit or pay, to desert them.

All ages have afforded sad experiments of trusting their strength in the hands of mercenary armies; most nations who have kept them, at least in their own bowels, having been devoured by them. Did not the Egyptian king, by trusting the arms in hirelings hands, lose both his crown and life, and brought the people to be slaves to the Mamulakes for near two hundred years? Was not the famous commonwealth of Rome ruined and inslaved by their negligent permission of Julius Cæsar (upon his advantage of long continuing general) to form a mercenary army? Did not the inhabitants of Rhegium perish by the hands of the Roman legion, left to be their mercenary defenders? And were not our neighbours of Amsterdam lately very near the loss of their estates and liberties by their own mercenary army? And, say the levellers, the people have less reason to trust to mercenaries, to defend their country from foreigners, than they have to preserve their estates and liberties from domestick oppression. How can their valour or fidelity be depended upon, when a small stipend only obligeth them to either? and, if they be conquered one day, they are ready to serve the conqueror next day, it being their professed principle to serve where they can have best and most certain pay. But, say the levellers, when the people, who are owners of a country, are disposed into a military form, they fight *pro aris & focis;* they are sensible that they have more at stake than a daily stipend, and are in no hopes to better their conditions, by division amongst themselves, or by betraying their country to foreigners. Thus, say they, is it prudent and safe for the people to be masters of their own arms, and to be commanded, in the use of them, by a part of themselves (that is, their parliaments) whose interest is the same with theirs.

These four foregoing maxims contain the sum of all the levellers doctrine about our government in externals; (whose principles, without naming one of them, have been rendered so prodigious, and of such dangerous consequence) but let the reader judge, whether the liberty, happiness, and security of every Englishman be not sought in the endeavours to establish those foundations of equal justice and safety; neither can they be charged herein with novelty or inconstancy, the same fundamentals of government having been claimed by our ancestors, as their right, for many hundred years.

And the late long parliament proposing the same to the people, as the things to be defended by the late war; alledging, that the king had set up courtiers to govern, instead of laws, by imprisoning at pleasure, and during pleasure; and that he had attempted to make proclamations, and council-table orders, to be as binding as the laws that the people made by their parliaments; and that the king had exempted himself, and others, from subjection to the laws, and pretended a right to the militia, to command the people's arms, without their consent; and, in confidence of the parliament's real intentions and fidelity in what they proposed, the people spared neither treasure nor blood to preserve themselves, and their declared native rights. And, therefore those, called Levellers, do now challenge their principles of justice and freedom, as the price of their blood; and, however many of the parliament's friends, and adherents, have since deserted their first pretences, yet, the levellers say, they can give no account to the righteous God of the blood they have shed in the quarrel, nor to their own consciences, of their duty to themselves, their families, and country, to preserve their laws, rights, and liberties; if they should not persist in their demands and endeavours, to establish the government in what form soever, upon the foundation of the principles herein declared; and therein they would acquiesce, humbly praying the Father of all Wisdom, so to direct their law-makers and magistrates, that all God's people might enjoy their spiritual christian liberties, in worshipping God according to their consciences; and they heartily wish, that such a liberty may be settled, as another fundamental or corner-stone in the government.

But the designers of oppression having also thrown dirt in the faces of those, whom they have named levellers, in the matters of religion, and aspersed them sometimes as jesuits, sometimes as notorious hereticks, and sometimes as licentious atheists, men of no religion; it is necessary that I should acquaint the reader with their principles that relate unto religion. I do not mean to give an account of their faith; for the men, branded with the name of levellers, are, and may be under several dispensations of light and knowledge in spiritual things, in which they do not one judge the other; yet they are all professors of the christian reformed religion, and do all agree in these general opinions about religion, and the power of men over it.

First, They say, that all true religion in men is founded upon the inward consent of their understandings and hearts, to the truths revealed; and that the understanding is so free, that it is not in the power of men to compel it to, or restrain it from a consent; nothing but the irresistible evidence of a truth can gain a consent, and, when the evidence is clear to any man's understanding, he himself, much less another howsoever potent, cannot so much as suspend an assent. Therefore, no man can compel another to be religious, or by force or terror constrain the people to be of the true religion.

Secondly, They say, that the last dictate of every man's understanding, in matters of faith and God's worship, is the last voice of God to him, and obligeth him to practise accordingly; if a man be erroneously informed, yet the misconceptions, he hath of truth, bind him to practise erroneously, and, should he resist that seeming light, though it should be in truth darkness, his sin would be much greater, and of worse consequence, than if he follows by his actions his erroneous conceptions; therefore the only means to promote the true religion, under any government, is to endeavour rightly to inform the people's consciences, by whose dictates God commands them to be guided; and therefore Christ ordained the preaching of the gospel, as the outward means for converting souls; faith coming by hearing: and he also ordained spiritual ordinances for the conviction, instruction, and punishment of erroneous and heretical persons; the scripture commanding the erroneous to be instructed with the spirit of meekness, and admonished privately, publickly, &c. And Christ never mentioned any penalties to be inflicted on the bodies or purses of unbelievers, because of their unbelief.

Thirdly, levellers say, that there are two parts of true religion, the first consists in the right conceptions, and receptions of God, as he is revealed by Christ, and sincere adorations of him in the heart or spirit, and the expressions or declarations of that worship outwardly, in and by the use of those ordinances that are appointed by Christ, for that purpose. The second part of it consists in works of righteousness, and mercy, towards all men, done in obedience to the will of God, and in imitation of his justice and goodness to the whole world.

The first part, being wholly built upon the foundation of revealed truths, doth in its own nature absolutely exclude all possibility of man's being lord of his brother's faith, unless the understanding or faith of a magistrate could constrain the faith or understanding of others, to be obedient to his, or rather to be transformed into the likeness of his: And therefore therein every man must stand or fall to his own master, and having done his duty, rightly to inform his neighbour, must give an account to God, of himself only.

But the second part of religion falls both under the cognisance or judgment of man, and the law-makers, or magistrates power. Christ hath taught his followers to judge of men's religion by their works: "By their fruits," saith he, "ye shall know them, for men do not gather grapes of thorns." Whosoever, be it a court, or an army, or a single person, pretend to religion, and yet remain treacherous wherein they are trusted, and continue in the breach of their promises, and are not conscientious to do to others, as they would that they should do to them, but can, without regard to justice, seize by force of arms upon the people's rights, due to them by God's law of nature, and their ancestors agreement; and subject their persons, and estates, to their wills, or their ambition and covetousness, and make themselves great by oppressions out of the people's purses; those men's religion, men may clearly judge, being vain by the scriptures judgment, yea their prayers, and their preaching, as abominable in God's eyes, as were the fasts, new moons, and sabbaths of the Jews, which were then also God's ordinances, whilst their hands were defiled with blood, and oppression, and the works of righteousness and mercy neglected.

It properly belongs to the governing powers, to restrain men from irreligion in this second part of religion; that is, from injustice, faith-breaking, cruelty, oppression, and all other evil works, that are plainly evil, without the divine light of truths that are only revealed; and it is the duty of governing powers, to compel men to this part of religion, that is, to the outward acts of justice and mercy; for the inward truth of men's religion, even in these, is beyond the magistrates power or judgment.

Fourthly, they say, that nothing is more destructive to true religion, nor of worse consequence to human society, than the quarrels of nations or persons, about their difference of faith and worship, and the use of force and punishments, each to compel the other to be of his belief. It cannot be denied, that God, in his infinite secret wisdom, is pleased to cause his spirit to enlighten men's minds, with several degrees of light, and to suffer many to remain in darkness, which be afterwards also enlightened; and, therefore, their faith and worship, if it be sincere, must necessarily and unavoidably differ, according to the different root of light upon which it grows. Surely babes in Christ, and strong men, differ much in their apprehensions and comprehensions of the objects of faith, and much more those that are not yet born in Christ, though appointed unto regeneration, and it may be, instructed like Cornelius, in some things.

And, as to opinions about worship, the thoughts of men must naturally be different, as the mind of one exceeds another in clearness of light, and capacity of judging; now when the most powerful party seeks, by force and punishments, to constrain the governed or conquered, to subscribe to their faith and opinions, without regard to their own light or understandings; doth it not, as much as is in man's power, banish all dependence upon the spirit of God for light, out of men's minds, and constrain them to put out the candle of God within them, that is, the light of their own understandings, and induce them, for their worldly respects and safety, to profess a faith, and practise a worship, which they neither do, nor dare understand? And by continuance to contract a blindness of mind, and hardness of heart; and is it possible to practise a design more opposite to true religion, and the propagation of it? And it is evident that those of false religions, under a pretence of honouring God, by forcing men to be religious, have blinded millions of thousands with false worships. And also, that such as have professed the true religion, in substance, have wickedly opposed the further inlightening work of the spirit of God, and caused thousands, for fear of punishment, to rest satisfied in the profession of a faith and worship, which they understand not, and therefore can have no true religion in them. And histories will tell plentifully, how pernicious the quarrels, grounded only upon difference in matters of faith, have been to mankind;

an honest pen would tremble to relate the murders, and massacres, the dreadful wars, and confusions, and the ruins, and desolations of countries, that have been upon this account; and the same must be to the world's end, if difference in opinions about religious worship, and matters of faith, should be admitted to be a sufficient ground of quarrels; errors and differences in men's understandings are from natural, unavoidable infirmity, which ought not to be the objects of punishments, or men's angers; it is not more likely, that God should make all men's understandings equal in their capacity of judging, or give to all an equal means or measure of knowledge, than that he should make all mens faces alike. Why then, say the levellers, should any man quarrel at another, whose opinion or faith is not like to his; more than at him, whose nose is not like to his; therefore say they, let us be unanimous in seeking an establishment of equal freedom and security to the whole people, of the best provisions for commutative and distributive justice, without partiality; and of the best means of instructing the whole people in the spirit of love and meekness; and then true religion will increase and flourish.

I have now faithfully related the sum of their principles about government and religion, who have been usually called levellers, and scandalised with designs against government and religion, and plots, to bring the nation into anarchy and confusion: let the reader judge, what colour there is to suspect those, that are thus principled, of such ill designs; or rather, whether freedom, justice, peace, and happiness can be expected in our nation, if these fundamentals of government be not asserted, vindicated, and practised, and made as known and familiar to the people, as our ancestors intended the great charter of the liberties of England should have been, when they provided, that it should be sent to every city, and every cathedral church, and that it should be read and published in every county, four times in the year, in full county.

I have only mentioned the fundamentals, because they claim these as their right, and humbly submit the circumstantials, as to the number whereof parliaments should consist, and the manner of their elections, and the order of their debating and resolving of laws, &c. to the wisdom of the parliaments. But the reader may well enquire, how those, that have asserted these principles, came to be called levellers, the people believing generally otherwise of them, than these principles deserve. Truly the story is too tedious to relate at large; but the sum of it is, that, in the year 1648, &c. the army having been in contest with some members of the long parliament, they constituted a general council of officers, and agitators for the soldiers, and then fell into debate of proposals to be made to the parliament, for a settlement, and then some of that council asserted these principles; and the reason of them quickly gained the assent of the major part; but being contrary to the designs of some that were then grandees, in the parliament and army (but most of them since dead) and had resolved of other things, at that time, even with the king, who was then at Hampton Court, it fell into debate in a private cabinet council, how to suppress or avoid those, that maintained these principles, and it was resolved, that some ill name was fit to be given to the asserters of them, as persons of some dangerous design, and that, their reputations being blasted, they would come to nothing, especially if that general council were dissolved; then was that council dissolved, and an occasion taken from that maxim, that every man ought to be equally subject to the laws, to invent the name of levellers; and the king, who was to be frighted into the Isle of Wight from Hampton Court, with pretences, that the men of these principles in the army would suddenly seize upon his person, if he staid there, he was acquainted with those men, by the name of levellers, and was the first that ever so called them in print, in his declaration left on the table at Hampton Court, when he secretly (as was thought) stole away from thence; and thence it was suddenly blown abroad, with as much confidence, as if they had believed it, that first reported it, that a party of levellers designed to level all men's estates; and, since then, the late lord protector, knowing these foundations of freedom to be inconsistent with his designs, hath often mentioned the levellers plots, with malice, scorn, and scandal; and now of late generally, whosoever asserts the people's liberties, and right of government by law, and not by will, is branded as a leveller, by the flatterers.

Now I heartily wish, that my countrymen may not be mistaken in my candid intentions, in giving them this account; I mean not to court them as Absalom did his father's subjects, to make them believe, that those, called levellers, would use them better than others, if power was trusted in their hands; for our age hath given me experience, that power to inslave the people ought not to be intrusted in any men's hands, upon the fairest pretences, and most solemn oaths, that that power shall be used to establish their freedom. And it is the levellers doctrine, that the government ought to be settled upon such equal foundations of common right and freedom, that no man, or number of men, in the nation, should have the power to invade or disturb the common freedom, or the common course of impartial justice; and therefore, that every authority ought to be of small continuance, and the several authorities, to be so balanced each by other, that, without such an agreement of men, against their own interest, as human prudence cannot think possible, the people cannot suffer any common injury; but my meaning in this, is, only to prevent the division of my countrymen into parties, with animosities each against others, by the couzenage of names or scandals, when it may be, they would otherwise join hands and hearts, for their common rights and liberties, if they understood each others minds, and could converse each with other without prejudice, because of the names, whereby each hath usually called the others. It is a threadbare plot of tyrants, to divide the people into parties, that they may the more easily master them; but I wish, that my countrymen would unite in the equal principles of common right, and hearken to reason, with clearness of mind, whosoever offers it, not regarding whether he that speaks it is called a leveller, or a sectary, or an anabaptist, or a presbyter, or a cavalier, but considering what he says; and then the number of hands, to defend our liberties, and properties, would be so numerous, that the ambition of one, or a few, could not hope for success in attempting a tyranny over us. And if this poor paper may have such an effect, that my countrymen be not deluded with the idle scandal of levelling, cast upon honest men, into an opposition of their own welfare, I and many that agree in the publication of this, shall have our ends.

Consider therefore, what you here read, and the Lord make you understand the things, that conduce to your peace and freedom, and the glorifying his name in righteousness, in this nation.

SHUFFLING, CUTTING, AND DEALING,

IN A GAME AT PICQUET:

BEING ACTED FROM THE YEAR 1653, TO 1658, BY O. P. AND OTHERS WITH GREAT APPLAUSE.

Tempora mutantur, & nos———

Printed in the year 1659. Quarto, containing ten pages.

Oliver.

I AM like to have a good beginning of it; I have thrown out all my best cards, and got none but a company of wretched ones; so I may very well be capetted.

Lambert. Now you have a good pack, my lord, I am content to play; but you knew every card of the old ones, and could make your game as you listed.

Lawrence. I took a few, yet they make me a good game; for I left all the little ones behind me.

Fleetwood. If your highness had those, my Lord Laurence left, you would have a better game, than you have; I could wish you would look upon them; but yet, I know, you can hardly tell what to play well. I am for the little ones, if there be enough of them; for two quint minors will win the game, before you come to reckon you are fourteen by knaves.

Fines. It is fit you should play at some common game, where all the small cards are in, and where the ace goeth but for one. I was too long at the sport, and left it, because I could make nothing of it; but, here, whosoever gets one card is like to make a good hand; I have got a good tearse already.

Musgrave. I was somewhat scrupulous, whether play was lawful, or not; and so sat out the last game, which had like to have undone me: for the future, I shall play what game soever your highness pleaseth, especially now I see you play so well, when you lose.

Lisle. If I go into France, I must practise another game; but, do what I can, I shall be over-reached by Hoc Mazarine.

Desborough. I am nothing but a ruff, yet I shall do well; I have got a card of a right suit, and should hope to have a better game, if the cards were in any other hands, than your lordship's.

Skippon. I sit here, and hold the cards, but know no more how to play, than a post.

Rouse. I am more diligent at this game, than ever I was at any, but I got more the last game, when I played cent; for I had a hundred, and all made: All, that I desire, is to save myself, and help my kindred to something, by betting on my side, while my luck lasts.

Jones. I must needs lose, for I have thrown out the card that made me a good game.

Ouseley. A pox on it, I left Piccadilly, and the Three Kings, to play here, and I shall get nothing all the days of my life.

Ashley-Cooper. I was picquet at Whitehall, and thought to save myself amongst the cavalier posts; but, I doubt, I shall be deceived.

Pickering. I had rather play at another game, where more may play; but, I thank the Lord, I can frame myself to any sport, so my Lord P. be one at it.

Strickland. You play not here, as they do in Holland, where I learned this game; for you make lifting here, and there they deal by turns.

Major. All, that I am, I had in my rise; I was the pitifullest game in the world before.

Sydenham. I am pretty well, though I changed my suit; I went in all one, and had another as good in the stock.

Montague. You make me play at a game, I never knew in my life before; I must needs lose.

Blake. I shall be a kind of a stander-by this time, and so shall have time enough to teach you the game against the next, when you may play by yourself.

Thurloe. My lord, it will not be so well for me to play; I will stand behind your chair, and make and shuffle, with what you are to play, the next game.

St. John. My lord, I shall not play neither; but I will go your halves, so you keep my counsel.

Pierpoint. You play so rashly, I will not bet a farthing on your head.

Salloway. I am but a stander-by; yet I observe, the small cards, that are left, and not played with, are all very clean; but the rest of the pack are filthy foul already.

Bradshaw. I dispatched out one king, and went for another, but have missed him; yet he hath not a card of his suit with him; so I shall snap him, when he comes into my hands.

Haslerigge. May we not play levet-coil? I have not patience to stay till another match be made, and I had as live be hanged, as sit out.

Nevil. I will not play for a farthing; besides that I love not the game, I am so dunned with the spleen, I should think on something else all the while I were a playing, and take in all the small cards; for I am all day dreaming of another game.

Waller. My lord, you have hanged my king, and I have no other way, than to play into your hands.

Whitlocke. I shall be content to play at any game, but shall be unwilling to play for a dead horse; yet I care not if I keep stakes.

Knightly. My lord, give me leave to speak against your game, that so I may be thought not to bet; and then I shall be able to give such advice, as I may help you to play.

Roberts. I have the luck of it; I win as well at this game, as at the last, when I played at Loadam; I had all the small cards then, and now I have all the great ones.

Gerrard. I do not like the game so well, as to leave the match I have made for myself; yet I do not care, if I venture a little on your hand, and try if I can get a stock to set up my youngest son for a gamester.

Bernard. May I not talk as much as I will in your play, so long as I am resolved never to bet or play with you at this game, for a groat?

Vane. One had better, sometimes, play with a good gamester, than a bungler; for one knows not where to have him: If Cromwell had discarded, as he ought to have done, I had won my stake at it; as it is, I shall save myself; which, I fear, he will hardly do, though he mingles the cards well, when he deals himself, and hath excellent luck in cutting, when another deals.

Rich. I play a thousand times better, now I have a bad game, than when I had a good one.

Harrison. I played the fool, and went in for a fifth king, when there were but four in the stock.

Lawson. My lord, the game was not dealt you, you took it; I throw up my cards.

Streater. My lord, if you would curse and swear soundly, the game would become you, better than it doth, in regard you pretend so much to religion; I shall disturb you in the game, if I stand by; I see you play in the dark, therefore I must take my leave of your lordship, and bid you good night.

Noell. I make my fortune by lending the gamesters money.

Young Trevor. Shall not I play? My lord protector has given me a stock, and I will pack the cards with all the cavalier-gamesters in the town.

Sir John Trevor. Well said, Jack; thou art none of my son, if thou beest not in all games, and canst carry a trump in thy pocket.

Harvey. They caught me playing false, and would let me play no longer, though I was on my lord protector's side.

Tichborne. I had reason to desire to play at council-picquet, since I am like to lose so much by another man's ill play.

Newdigate. I have lost by play, but I got by leaving off.

Chute. There is such cheating, that I will play no longer.

Purefoy. I will play at small game, rather than sit out; for I was never set at work.

Pride. Baxter and I are at the old foolish Christmas game with honours.

Monk. My lord, when you came to play, your stock was none of the greatest; but, since I see your good fortune, I am resolved still to play, as you do; especially since you have made me master of one of your great play-houses; but, above all things, if you can keep the bone in your hand, the dogs will follow you; if you can keep the treasure, the gamesters all croud to you.

Dissenting army-members. My lord, when you began the game, you promised us fair play above-board; but, since we see you begin to juggle, we will play no longer.

Exchequer. I must win at last, yet at present I have ill luck; for I have three knaves, and had cast out the fourth.

Upper Bench. Sure you are no better than a cheat; for I threw out one of them, and you have taken him up into your hands.

Common-Pleas. You served me the very same trick the last term, and took in one of them whom I discarded; but ye had best leave your cheating and wrangling, all of you, lest ye be found what ye are, and be forbid to keep a Christmas here any more; and then we be forced to set up a mis-rule in the country, where there are but small games, and the box will be poorly paid.

Chancery and Duchy. I am blank; if it had not been for the queen, I had cast out a knave, which now proves the best of my game.

Trustees. I have taken more than I should, I must reckon nothing.

Commissioners for Excise and Customs. Gentlemen, pay the box.

Presbyterian. I lost the last game for want of a king, and now have got one that doth me no good in the world; I had a good hand, but I played the fool, and threw him out; so that allmy help depends on one card.

Independent. I have none but small cards, and they of several suits, so that I shall make little of it this bout.

National Minister. I went in for those cards, the bishops and deans parted with the last game; but, though I missed them, yet, if my tenths be good, I shall make shift till another dealing.

Divine. I was picquet the last, but am now re-picquet.

Papist. If you all complain, I hope I shall win at last.

EPILOGUE.

It is to be noted, that the gentlemen, that have been eminent in this last dealing of the cards, played very fair in the former game here described, with a PLAUDITE.

——Sic transit gloria mundi.

AN EXPEDIENT

FOR

THE PREVENTING ANY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN HIS HIGHNESS AND THE PARLIAMENT

ABOUT THE RECOGNITION, THE NEGATIVE VOICE, AND THE MILITIA.

BY A LOVER OF HIS COUNTRY,

THAT DESIRES, AT THIS TIME, TO BE NAMELESS.

London: Printed for Giles Calvert, at the Black-ſpread-Eagle, at the West-end of St. Paul's, 1659. Quarto, containing eight pages.

Though I look not upon the present dispute about the negative voice, and the command of the militia, as like to give us much trouble (for usurpations and tyrannies, once judged by God, never recover to rise again in the same form:) yet, to satisfy the doubts and fears of those honest souls, who see not what strength they have on their side, I shall desire them to be assured, that there is reason and equity sufficient to stop the mouth of such a claim, by any single person in this nation: And, therefore, we shall need no other compromise of this difference, but to reflect upon the rise and occasion of this government, from whence the nature and power of it will best appear.

THE present form of government, then, as it varies from a republick, was begotten by necessity. For the nation having traversed all the ways of a parliament and council of state; and seen all they could afford, and at length, finding through long continuance, as standing waters, they did corrupt, discontent gathered and fermented, and sought where it might most advantageously discover itself; and so fell in with the power of the army; and the person of the then general, whom they had found so stout and faithful, and withal successful; and was willing to throw themselves and their cause into his arms and protection, consenting that he should use any means, yea, though he were most arbitrary therein, to ease them of their old masters, whom they could bear no longer. So that, as I said, it was pure necessity and straight, that cast us here, and not any affection to monarchick government. The clear intent and expectation of the honest people, that were accessory to the devolving the power here, being: That that person should in the name and power of God (or of his own truth and righteousness, which was supposed to be in him) administer the power of these nations, to settle us in freedom and peace upon all accounts, both civil and spiritual; and they never dreamed of a monarch or a family interest, nor did they imagine any need of cautioning it here. Though others, wiser heads (such, who perhaps, by the opportunity of their high places, had approached nearer this temptation in their own hearts) did foresee, and were aware, what might be the consequence and product of this over-hasty credulity and trust, as afterwards indeed it came to pass.

§. II. The protector did clearly run biass to the honest intentions of those, that wished him the administration of the power, when he made himself a civil ruler. But changes in states and governments being brought with such pangs and throws, as are very uneasy and dangerous, they are not every day's work. It was in vain to retract or withdraw the trust committed to the general, though many disliked the way he went; nor could men believe, that the late passages and transactions could ever grow into such oblivion, as that he, or any man, should think that this nation should be willing to match the militia and the scepter together in the government, but only in his person, whom they looked upon as an extraordinary person: They having fought against it in the person of the late king.

§. III. Hereditary succession in the government being so much disgusted by the honest patriots in the late parliament, the nomination of the immediate succession was indulged; his late highness, as an expedient to satisfy the then present, powerful strivings for hereditary succession, which was not neither yielded unto, but upon a very high confidence of the spirit and principles of his late highness, to carry him above all private respects, in the execution of the trust of nomination.

§. IV. His now highness, being in possession of the government, takes therewith the power of the militia, which was invested in his father, and he conceives also the negative voice to descend upon him with the civil government. The question is, whether in truth it do so, or no? I conceive not; and first for the militia, it is true, the supreme command of all the armies in the three nations was in his late highness; but not as he was protector, but as general, which he was, before he was protector. So that the protector or civil government was annexed to the militia, not the militia to the civil government; or rather the power of administring to a civil settlement was annexed to the person, not to the power or office of the general; and that upon the reputation of his personal virtue: His military power and capacity serving only as a strength and security to him, in the due exercise of the power of civil administration intrusted. So that it was not Oliver Cromwell as protector, or the supreme civil magistrate that was made general; nor Oliver Cromwell as general simply, that was made protector; but Oliver Cromwell, general of such a spirit, of such integrity and faithfulness, that the like qualified person was not to be found in the three nations, that was thought fit for all the power that could be cast upon him.

§. V. As for the negative voice, as it was never disputed with his late highness, where it was suffered to sleep as in a safe hand, for his personal virtues; so was it never, since it was taken away from, or rather with the king and kingly government, concredited, or betrusted with any power or person. And, indeed, it is a thing altogether superfluous as well as dangerous; for take away from parliaments, who, sure in this light, that is risen upon us, cannot be imagined, from their source and fountain, the generality and body of the nation, to bring with them that choice discerning, which is singular, to judge of spiritual things: I say, take away from them the coercive power, in things spiritual, and purely of the mind, and admit them, as children of this world, to be so wise in their generation, as to be able to judge, what is good and behoofeful for the nation, wherein their stakes and interests lie; and what use will there be of a negative voice in a commonwealth as we are, or should be, where no distinct personal or family interest, is, or ought to be owned, but what is one with the commonwealth, and in a subserviency thereunto?

§. VI. The negative voice, therefore, being out of doors with kingship, and we having no civil head now that is master of the commonwealth, but a servant to it; that was set up for that end, though an honourable servant, and it is fit he should be so maintained: The resolution is easy.

Let his present highness be acknowledged and confirmed as supreme magistrate in these three nations.

Let the officers of the army choose their general, and let him have his commission from the protector and parliament.

Let his highness, now being with the parliament, have the power of disposing and commanding these forces, and of making war and peace.

The light, in which these things do evidence and offer themselves to the judgment and consciences of men, is manifest.

For the first, a single person cannot hurt us, if an unfit power be not concredited and betrusted with him. When we engaged against a king, it was not against a single person simply; but so stated and circumstanced, arbitrary, tyrannical, with a luxurious court, a burthensome state, &c. For this is a principle we never intended, by that engagement, to engage against what might be useful to us, no rational man would do so, but what we found hurtful. Therefore the single person may stand.

2. When we admitted a single person, and abated so much of the circumstance, we gave not up the substance of our cause; therefore be not baffled in that: But, if we give the single person a negative voice, and the dispose of the militia, we give up the very heart and substance of our cause. Therefore, part not with that.

Neither, indeed, can his highness, who is but a single person, expect, whoever should invest him with the sole command of the militia, whilst the army and the officers thereof keep their integrity, that he can make any use thereof, but for publick ends, and therefore it would be *onus non honos*.

3. It is fit his highness should have an honourable, though not the only interest, in the commanding the militia: Therefore, let him be always sought unto, to join with the parliament, in the dispose of the forces of the nation.

And, as for those of the other house, let them pass (or so many of them as the parliament shall think fit) into the council of state; and, if they have a concurrent vote with his highness and the commons, yet no negative vote, their usefulness may be chiefly in the vacancy of parliaments, not to be a balance upon the commons; let their balance be that reason and righteousness that is amongst themselves, as to the things of this world, which is their proper sphere.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF OUR LATE PARLIAMENT:

OR,

A COLLECTION OF THE ACTS, ORDERS, VOTES, AND RESOLVES, THAT HAVE PASSED IN THE HOUSE.

BY SAMUEL BUTLER, Author of Hudibras.

London: Printed according to Order, 1659. And reprinted this year 1710. And sold by J. Baker, at the Black Boy in Pater-noster-Row. Octavo, containing sixteen pages.

An Advertisement to the Reader.

READER,

THOU art desired to take notice of the last order of parliament in this book mentioned, whereby I am enjoined, upon my oath, to discover only things tolerable, and agreeable to the practice formerly of the long parliament; now the lands be sold, offices disposed of, and their own turns satisfied, and they turned out; I shall acquaint you further: For it is a maxim here, that, if I swear to be faithful to another, if that other hath the worse of it, I am not bound by this oath: And this is the opinion of all reformed divines, and, to my knowledge, hath been put in practice for these eighteen years: So that, being now discharged of that oath, I shall hereafter discharge a good conscience, and set forth a history of rare things. These are not an ace to them I have in my budget.

Farewell. J. CANNE.*

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* This Canne was a noted man amongst the saints in those times; therefore, the author made use of his name, in order to conceal himself.

May the 9th, 1659.]—This day their small assembly was resolved into a grand committee, to debate what the house should be called in ordinary proceedings.

Lenthall. It shall be called, The New-Exchange.

Vane. It shall be called, The House of Prayer.

Hasilrig. It shall be called, A Gaol, for I see Martin and other gaol-birds here.

Lowry. It shall be called, Haberden.

Skippon. It shall be called, A Den of Thieves.

Atkins. It shall be called, A House of Office.

Scot. It shall be called, The Free-State Cross.

Saloway. That is a superstitious name. Let it be called, The Armies Ware-house.

Martin. Let it be called, A Church, for we are all saints.

St. John. I am of opinion, that, by the ancient known laws of England, this is the legallest parliament that ever was; and that the men, that met here by Oliver's and Richard's writs, made but illegal assemblies; therefore let it be called, The Parliament-House.

Baron Hill.
Baron Nichols. } We are of the same opinion strongly.

Withrington. I shall declare no opinion as to the point, but shall consider thereof.

Prynne this day got in, and he would have it called Bedlam; for here is frantick Mr. St. John, hair-brained Hasilrig, sensless Lowry and Atkins, possessed Vane, distracted Nichols, and a multitude more of mad-men, besides fools; therefore he thought it fit that the chains and fetters might be removed from Newgate hither, to be keepers of the liberties: Thereupon the house ordered it to be referred to a committee, and adjourned till the afternoon; and that Mr. Prynne should come no more there, for he was too wise and too honest to be in that place.

In the afternoon they met, and upon debate these things were resolved on.

First resolved, that the family of the Cromwells are not born protectors.

Secondly resolved, that it is more convenient we should have the government, we having already the crown-lands. So they adjourned till the next morning.

May 10th.—This day it was referred to a committee, to consider of the self-denying ordinance; and they are to take notice, that there are several king's lands yet to be sold; therefore they are to report, whether it be convenient that that ordinance be in force or no.

May 11th.—This day this committee, whereof St. John was chair-man, reported to the house, that by law that ordinance was of no force, for the intent of the makers of laws must be observed; and it cannot be intended, that the makers thereof would so far prejudice their own interests, as to have that ordinance to be in force when lands are to be sold, and places to be disposed of.

May 12th.—Ordered, that this day, usually called Ascension-day, be no more called so; but henceforth May 7th be called by that name, in commemoration of our ascent to the old shop on that day. And this was the great work of that day.

From May 13th to May 20th.—The house took into their consideration the titles of honour and dignity conferred by 'Squire Oliver and his son Richard; and, also other titles to be given: And thereupon it was enacted as follows:

The Contents of the Act for Names, Titles, and Dignities, &c.

First enacted, that our fellow-member, Alderman Atkins, be no more called, Alderman Tom, Alderman Shitbreech, Sir Tom, Sir Alderman, Tom Thumb; but in all ordinary proceedings he be called and stiled, Tom Fool; and, in exigents, let him be named, Tom Turd.

Secondly, that Harry Nevill be no more called, Religious Harry Nevill, that the people may take notice he is one of the council of state.

Thirdly, that the eldest son of Oliver Protector have the same addition of title and dignity, that the long-parliament conferred upon the eldest son of the late king to all intents and purposes.

Fourthly, that all other titles of honour whatsoever be sequestered, and the profits arising thence to go to the payment of the late protector's debts.

Provided that this act, nor any thing herein, shall be construed to take away or null those apt and reasonable titles that are given to the several members and council of state, and recorded in the excellent book of England's Confusion.

From May 20th to June 1.—This day the regulation of the law was taken into consideration: and,

Resolved, that the ablest lawyers be prohibited to judge or practise, that the law may flourish, and justice be done.

Ordered, that old Colonel Walton grow young again before three weeks, or the dissolution of this parliament; and by that time become as frolick as he was with the barber's wife, that his young wife may no longer be forced to get a snap abroad, at the great charge of the publick: And that, in the interim, he sit close in the house; and, that she hath allowed to her an universal toleration during that time, and no longer.

Yesterday the colt, formerly drowned at Huntingdon, and taken up at the great charge and pains of the mayor and recorder, was voted a sturgeon, *nemine contradicente:* And, it was ordered, that Serjeant Bernard have the next sturgeon to his own use, any grant or prescription to others notwithstanding.

Resolved, that Paul's steeple is the cross that stood formerly in Cheapside; and, therefore, to be pulled down forthwith.

Reported from a Committee of Safety as follows:

That the best way to settle this nation in peace, is to sell the residue of the lands, &c. and dispose of them amongst the parliament-men that were not liberally provided for before 1653. Yet we conceive that Sir Arthur Hasilrig remembered himself pretty well before that time; however, if the parliament adjudged 30000l. per annum not sufficient for him, let him have more.

This report was taken into consideration accordingly, being of great import.

Thereupon the house resolved into a grand committee, to debate the proportioning of the said lands, to the particular members, according to their wants.

Lenthall. Gentlemen, Can you think that I, that I your Speaker, your everlasting Speaker, who am resolved to live and die with you at 5l. *per diem*, can live to maintain myself and family at that great rate I now live at, and support the grandeur that should attend the Speaker to so noble persons with 13000l. per annum, and not above 80000l. in personal estate?

Skippon. I have enough of 1000l. per annum, and desire no more to live as well as Mr. Speaker.

Hasilrig. You say well, but 100000l. per annum is better; and upon my credit I want Daniel Collingwood's estate to make me up 30000l. per annum; I pray consider it.

Scot. Gentlemen, My father-in-law, Plush-Bacon, is dead, and hath cheated me of 5000l. besides, it will take 10000l. per annum to make me honest.

Martin. If I have not enough to pay my debts at present, and to maintain as many whores as the Earl of Middlesex, Lord Monson (my fellow-boarder in Southwark) or the late Earl of Warwick; I'll leave the house, and go to prison again: What! do you think I'll help to cheat the people for nothing?

Vane. Come, Gentlemen, if you will be a little religious, you may make shift with 15000l. per annum as I do.

Darly. My eldest son wishes me hanged that I served so long in this trade, and am like to leave him no better estate. Pray think on it.

St. John. I have built me a little house lately, and want some ground to lay to it. If you'll grant me a forest, I'll remove my house thither, for the law is as clear as it was in the Earl of Strafford's case: That I may remove it by habeas corpus.

Weavour. Come, Gentlemen, you are a little too busy; take heed the army prevent not the design; I am a good willer to the mathematicks myself; but let's make them sure, for upon my credit Lambert is no fool: Thereupon the house adjourned till June the first.

From June the 1st to the 4th.—This day the house took into consideration that seasonable motion of Mr. Weavour, and have ordered as follows:

Ordered, that the army-officers be fooled out of their old commissions, by vertue of which they were our masters; and that they take new ones from us, by vertue of which we are their masters.

Ordered likewise, that we juggle with some of the stoutest and soberest colonels in the army, to go snips with us underhand, that they may curb the rest, and keep them in awe.

Ordered, that Hacker and Okey be two of them; and that there be but two besides listed into this confederacy, lest it be discovered, or lest we give too much from ourselves.

Ordered lastly, that this present parliament sit till May next (if Lambert be not too cunning for them before that time) and that, in the interim, parliament-men be valued at a penny a-piece; and that the former value of twelve a penny, set upon them in 1653, be made void.

June the 4th.—This day the house took into consideration the business between Harry Nevill and Stroud, sheriffs in Berkshire, which is referred to a committee to report, If it be not all the reason in the world, that one of the council of state should have fifteen hundred pounds, whether it belongs to him, or no? And that Stroud should pay it, for not returning him to that parliament, which Nevill had a hundred times sworn to be no parliament.

Ordered by the house, that Mr. St. John be assistant to that committee, to inform how the same stands; and whether Magna Charta doth not warrant that, as well as the dark lanthorn.

Monday, June the 6th.—This day came an express from Ireland, that the noble and valiant deputy will, before long, learn Fleetwood more wit, and Lambert more honesty; and that he will turn these jugglers out of their box, as his father did.

Ordered thereupon, that he forthwith repair to England, if he be such a fool; and that we catch him in our clutches, if we can, lest he obstruct our religious designs.

June the 7th.—This day the house considered of Mr. Harrington's proposals concerning a free state; and thereupon

Resolved, that he is a fool to busy his noddle about that which the house never thinks on; for, when they have made all even, they will break up school.

June the 8th.—Ordered, that Mr. Harrington be forthwith dispatched to Jamaica, that famous island, and form his commonwealth there; and that he hath all the golden mines for his pains.

June the 9th.—Resolved, that all papists and jesuits be tolerated in England; and that anabaptists and quakers be inserted into the army; that, by that time the parliament have gotten into their hands the residue of what is left, the army may make mutinies among themselves, and discharge us, and set the people against them, and we go scot-free.

June the 10th.—The house, this day, upon consideration that the High and Mighty Prince Vane is to marry with the illustrious infant of Wimbleton-house, ordered, that Richard Cromwell depart from thence forthwith, to make way for their Highnesses; and that the Banqueting-house be prepared with a pair of bagpipes and a north-country jig, to entertain the nobles, that shall attend the solemnisation of those nuptials.

June the 11th, to June the 18th.—Ordered, that Hacker and Okey have a strict eye of Lambert, when he goes to Whitehall, lest he steps into the chair.

The house called Mr. Canne in, and ordered him to publish only what was agreeable to their former proceedings; and, if it fell out, at any time, that they should do otherwise than the people expect, that he should conceal the same: Whereto Canne, their news-maker, agreed, and was sworn.

SUNDRY THINGS FROM SEVERAL HANDS

CONCERNING THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, viz.

I. A Petition from some well-affected therein.
II. A Model for a College-Reformation.
III. Queries concerning the said University, and several Persons therein.

London: Printed by Thomas Creake. 1659. Quarto, containing twelve Pages.

To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England,

The humble Petition of the Remnant of well-affected Persons within the University of Oxford,

SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners are infinitely rejoiced at the good providence of God, which hath once more restored you to those seats, and that station, of which you were by undoubted right possessed, and in which you did so demean yourselves, that the Lord blessed you in your councils extraordinarily, and the hands of the poor people of this nation were much strengthened under you, through a certain hope to see themselves established upon sure foundations; and a commonwealth erected after such a model as would secure us all in our liberties, civil and spiritual, without the hazard of being overthrown by every or any ambitious spirit. We hope that you yourselves are sensible, as we are, upon that late usurpation upon you and us, being the basest and unworthiest attempt that hath happened among the sons of men; and that you will neither give daring spirits any encouragement, for the future, to act the like, by permitting their predecessor an honourable memorial, or providing ample revenues for his posterity (a thing without example in the best commonwealths) nor omit those things which are essential to our being a well-framed republick.

In reference hereunto we humbly pray, that you would have a special care of the magistracy of this nation, that it may be intrusted with such as fear God, hate covetousness, are and have been, under the late accursed apostasy, promoters and abettors of a commonwealth's interest, and have owned the like principles in others; and that the armies of our lands may be garbled, and put in such men's hands as are faithful, and able for the discharge of so great a work.

And for so much as the education of persons to serve in church and state, is a thing necessarily to be considered for the subsistence and continuance of a republick, that the youth may be thoroughly acquainted and prepossessed with the principles thereof, as well as instructed in all other useful learning: We humbly beseech you, that you would take into your care the two universities, which are the standing seminaries of a ministry, good or bad, useful or useless, according as they are there educated, and places whither the gentry and others resort for instruction, and whence they return, or may do, well-affected, and capable of sundry employments in their generations; or else ignorant, rude, oppressive, debauched, and debauching others, to the great detriment and overthrow of a commonwealth.

We also desire that you would enact a freedom for opinions there, and constitute professors and libraries, endowed accordingly; that so all that are members of this commonwealth, and are ready to sacrifice all that is near and dear to them for the publick service, that so considerable a part of this nation, so faithful, so well-affected, may not continue deprived of all advantageous breeding of their posterity: Through defect whereof they become incapable of reaping any profit from that posture of affairs into which they have principally stated us.

And that degrees may not be conferred, but on such as deserve them, and after a more strict way of exercise, suited to the preserving and upholding us as a republick; and not as hath been for many years past amongst us practised, when creations, and dispensations for time, absence, and exercise, have so been granted for the capacitating of favourites to preferments and trusts, whereunto they were no way fit; that we must make it our earnest humble request, that all degrees which have been conferred on any person or persons, since the surrender of Oxford, may be cassated and nulled by some solemn act, as being no longer characters of merit, but cheats wherewith to amuse the ignorant: And that such as are now graduates in arts unnecessary, and which they ignore (so as intituling them thereto is a lye) may commence in philosophy and other useful studies, whereof they cannot be ignorant without prejudice to themselves in their fortunes, and the commonwealth in its disservice.

That whatever is monarchical, superstitious, or oppressive, in the university to the good people, may be abrogated.

That none be heads of houses but such as are intirely affected for a republick, and who will be active in seasoning those under their charge with principles resembling: And that, in case you find yourselves not provided with a sufficient number of persons for the managing of so many colleges and halls, we pray, you would reduce them, rather than suffer any to become nurseries for such as may hereafter be as thorns in your sides.

That the power of the university may not be in the hands of any one as chancellor, nor of any clergymen (who have been so notoriously corrupt, negligent, and malignant) as visitors (the miscarriage of inferiors being personal, whilst theirs influence the publick) no nor as heads of colleges, governing with fellows, unless there be a kind of censor residing amongst them who shall be impowered to punish (with appeal only to the council of state) all misdemeanors or neglects in exercise or discipline that may be prejudicial to the commonwealth, and influence all elections for the advantage of such as are actively obedient and deserving.

That all such ceremonies and reverence as tends to enervating the minds of the people, and begetting a pride in the ministry, may be put down; since the appointment of so extraordinary respects to men of low extraction renders them insolent, and either averse from going out to preach the gospel, or scandalous in the performance thereof.

That there may be sundry acts in each year, at which a select number (yet varying each year to prevent collusion) of patriots or senators may be present to judge of the abilities, and inclinations of the several students towards the publick good, and accordingly dispose of them into places, so as they may be serviceable to the nation, and not grow old in their colleges, which thereby become as it were hospitals and monasteries.

These things we thought it a duty incumbent on us to propose unto you, being ready to supply by our activeness whatever prejudice our paucity might create unto the commonwealth: We have no self-ends, nor do we labour to promote particular interests, being ready to comply with any of your commands, and in the mean while, *As your Petitioners, shall ever pray, &c.*

A slight Model of a College to be erected and supplied from Westminster School.

Since the students of Christ-Church finding their condition, as to discipline and other emoluments, intolerable under their present governors, neither the foundation-men, nor ancestoral gentry being educated, so as to be serviceable to the publick in any trusts or employments; they have drawn up a petition, that the revenues of the college may be enquired into, and that they may be regulated by statutes (though good statutes in the hands of remiss and negligent persons become ineffectual) and since the canons of the said college (the dean is so dissatisfied with the posture thereof, that he hath professed himself ready to desert his station) do very little, and ought not at all to intermeddle with the government of that house (they should have been sold as cathedral, and that according to the covenant, as the university in convocation declared, but were, I know not how, preserved, possibly as a support to the then designed monarchy) nor do they, by reason of their frauds, dilapidations, male-administration of discipline, disaffection, and general worthlessness, deserve to have any new right conferred on them. It is humbly queried, whether some such model as the ensuing (which shall be more fully represented, with the reasons of each particular circumstance, when there shall be any appointed to receive proposals) than either they, or the whole university at present is.

Let the places of the dean and canons be abolished, and the incomes thereof sequestered for the carrying on of the intended model, which may be perfected without any further expence, than what is at present lost amongst thankless, useless, or disaffected persons.

Let the honourable the governors of Westminster School be intrusted with the supreme power of the college, and disposal of revenues.

Let no person, professor, or fellow, have any extraordinary allowances, but what shall arise from their care in instructing others, and donatives to be given from time to time by the governors, accordingly as they shall find men profit in learning, and hopeful to serve the commonwealth.

Let the novices of the foundation be provided for of such books as are prescribed them by the discipline of the house (without permission to read others till they have perfectly laid their foundation) and accommodated in a decent way as to cloaths, diet, and chambers, and chamber-furniture, and with physick in case of indisposition, at the college charge.

Let the foundation be supplied from Westminster School, not only for their better instruction, but for the preserving of unanimity; and that, upon their coming to the university, they be not enforced to one study, or general studies, but immediately put unto such a society and class of students as are for this or that profession.

Let there be certain times of the year fixed, in which commoners and others may be received into the college, and at no other time, to prevent disorders in studies; let that time be such as the professors shall agree upon, wherein to finish their course of lectures: And let these be distributed into classes as the other, and regulated in their diet, habits, and company, as may best suit with their intended course of life, and the being of the commonwealth, which requires that the youth be bred up to sobriety, frugality, and knowledge.

Let the students of all sorts, and faculties, be obliged, before their departure, to understand the grounds of a commonwealth, and what is the particular basis of this, that so they may be more active in their persons and relations, it being their reason, and not custom which induces them to subjection.

Let the governors make it their care, that when persons shall arise to maturity, and capable of any employments, to promote them in several ways according to their several professions; and that none be permitted to refuse any such probation employments: As for physicians, that they go with our merchants and ambassadors to remote countries, and that though the emolument be not great; and the like for such as study other faculties, and that none decline this. That, after their return, they give an account of their observations, and deposit them in the college archives, and that they be at their return maintained as before (their places in their absence being supplied by others) till the state can find them employment.

Let there be established in the college one or two professors in divinity, who shall finish such a course therein as shall be thought fit, especially instructing all in the several analysis's of faith, and grounds of religion: Let him or they uphold disputations and such-like exercises

Let there be a professor of civil law and politicks, who may instruct all in the foundations of common right, and dispose them to prefer a commonwealth before monarchy: Let him direct them in a method of particular politicks and history.

Let there be one professor in Des Cartes's philosophy and mathematicks.

Let there be one professor of Gassendus's Philosophy, and General Geography, who may also give directions for particular geography.

Let these each have assistants out of the fellows to be constituted, who inquire into the magnetical philosophy; let them have a school of experiments in opticks and mechanicks, for the instruction of the gentry, and such, as shall be found suitable, to assist them in their studies; and let this be defrayed by the publick, or by levies upon each commoner that comes to study there, as they now give pieces of plate.

Let there be a professor of physick, and another of anatomy; let them read, dissect and keep a chymist for experiments and promoting of medicines; let this be defrayed partly at the publick charge, and partly by levy upon the students in physick, and such as shall desire to be present, and partly by the standing apothecary of the college-physicians.

Let there be a professor of useful logick and civil rhetorick, for the institution of such as are to be employed in the publick; and let them practise, not in a declamatory and light, but masculine and solid way, that is, English as well as Latin; and that they be instructed in the way of penning letters and dispatches.

Let all, or any of these, teach such, as are not versed in Latin, in English; and let such be distributed into agreeable company, for the bettering themselves; and let the professors be severely prohibited from teaching any that shall be young, and not of their college: As for such as are grown in years, and yet would learn any, or all the studies aforesaid, they may be admitted, and disposed of according to discretion, without prejudicing the constant course of studies to be upheld in the college.

Let there be sixty fellows in the college, with competent allowance, to supply the quality of standing tutors, who may carry on the studies of the youth in things of lesser moment, and prepare them for lectures, examine them after lectures, see to their manners, &c.

Let twenty of these study controversial divinity and ecclesiastical history, yet so, as to be able to manage the practical part for the good and credit of the nation, either at home, or in employments with ambassadors. Let a third part of these alternately reside at London, that they may not be strangers to the world, and circumstances thereof, and so be able to direct better, in order to the education of their countrymen.

Let the other twenty study after a competency of knowledge in the theory, and other qualifications, to dispose themselves for the practick and altered tutelage of such as mean to be divines; for the education of whom, and promoting them in order to the service of the nation, the said governors may take care.

The last twenty may be divided so, as one third study physick, and tutor others therein, under their professor, they having precedaneously learned one, or both of the philosophies specified; and the rest may study general and particular politicks, geography, history, and all other ornaments becoming exact virtuosi; and accordingly take care for the tutelage of others; and that part of them be obliged to go abroad at the state's employing, then return, and after that reside a while, before they engage into any determinate course of life.

The governors of Westminster may rule the college by a vice-principal elected out of the fellows, and the fellows themselves; the power of gratifying and encouraging being reserved to them: And, further, they may constitute a censor of discipline, who may, in case of neglect, punish any fellow, professor, or student any way related to the college arbitrarily, without being subject to any but the governors.

As for particular orders, an account of them may be given in upon demand. Let it suffice, that this project, as great as its influence will be upon the residue of the university, if it be thought meet to continue it unaltered, will cost no more, than doth the present college of Christ-church; which as it must be new-modelled one day, so it may be regulated thus without injury to the canons or students in being; they, who are most concerned in the charge, may be (if they deserve it, and if the canons, their now governors, will recommend them; which it is certain they will not) disposed of for the service of the nation, as in the dissolution of monasteries; and those, who are notoriously disaffected, and have shewed themselves such, though they may comply now, or hereafter, out of interest; or which are rude, ignorant, or debauched, may receive a condign dismission, to be provided for, when the council of state shall have found out some passive protection, and passive preferments, for those that will yield but, at most, a passive obedience.

Several Queries concerning the University of Oxon, &c.

I. Whether the proposal of the army, and resolve of the parliament for the advancement of learning, or the several petitions against tithes do most threaten the university in its present posture?

II. Whether the independents, or presbyterians in Oxon be more for their private, and less for the commonwealth?

III. Whether the parliament did well to own the university, before the university owned them?

IV. Whether it be not eminently true of the university, that, in it, 'men of low degree are vanity, men of high degree are as a lye; to be laid in the balance, they are altogether lighter than vanity?'

V. Whether the university of Oxon did not well to petition, that Durham might not be made such an university, and give such-like degrees? And whether it be not as incumbent upon parliaments not to multiply asses, as upon the kings of Israel not to multiply horses?

VI. Whether the university of Oxon be not several times run into a præmunire? Especially by that solemn act of perjury, in making Dr. John Wallis antiquary*. Whether it be not a judgment, that hath since befallen Mr. Richard Cromwell, Secretary Thurloe, Commissioner Lisle and Fiennes, &c. that they never took notice of such perjury, though they were engaged in honour, and by an appeal to them, so to do?

VII. Whether the whole course of the university be any thing else, at present, but a formality of drinking in the most, and of eating in all? And whether he, that should plead for it with the commonwealth's-men, might not fall before the proposals which Abraham made to God in the behalf of Sodom, and yet the university not be preserved?

VIII. Since Dr. Wilkinson of Christ-church hath denounced out of the pulpit, by way of prophecy, that a fire out of the sanctuary, that is, the sectaries, and not any culinary fire, should destroy the university; whether the publick be not concerned, that he, that speaks, speaks as the oracles of God?

IX. Whether it be an excuse for the principal heads of houses, that their statutes were bad, since they never observed them?

X. Whether, upon enquiry, it would not be found disputable, committee-men, sequestrators, or the Oxford visitors? And, whether the prejudice, which the publick hath received by the last, be not, without dispute, greater than what hath sprung from the former?

XI. Whether the doctors in divinity may not take place of knights as well as esquires, since their wives may take place of the ladies?

XII. Whether the doctors are not concerned to uphold the formalities of caps, gowns, and hoods, because there is nothing else to difference them from common fools?

XIII. Whether the present parliament be not obliged to uphold the grandeur of the doctors, since it was resolved by them that an esquire, and son to one of the most eminent persons now in parliament, and council of state, ought not, in a cloke, occasionally to sit in the church, no, not at the lower end of those seats, in which they, and each paultry acquaintance of theirs, do sit?

XIV. Whether they pull down the universities who ruin learning, or they who ruin college rules?

XV. Whether the canons of Christ-church have any thing to do, but to get children and money? Whether they are not descendants from the papistical regulars, and have twice escaped a reformation? Whether they were not so called, as other things are, by way of contrariety, as not being regular, since they rule, without fundamental statutes, without regard to custom or conscience?

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* The case is stated and sold by Andrew Crook, in Paul's Church-yard.

XVI. Whether the canons of Christ-church ought not to eat the bread of affliction, and drink the water of affliction, since they refuse to eat the same bread, and drink the same drink, with the rest of the college, which, indeed, is so bad, as never was worse eaten or drunk, but by the same canons before they came to be canons?

XVII. Whether king Charles did not better serve himself and the publick, by putting in two professors to be canons of Christ-church, than the parliament did themselves, and the publick, by putting in eight pretenders? Whether any man can tell when the nation, or they themselves, will render their acknowledgments for the promotion of them; or why the two king's-professors are not of the number of the canons, since they own more right, and not more malignancy?

XVIII. Whether the canons, having given O. P. their organs out of their cathedral, may not give the parliament their cathedral-plate and furniture (if any of it be yet undivided) since they will not give them a good word?

XIX. Whether Dr. Langley, when he took from the students of Christ-church a part of their small bowling-green, to build himself a coach-house; and, from the alms-men a part of their ground to enlarge his private garden, without either of their consents, asked or obtained; did well to justify himself by that scripture, "From him that hath not shall be taken even that which he hath?"

XX. Why did Canon Poynter pray for O. P. after he was dead, and yet never blessed God for the good old cause being revived?

XXI. Whether Canon Upton, having been created batchelor, master, and canon, and being never made for a scholar, need not to fear an annihilation?

XXII. Whether, since Canon Upton's wife bargained with her husband that he preach but once a quarter, it would not be worth the consideration of the parliament, to order that he have no occasion to preach so often?

XXIII. Whether the wives, children, and coach-horses of the canons of Christ-church are not to be taken into their number for to make up any proportion betwixt eight-thousand pounds per annum, for eight useless, and, most of them too, ignorant canons, and two-thousand pounds for one-hundred students, &c.?

XXIV. Whether the moral philosophy reader be not a fit tutor to Col. Philip Jones's sons? And whether the tutor to Col. Philip Jones's sons be fit to be moral philosophy reader?

XXV. Whether the boy, Dr. Staughton, of Exon college, did well to lie in his scarlet-gown that night he was made doctor, since his degree was a thing he ought not to have dreamed of?

THE OPINION OF

Mr. PERKINS, and Mr. BOLTON, and Others,

Concerning the Sport of

COCK-FIGHTING:

Published formerly in their Works, and now set forth to shew, that it is not a Recreation meet for Christians, though so commonly used by those who own that Name.

By EDMUND ELLIS, Master of Arts,

And some time Fellow of Baliol College in Oxford.

2 Sam. vi. 22.—" I will yet be more vile than thus."

Oxford: Printed by A. L. in the year 1660. Quarto, containing twenty pages.

To my most dearly beloved and honoured Friends, Edmund Fortescue, of Fallapit in Devonshire, Esq; and Mr. Dennis Grenvile, younger Son of Sir Bevill Grenvile, Knight.

Sirs,

I PRESENT you these papers, chiefly for these two reasons: first, because I know you are sincerely of the same opinion, which, by them, I manifest to the world, that I am of, and therefore they must needs be acceptable unto you. Secondly, because you understand me aright in those actions, which the generality of other men, good and bad, who have occasion to take notice of them, esteem as monstrous and improper for me, not rightly apprehending their symmetry and proportion to such principles, as they themselves must necessarily acknowledge to be good for me to act by; and, whilst there is any sin to be discerned in me (which, alas! must needs be, as long as I continue in this earthly tabernacle) it cannot be otherwise, by reason of the confused notions, men commonly have, of such actions as proceed from a soul differently inclined, to wit, by the strength it retains of the old nature, and by what it hath received of the new. That stream of grace, which flows continually through the whole course of the lives and conversations of those who are born again, mixing itself with the ocean, as it were, of so many sins and infirmities, and civil actions, is no more to be discerned by the generality, than a stream of fresh in salt waters; it is the taste, not the sight, the knowledge of the heart, not of the brain, that apprehends the integrity of any man's actions; neither do I any more believe, that all good men thoroughly apprehend those actions, which sometimes they are pleased to censure, than that any man, who has, as they say, a judicious palate, should be able to distinguish wines, or any other liquors, when he does but see them.

My dear friends, farewell, and pray earnestly, that my faith may not fail me; for, methinks, coming out into the sea of the world upon this occasion, my conscience commanding me, I am in the case, that Peter was in, Matthew xiv. 29, when he walked on the water to go to Jesus, as soon as he said, Come.

To my honoured Friend, Mr. Edmund Ellis.

My dearest Friend,

Since you have given me notice of this your noble design, I think myself obliged to congratulate you in it, and to bless God for it, being so highly obliged unto you for those good instructions, and pious admonitions, which, from time to time, I have received from you; and, although I have not trod so exactly in those ways, which you have directed me to, yet it is my earnest prayer to God, that gentlemen would endeavour but as I have done; which if they did, surely such vain sports and bloody recreations, which you treat of, would no longer be pleasing to them. I know (to my grief I speak it) that the generality of gentlemen are no more capable to apprehend your discourses, than a man, the pores of his head being stopped by the extremity of cold, is able to distinguish betwixt ill and wholesome scents. It has been an experiment, tried through all ages since the creation, that the workers of iniquity hate light; that they cannot endure to be told of any sin, which they indulge unto themselves. The more ingenious the men be (unless truly christian, unless they live according to Christ's gospel, and would rather lose an eye, their right hand, nay, their lives, than wittingly and willingly commit the least sin) the more, you must expect, they will rail at and revile you: Whatever they pretend to your face, they would cut your throat with all their hearts; they play the wolf in the sheep's cloathing, hide the vulture's heart under the dove's breast. What can you expect from such men, but scoffs, &c.? Who in corners (not in publick, for fear that small rod of justice, which is yet left, might make them smart) laugh at God, and despise what they themselves preach: A wonder, that God inflicts not some immediate punishment on such notorious offenders, who deride the wisdom of the mystery of the Blessed Trinity. But, alas! what will become of such men? who do not only neglect, but despise so great salvation. Though God's revenging hand, which is able to grind them to powder, does forbear them for some small season, yet they shall surely one day most sadly feel it, when coals of fire and brimstone, and an horrible tempest, shall be showered down on their heads by the revenging hand of an angry God.

How many thousands of gentlemen are there in this nation, who far more dread the thoughts of a year's imprisonment, being by that to be deprived of their jolly companions, than that sad divorce betwixt the soul and body. Their eyes are so dim, by their long persistence in the ways of darkness, that they cannot see the paths of light; and, rather than they will pain themselves to pluck off that film, which darkens their sight, they will perish for ever: They will rather be God's enemies, so they gain a good reputation in the world, being called prudent, discreet, &c. (though that is but a mistake) than be his faithful stewards, and be backbitten and railed on by the ignorant of these our days. Did but men practise, as they say they believe, we should not see so great debaucheries, as now there are; they had rather be in their studies, with tears in their eyes, and books in their hands, than at the alehouse, tossing off cups, and delighting to see the innocent blood of poor creatures. This your discourse will try the pureness of men's hearts, as fire gold. You must expect, that the mouths of those, who continually bark at you, being already open, will not close without some noise; they will try their utmost to affright you from undertaking such noble designs, whereby you do eminently serve God, and satisfy the desires of your brethren. Well, my dear friend, go on and prosper in all your endeavours, and be sure, that, though men do strive to cast aspersions on your candid name, yet, in their hearts, they fear and reverence you. They are afraid to own that in publick before men, which, in private chambers, they twattle before boys. I say, my friend, let them be what they will, they are beneath your notice, since, by such opprobrious speeches, they cease from being christians; they cannot apprehend terrestrial friendship, how then can they heavenly? It is a general observation, that several men of one profession always discommend and undervalue one the other's work; and truly this is the same case with you: You and others are all baptised in Christ's name, and, since you own what there you vowed to do, in which they are so defective, they envy and revile you, they hate to see themselves out-done by one of their own calling: Therefore you must expect, that all formal christians, who will not go to heaven, unless they might have the world for their companion on their journey; 'who have a form of godliness, but deny the power thereof; who mind earthly things; who are lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God; who delight in the creature more than the Creator:' I say, you may be sure, that the greatest part of those, who call themselves christians, being ignorant of the spirit and life of religion, having religion only in their fancy, and thinking the very acts of it but wild chimeras, make it an *ens rationis*, or an empty notion, will despise and undervalue your writings. But, blessed be that God, who has and will uphold you against the devilish oppositions of malicious men; who has made that gall, which has been cast in your teeth, to prove sweeter than honey in your belly.

I could say more, did I not fear that I have already tired you. I can assure you, that no man can have a more perfect friendship for any one, than I have for you. You know, that I am,

My dearest friend, your most affectionate,

March 20, —59. EDMUND FORTESCUE.

THOUGH it be my opinion, that the sport of cock-fighting is absolutely sinful, yet I would not have thee think, as the vulgar will be ready to say, that I esteem as unregenerate all those who are of a contrary judgment: I do not so little consider that of the apostle, "in many things we offend all:" And certainly, the immediate cause of our offences, the perversness of the will, always proceeds from the understanding, or judgment perverted, in apprehending any thing the wrong way, by which it is inclined to accept, or refuse the object, or thing proposed: But, though I do not conceive that the ignorance of the impiety of this sport is altogether inconsistent with a regenerate state, or the habit of true godliness, in some degree, yet I am not afraid to make known to the world, that I cannot imagine how any man, whilst he is actually like unto God, the Father of Mercies, can possibly delight and recreate himself, in seeing his fellow-creatures (which are infinitely less inferior to us, than we to our, and their Creator) so subtle and active to wound and destroy each other. Having this opinion of the sport of cock-fights, and seeing it so frequently used in the country where I live, no man, that I can hear of, opposing it as absolutely sinful, I could not retain the confidence I have, that I am, indeed, a faithful servant of the great God in the gospel of his Son, and a true lover of the souls of men, if I should not venture to oppose it myself; though I am not ignorant, that, endeavouring to destroy this common opinion, that this sport is not meet for christians, I must necessarily expect to be counted a foolhardy and imprudent fellow. Methinks I hear many men saying unto me, appearing in publick upon this occasion, as Eliab, 1 Sam. xvii. 28, said to his brother David, "I know thy pride, and the naughtiness of thine heart." This, indeed, would somewhat disturb me, if I did not consider, that omniscience is one of the attributes of the God whom I serve.

Thinking with myself, what means I should use to effect this design, to convince the world, that the temper and disposition of any man's soul, whilst he actually delights in such a sport, must necessarily be offensive to God; at last I considered, though it be my opinion, that for any man, who has attained to a competent degree of the art of expression, to publish those notions which he has gathered from his own experience of such christian truths, as are, in some sort, generally believed, in his own words, is a work most acceptable to the God of truth; for, certainly, those notions of spiritual things which fix themselves, and reside in the head only of the generality of those who are called christians, are usually guided unto the heart by such expressions of the same things, as come from the hearts of others: Yet, I say, at last I considered that truths of this nature, which are like to find so much opposition, will hardly be received by any, who now oppose them, unless they be brought in, as it were, with drum and trumpet; I mean, by the hands of some famous and excellent writers; and therefore I would not, at present, write of this subject, any more than only to speak my opinion; but have rather chosen to shew the world, what some eminent divines have written of it, which I conceive was never yet read and considered by any of those who delight in such sports, and profess to walk as Christ walked.

And here, in the name of a christian, I call to my aid (in endeavouring to evince this, that such a temper, as may actually consist with a delight in such sports, must needs be unchristian) all those who are of the same opinion, and, withal, are conscious to themselves, that God has given them an art of persuasion, an ability of conveying their own thoughts into the breasts of others, not only of those who are simply void of them, but of those also who oppugn and resist them: Such men I entreat upon all occasions, to manifest their dislike of such sports, and their reasons for it.

If these papers shall chance to be seen by the worthy and renowned author of the Whole Duty of Man, I shall humbly intreat him, as one who serves with him under Christ, the Captain of our salvation, to afford me some aid in this combate with the world, if he be of the same judgment, as, by his works, I presume he is. I doubt not, but the small thoughts and fancies, which those, who delight in this sport, are apt to conceive in favour of it, which arise in their minds, like mists and dark vapours, to obscure the reason of any thing they can ordinarily hear spoken against it, would suddenly vanish, like a morning cloud, when the sun appears, if it should be opposed by so noble a person; whose style, like a diamond, is bright and solid; whose excellent rhetorick, and beauty of expression, does not, like weaker beauty, consist chiefly in colour and complexion (in words, which are so apt to take, as they say) but in symmetry and exact proportion. And I hope, the amiable subject of his beauteous expressions will, in time, by the help of God's spirit, draw into itself the love of many, who, as yet, are lovers of the world. If the thoughts I have expressed of this sport be not suitable to his, I desire to be better informed by him: For, I must profess, at present, it scandals me extremely to see christians, those who profess to have their bosoms a nest for the heavenly dove, to be companions of the Lamb of God, to recreate themselves in blood, though it be of the meanest creatures; and to me no man's reason seems more strong, or expression more clear, than what I find in the writings of this excellent person: So that, whatever he shall be pleased to write on this subject, it will either make me see myself in an error, or lead me on further in the way of truth; if my opinion be true indeed, which, as yet, I have no reason to doubt, but that so many speak against it.

All that I have to say farther is this, that, if I did not as much despise the shame, as I am thought to desire the praise of the world, I would rather lose the hand I write with, than employ my pen upon such an occasion. But I fear not the terms of fool, or madman: It was said of my Saviour, "He hath a devil." My Lord was reviled, shall I be applauded? What greater comfort can a christian have, than in thinking how like he is to the Lord of Glory, not only in what he did, but even also in what he suffered.

Of Cock-Fights, and such like Sports.

‘The baiting of the bear, and cock-fights, are no meet recreations. The baiting of the bull hath its use, and therefore it is commanded by civil authority, and so have not these: And the antipathy, and cruelty, which one beast sheweth to another, is the fruit of our rebellion against God, and should rather move us to mourn, than to rejoice.’ These are the words of the most learned and godly Mr. Perkins, in that famous treatise of the Cases of Conscience, printed in quarto, A. D. —32, p. 346.

That man of God, Mr. Bolton, was of the same mind with Mr. Perkins, concerning such sports: ‘Consider,’ says he (in his excellent treatise, intituled, General Directions for a comfortable Walking with God, p. 156) ‘that rule which divines give about recreations: We must not make God's judgments and punishments, either upon man or beast, the matter and object of them. Now, the best divines hold, that enmity amongst themselves was a fruit of our rebellion against God, and more general judgment inflicted upon the creature after the fall. Which misery coming upon them by our means, should rather break our hearts, and make them bleed, than minister matter of glorying in our shame, and vexing those very vexations which our impiety hath put upon them. Alas, sinful man! what an heart hast thou, that canst take delight in the cruel tormenting of a dumb creature? Is it not too much for thee to behold, with dry eyes, that which only thy sin hath impressed upon it, but that thou must barbarously also press its oppressions, and make thyself merry with the bleeding miseries of that poor harmless thing, which in its kind is much more, and far better serviceable to the Creator than thyself? Yet I deny not, but that there may be another lawful use of this antipathy, for the destroying of hurtful, and the enjoying of useful creatures; so that it be without any taint or aspersion of cruelty on our parts, or needless tormenting of the silly beasts.’

Mr. Dod, and Mr. Cleaver (scorned by none but those whose revilings are praises) in their exposition of these words of Solomon, Prov. xii. 10, “A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast,” having spoken against the hard usage of labouring beasts, as horses, &c. conclude thus: ‘And yet, in another sort, more extremity than this is used against other sorts of creatures, and that is, when men make a sport of making them miserable; when it is a pleasure to put them to pain; when it is a pass-time to behold their torment and tearing. This proceedeth not of a tender heart; this is not the work of righteousness; this delight will leave no comfort behind it. Have our sins in Adam brought such calamities upon them, and shall we add unto them by cruelty in our own persons? Have our corruptions been a cause of that

'fierceness that is in many of them óne against another, and shall
'we solace ourselves in seeing them execute it?'

What holy Chrysostome would have said of this sport, if he had had an occasion to treat of it, we may easily gather from these words in his twenty-ninth Homily on the Epistle to the Romans: *Σφόδρα εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἁγίων ψυχαὶ ἥμεροι, ϗ φιλάνθρωποι, ϗ περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους, ϗ περὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους. Καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀλόγων αὐτῶν ταύτην ἐκτείνουσι τὸν ἡμερότητα; διὰ τοῦτο ϗ σοφός τις ἔλεγε· Δίκαιος οἰκτείρει ψυχὰς κτηνῶν αὐτοῦ.*

The souls of those, that are truly pious, are exceeding mild and gentle, not only towards relations, but strangers also. And this lenity, or softness of heart, they extend even to irrational creatures. Therefore the wise man saith, "A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast," Prov. xii. 10.

To all those who affect this Sport.

Sirs,

Having shewn you what these men thought of the sport you affect, I shall intreat you, if you believe sin to be a matter of eternal concernment, to consider seriously what here you have read. If you are not convinced at present, that these learned and godly men were in the right, yet I doubt not but you will be in time, if you more fully consider the matter without prejudice: At least, if you are regenerate persons: For, I conceive, by the instinct of the new creature, a man may often perceive that to be a sin, whose sinfulness is not capable of any express, or verbal, demonstration, viz. apprehending it so to be merely through a sense of the antipathy it has to that in him, which he knows is born of God, whether or no this be but a fanatick notion; and whether or no the printing of these papers, and such like actions of mine, be indeed so foolish, and imprudent, as the world judges them to be, I will appeal only for my own satisfaction to the only wise God. Yet I shall not deny to render an account of any of my actions, in which I do, and must usually thwart the example of the generality of men, good and bad, to any man, whose authority obliges him, in any respect, to demand it of me, as my lawful superior, or conscience, as my fellow christian.

PETER'S PATTERN:

OR,

THE PERFECT PATH TO WORLDLY HAPPINESS;

As it was delivered in a Funeral Sermon, preached at the Interment of
Mr. HUGH PETERS, lately deceased.

By I. C. Translator of Pineda upon Job, and one of the Triers.

Gusman, lib. I. cap. ii. vers. 4.
Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas.

London: Printed in the year 1659. Quarto, containing fourteen pages.

After they had sung the two first Staves of the tenth Hymn of Larner's twelve Songs of Sion, to the Tune of, The Knave of Clubs, the Parson proceeded in his Text as followeth:

Gusman, lib. II. chap. iij. verse 26. the latter Part of the Words.
Let us, while we live, make use of our time, for a man's life is ended in a day.

BELOVED,

THE scope of this reverend divine is, in these words, to hold forth unto us the excellency of human wit and policy in this self-seeking and deceitful world. And indeed I hope I have not made a wrong choice of my text, not knowing any one whereon I could better ground the praises of our departed brother here before us; you all knowing how great a disciple of our Author he was, being indeed the very pattern and exemplar of his godly and religious life. But now, to explain the words aright, we shall deal with them as joiners do with court cupboards, and round tables, first pull them asunder, and then put them together again: I use this comparison, that you may know me to be a man of trade, that is to say, one that trades in the word, or, if you will have it otherwise, a holder-forth, according to the last and most sanctified Institution. First, then, you have an exhortation in these words, *Let us;* secondly, the time given us to make use thereof, *while we live*; thirdly, the thing to which we are exhorted, that is, *to make use of our time*; and lastly, the supreme reason of this exhortation, *for a man's life is ended in a day. Let us, while we live, make use of our time, for a man's life is ended in a day.* First, then, of the first, that is to say, of the words, *Let us:* But here you must give me leave to excuse the great abuses that have been put upon these two poor innocent monosyllables. I confess they have been crummed thicker than Habakkuk's brown loaf into the porridge of the Cavaliers, commonly called the Common-Prayer Book, when they cry, *Let us pray, Let us kneel;* but believe it, my beloved, I have now rebaptized them, and washed them cleaner from that profanation, than ever tripes were scowred from their filth by the nicest huswife in Field-lane. Now, being thus purified, you will find *Let us* to signify sometimes as much as, "Hinder us not," Quixot the 12th verse 8. "Hinder me not, fair Dulcina, from the enjoyment of your sweet company;" sometimes as much as to say, "suffer us;" saith the Reverend Buscon, chap. vii. verse 5, to his master in great affliction, "suffer us not to be starved to death," that is, "let us not be starved," &c. Yet it is not meant here, as in those places, by way of petition, but is a kind of rousing up of the spirits to a certain action, as when the carmen would heave a great load into their carts, they exhort one another, by crying *hey boys;* or as, when the coachman would have his horses to go faster than ordinary, he encourages them by saying, *stir up*, in which sense our learned Gusman uses this expression, *Let us*, in this place, as it were a word of incitement, or stirring us up to any undertaking. Some, when they use these words in this signification, do clap one another on the back, which adds a greater emphasis to them. But he goes on, *Let us*, saith he, *while we live.* And here you are to understand two things, what is meant by *we*, and, secondly, what is meant by the words in general, *while we live.* Note then, that *we* is a particle of distinction, which shews you that there is another sort of men to whom our dear Gusman doth deny the precious comforts held forth in this verse; for, my beloved, I would not have you think, that, when he spoke this, he had pigs in his belly, as Calvin, in his comment upon this place, doth erroneously conjecture. By *we* then is meant the godly, such as I and you are, whom the Lord hath chosen to the enjoyments of this world. The other sort of men here implied are all those who profess to be our enemies, men that would cut off our ears with the paring-shovels of their malice, and whip our backs with the scourges of their fury; for, did not the word intimate this distinction, our deceased brother had not used so many pious and painful endeavours to advance some men, and destroy others, that is, to advance his own godly party, and destroy his wicked foes. *Let us*, saith he, *while we live*, that is, while we are in power, while we live in authority, or be in favour with those that govern, whether it be a single person or a commonwealth; or, if you will have it otherwise, while we are in a thriving condition, while men think us godly and faithful, and consequently trust us with preferments or profit: I say, when the Lord shall put such opportunities and abilities into our hands, then, my brethren, *Let us make use of our time;* let us take hold of them with both hands, and hold them as fast as a mastiff holds a sow by the ear; *Let us make use of our time*, that is, let us use all endeavours, ways, plots, means, manners, tricks, and policies, whether lawful or unlawful, to raise and advance our own ends, whether they be only honourable, or profitable, or both. And when we have attained that which we seek, let us use the same inventions, that the ungodly man may not gain them from us, and thence take occasion to triumph over us. The fathers of the order of Industry, at the council held at Biscar in the year 1590, made a decree, that every one should keep his own, and get what he could from another. I speak this, that I may not leave you altogether without authority in the explanation of my text, but of this more anon. We shall now proceed to the reason of the words, *for a man's life is ended in a day*; as much as to say, the life of man is very short; for, whereas it was formerly above an ell and a nail long, it is now no longer than a span. How vast a while did Methuselah live to enjoy the pains and labours of his youth? But no sooner had our dear brother Mr. Peters got an estate, a little chariot, and an *Onesimus* or two to wait on him, thinking to comfort himself with the blessings of the creature, but he was snatched away from us, even as a boy snatches a pippin out of an apple-woman's basket. Some, in regard of the shortness thereof, have compared the life of man unto a lilly; but I am clearly of opinion, that it was a mistake; seeing that of that flower is made a precious oil that prolongeth the days of man by curing festered wounds, and broken pates. Others have likened it unto a rose, but with as little reason; for we know that of the rose is made that excellent conserve which is good against the cough of the lungs, one of the greatest enemies to life; I therefore, rather agreeing herein with that great light of the Spanish church Lazarillo de Tornes, shall compare our beloved brother unto marigold, and his ending in a day unto the fading thereof. For as the flowers of a marigold swimming on the top of a mess of porridge, which is the food of the body, is a great ornament thereunto, so, my beloved, was he a great ornament to our religion, which is the food of the soul; and even as that closes up at the setting of the sun, so did he end in a day, even in that day that the sun of our region was forced to withdraw himself from Whitehall. Thus much for the exposition. I shall now proceed to the doctrine that creeps out of my text, as a fox creeps out of his hole: That it is the duty of every professor, seeing that he hath but a short while to stay in this world, to make the best use of his time; the particulars of which doctrine I shall labour to make good unto you by reason and example. First, then, that there is a duty that lies upon every professor, we find evident by this, that there is in all men not only a labouring and a panting, but also a tye upon them to look after self-preservation, for, if a child of God be in want, and woeful necessity, as many times they are, the law of nature doth oblige them to seek after maintenance, and not to destroy themselves and their family. Saith Gusman in his second book, c. 3. v. 15, "Poverty is daily death;" so that he, who avoids not poverty, seeks a daily death, and is consequently a daily murtherer of himself; at least he intends it: Now, an intention to sin, without repentance, is a sin as great as the act itself. This it was that urged the holy Gusman to undertake those many atchievements which he performed; for saith he in another place, book the first, c. 8. v. 12, "I thought it not my duty to live in idleness;" Therefore, when necessity, the best school-mistress of the godly, that maketh magpies to speak, and spaniels to fetch and carry, had made him consider his duty, he was not slack in the exercise thereof; so that, betaking himself to the religious calling of a thief, he stole the cook's silver goblet, the grocer's royals, and cousened the cardinal of his barrel of conserves. Moreover, my beloved, this duty of self-preservation caused our dear sister Agatha, as you may read in the first book of pious Francion, not only to bethink herself, but to bestir her stumps also: Finding herself therefore to be of a well-shaped body, and of comely features, and lovely in the eyes of men, she became an harlot, and was unto the brethren a great comfort in the frail distresses of human nature; whereby she was stored with wealth, and increased in worldly enjoyments. This duty it is that obligeth butchers to preach, and coblers to pray; that teaches them to make profession of religion, and then causeth them to take on them the gainful function of the ministry; whereby they may be the better enabled, after the sweet consolations of boiled beef and bag-pudding, to sing psalms, and rejoice in their families. All these things our deceased brother knew full well, which made him persist in the performance of this duty until the end. He soon found the sweet gain of preaching, and made such a dextrous use of it, that he was beloved of his rulers, and died with the blessing of Job; for I may say of our dear brother, as the text saith of him, that the Lord blessed his latter end more than his beginning. The Lord reward that blessed man who first invented this profitable and advantageous science. Thus much for the first part of our doctrine, that there is a duty lying upon every professor. Now, my beloved, I shall come to tell you what that duty is: 'Tis true the words of my text are so plain, that you may in a manner pick it out of the words, with as much ease as you can pick out the marrow of a leg of mutton bone with a skewer, or the wrong end of a spoon; for, say they, *Let us, while we live, make use of our time, seeing the life of man is ended in a day.* So that here you see what duty that is, that you ought to make use of your time; but, perhaps, you do not know what it is to make use of your time, which is the next thing I shall inform you. Know ye then, my brethren, there are swarms of such men as make profession of religion, who are not all of one trade or occupation; but some follow one thing, some another, according to their several gifts. For some are stitchers of cloth, some are boddice-makers, some are translators, some are soldiers, and fight the battles of the Lord; some are brokers; some are hewers of wood, that is to say, carpenters; some are drawers of water, that is, victuallers and innkeepers; some are those that gape for state employments; and some, though I deny not that any of these may take the ministry upon them in time, are preachers of the word, as soon as ever they have done playing at trap. Now, that every one of these professions may profit in their several vocations, there are required these nine gifts:

The gift of convenient boldness
The gift of nonsense,

The gift of leasing,
The gift of accusing and informing,
The gift of ignorance,
The gift of cousening,
The gift of thieving,
The gift of covetousness,
And the gift of hypocrisy:

I have placed the gift of convenient boldness in the van, and the gift of hypocrisy in the rear, knowing, that a professor cannot well go on upon any enterprise without the one, nor well come off without the other. Now, though a professor ought always to have an inward working of these gifts, yet the perfection of them is required in some sorts of professors more than in others: For example, the gifts of impudence, lying, and cousening, do more properly belong unto those who have trades and occupations of selling and buying. The gifts of ignorance, lying, impudence, informing, cousening, and hypocrisy belong unto such as seek preferment, whether civil or military; but all of them together are required to make up a minister of the word. I shall not here stand to tell you in particular how every one of these callings ought, according to their several gifts, to make use of their time; but in general, as a foot-boy skippeth over kennels, skip over those instructions which concern the professors that are of my own livery. First, therefore, that a preaching professor may make use of his time, it is required, that he should be stored with impudence, even as a woodmonger's wharf is stored with faggots and sea-coal. The uses of it are these two, first, to encourage you to the most desperate enterprises; and secondly, to make you scorn the reproaches of those that reprove you: As for example, my beloved, if you see one of your enemies seated in a warm living, and that your heart pant and thirst after the same, you ought then to put on your night-cap of devotion, and your garment of hypocrisy, and go unto your superiors and say, yonder is a man who is not of the congregation of professors, who is planted in a rich living; he is a scandalous and disaffected person, and I am more worthy than he, pray put me into his place. If men therefore rebuke you, and call you accuser and devil, then ought you to make use of your gift of impudence, and laugh at them all. Thus did holy Nye throw out unrighteous Juxon out of his parsonage of Fulham: Thus our brother Marshall became possessed of his fat living in the land of Essex. This imboldened our departed brother to hold forth in the pulpit of Whitehall, where so many learned, as the heathen call them, had been before him. What cared they for the reproaches of men, for their hearts were seared with the hot iron of impudence, finding themselves at ease and filled with joy? This likewise imboldened the poor Spaniard, as we find in the book of our dear Gusman, book 1. c. 7. first to beg money, and then, without bidding, sit down cheek-by-jowl, with the ambassador; for, saith he, in the last verse, he was carried away with bravadoes, and an impudent behaviour.

The next virtue, we are to make use of, is the gift of nonsense: For, perhaps, thou mayest not be a scholar, nor one of the number of the learned, and it may concern thee to talk two hours together; thou oughtest therefore to be well furnished with nonsense, that thou mayest be inabled to go through with thy work; to which purpose often repetitions, and telling of tales, do very much conduce; as when our departed brother told the story of his being in heaven and hell, and the tale of puss in her majesty.

The next gift is that of lying, which may be very profitable to thee, and whereof thou mayest make a very great advantage; for, if thou art bid to preach for the benefit of thy rulers, if then thou art furnished with soul-cousening doctrine; if then thou hast the right art of lying and wheedling the people, by telling them, that the cause thou speakest of is the only true cause, and that God will certainly own them in their obedience to it, then there will arise unto thee a very great emolument. With these arts our deceased brother furnished the parliament with basons, rings, and bodkins. Thus he, by telling them that Ireland was a place that flowed with milk and honey, and where broad-cloath of twelve shillings a yard grew upon the trees, inticed the soldiers over against the publick enemy. Thus we read in the fore-mentioned chapter of Gusman, how the same Spaniard, by relating the nobleness of his family, though he were but a cobler's son in Cordova, and by boasting of several great actions, which he never did, got of the said ambassador both money and his dinner. We find also Mr. Sterry practising this gift, when to ingratiate himself with his new master, our late protector, he assured him, that his father was sitting at the right hand of God, when most divines do affirm the contrary.

The next thing, requisite for a man that will make you but use of his time, is the gift of accusing and slandering: Knowest thou not, O man, that slanders are like the defilement of printers ink, easily laid on, but hard to rub off? If then thou seekest to work any one into disfavour with his superiors, that thou mayest obtain thy desired end, make thy first shot at him with the pot-guns of slander; for the disgrace, thou throwest upon him, throws him out, and tosses thee into the haven of thy wishes. Thus our deceased brother never left accusing unsanctified Laud, till his head had satisfied his wrath; and the benevolences, which the professors bestowed on him out of his worldly profits, had appeased the hunger of his almost famished purse: Thus the brethren likewise accused the Lord Craven, being of the race of Ishmael, and got his estate.

Thy next gift is ignorance; for thou must know that there are few wise men in authority. Thinkest thou then, O foolish Galatian, that any man will advance such a one as is more cunning than himself? No, thou must at least pretend ignorance; and if, after such advancement, thou dost grow wiser than thy brethren, then, I say, make use of thy time, saith blessed Machiavel in his book of the Right Path to Preferment, "Let every man counterfeit that humour which he finds most advantageous to his designs." Therefore neither our deceased brother, nor any of his faithful brethren the triers, would advance those whom the heathen called the grave, learned, and wise, but the meanest of the people, that were of the simplest and weakest capacities. There came a learned man, and one of the weak brethren, and contended for a place; saith our deceased brother to him that was learned, "What is faith?" Who answered him discreetly, according to the learning of the schools. Then he demanded the same question of the other, who replied, "That faith was a sweet lullaby in the lap of Jesus Christ:" At which words our deceased brother, lifting up his hands to heaven, cried, "Blessed be the Lord, who hath revealed these things unto the simple;" friend, thou, according to thy deserts, shalt have the living.

The next thing important is the gift of cousening: for you know, my beloved, the common people are a simple sort of creatures, who must be deluded into their own good: Now their good is the good and safety of their governors: Do we not deceive children whom we would give physick unto, by anointing the brim of the cup with honey? So do we sweeten the bitter purges, which are the people's taxes and impositions, with the delicate allurements of liberty and religion. So our late Reverend Lord Oliver, of blessed memory, for whom our dear brother, the Lord reward his soul, hath pimped full often, as you may read in our dear sister Brisco's book of Divine Truth; so I say he, by cousening every body that he dealt with, by the right management, or the seasonable taking and breaking of his oaths and protestations, became a monarch. Thus did the devout Lazarillo cousen the priest his master of his bread: I shall give you his own words, L. I. c. 3. v. 11. I pray, my beloved, turn to the place and mark it, for it is a very precious text: Saith he, "as I was musing how to get victuals, and feeding upon the sight of the chest wherein my master's bread was locked, there came a tinker to the door with a bunch of keys, who seemed to me to be an angel in disguise; said I to him, 'have you a key that will open this chest?' he assayed, and opened it, by which means I made many a fair loaf invisible, that my master never knew of."

Another thing, mainly conducing to him that would make use of his time, is the gift of covetousness. Therefore, saith the text, of that blind hermit who was Lazarillo's master, that, for all his gains, there was never a man so wretched a niggard. The reason thereof is, that there may come changes, and that the professors may be forced to fly; it behoves them therefore, while they may, to make use of their time, that is, to hoard up and save against the day of adversity. You have the examples of most professors for it, whose doors we find continually shut, and never opening to the least expence of a crust, though a poor man should beg his heart out. This makes us not to be content with our livings, but to set up lectures and private congregations, which bringeth in unspeakable profit: Not content with this, some of our brethren sitting in the triers chair, which is the seat of authority, have privately taken to themselves the rewards of well-doing, loth to spoil the charity of men, by receiving tankards of silver, rundlets of sack, and sometimes ready money; the Lord of his mercy make them thankful. Our deceased brother was a mighty admirer of canes with silver heads, and, making his admiration known, he profited exceedingly.

The last important gift is the gift of hypocrisy. The reason hereof is, that he, who will compass a design, must go the best way he can to do it. Now he, that cannot get his ends by force, must seek to attain them by cunning; but it is found, that, in these days, there is no cunning like that of seeming godly, as Mr. Sedgewick hath well observed, in his book of Spiritual Experiences; therefore is this gift very necessary: For which cause saith Tiberius, the best of christian emperors, that he, who knows not to dissemble, knows not to rule; and with him accords our brother Spurstow, in his book of 'The Privileges of the Saints.' All the world knows how conducing it was, both to our deceased brother, and his dear Master, and what advantages they got thereby; I shall not, therefore, insist any more upon further examples.

Having thus made out, by reason and example, that it is the duty of every professor, while he lives in this world, to make use of his time, and the means and ways how to do it, I shall now proceed to the application. Is it so then, that every professor ought to make use of his time? Then let this serve for an use of exhortation, to exhort every one of you to make the best use of your time; that is to say, get money, get estates, get friends at court, and labour to enjoy the promises; the fat of the land, my beloved, is your fee-simple, therefore let not Canaan be taken from you. If your rulers would have you worship them, and adore them, do so, beloved, for they are gods, and ye ought to do so: If they would have you preach false doctrine, and deceive the people, do so; it is their interest, and, if their's, your's also: Do not they feed you, and clothe you, and put you into fat livings? Be therefore obedient to them in all things. If they would have you procure, procure for them, as your deceased brother did before you, and went down unto his grave in peace. Aye but some will say, these things are unlawful. But hear what saith our dear brother Horace of sacred memory: *In vetitum nefas ruimus:* We ought to run into that, from which we are forbidden. To confirm this, I shall only give you two or three motives, and so conclude: First, from the inconveniencies following the neglect of your duty; and, secondly, from the conveniencies that hang upon it, even as pears hang upon a tree at the latter end of the summer. The inconveniencies, arising from the neglect of our duty, are poverty and necessity; therefore Gusman, being in great want, and finding that brickbats were too hard to feed on, and that the rafters of a house were not to be roasted, thought there was no better way to thrive, than by becoming a churchman; for, saith he, then shall I have something to eat, knowing well, that a *Dominus vobiscum* never tasted of hunger. Again, if thou wert married, and thy wife should see her neighbours go finer than she, and should complain, and thou not be able to supply her, would it not be a great trouble and vexation of spirit to thee to hear the clamours of thy dear consort? The next motive is the folly and indiscretion, that men would justly accuse you of, that, when it is in your power to make use of your time, you should be such wood-cocks-combs as to refuse it. The conveniencies arising are, first, the respect of men; secondly, the respect of women; and, thirdly, the certain gain and profit, which have always belonged unto us. For, if you make use of your time, men will respect you, worship you, and place you uppermost at their meetings, while you sit a-straddle upon their consciences, as Balaam rid upon his ass, without the least wincing, or contradiction at all. The women will feast you, and cram not only your bellies, but your purses; nor shall there be a good bit eaten at the table of their husbands, of which you shall not partake, to the great envy of the wicked. When you come down sweating from your pulpits, they will put you into warm beds, and rub over your weary limbs with their soft and tender hands; and, my beloved, these are precious, I say, precious enjoyments. Therefore I shall conclude, in the words of my text, *Let us, while we live, make use of our time*, taking for our pattern the life and manners of our deceased brother here before us; of whom, that I may make him a short encomium, I shall say thus much: That, from his youth, he followed the calling of the ministry; and, because then the wicked prevailed, and he was a sufferer, he went about, giving consolation to those that suffered for theft, and such-like criminal offences. Afterwards he travelled, and, as he found occasion, sowed his seed, sometimes in fruitful, sometimes in barren soils; and I may say this of him, that, while he lived, such was his zeal, he laid many a whore of Babylon on her back. When the faithful began to exalt their horns in this nation, he was a great fomenter of the quarrel, and gave occasion to the rest of his brethren to fish in troubled waters. To his prince he was a great assistance in all his designs, laying aside that notional impediment of a statesman, called Conscience, that he might be the more serviceable to his country. His charity was not unknown, he giving two notable examples thereof, in his relieving our two dear sisters, the butcher's wife and Mrs. Littleton, in both their afflictions. He died not without associates to accompany him to his last rest; for, as I am informed, on that night, that he departed, departed also a dear brother and sister of our's, the hangman and Moll Cutpurse. He was at first unwilling to die, knowing what comforts he left behind him; but, seeing there was no remedy, he leaned his head on the pillow, and peaceably yielded up the ghost. When Tyribazus, a noble Persian, was arrested, at the first he drew his sword and defended himself; but, when they charged him in the king's name, then he yielded himself willingly. So, when death arrested our dear brother, at first he started and struggled, as a man shrinks at his first putting his feet into the cold water; but, when he recollected his thoughts, and considered, that death was sent to him as a messenger to bring him to eternity, he embraced it; and he went to his long home as willingly, as a young bride goeth from her friends into the country with her new-married spouse. And thus, having tired your patience, before which time we never use to make an end, I shall conclude, still desiring you not to forget the example of our departed brother, and the words of my text: *Let us, while we live, make use of our time; for the life of man is ended in a day.*

DEMOCRITUS TURNED STATESMAN:

OR,

TWENTY QUERIES BETWEEN JEST AND EARNEST,

PROPOSED TO ALL TRUE-HEARTED ENGLISHMEN.

> Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam
> Vexatus toties?
> Si natura negat, facit indignatio———
> Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.

London: Printed in the year 1659. Quarto, containing eight pages.

I. WHETHER it be not convenient that the doctrine of Copernicus, who held that the world turns round, should be established by act of parliament, which our late changes, alterations, and revolutions, in part have verified; and that Tycho Brache, with the gang of the contrary opinion, be adjudged heterodoxal; and that from henceforth it be enacted, that what persons soever do profess, publish, or hold-forth any other tenent contrary thereunto, be adjudged Anathèma, Maranatha, and that publick thanks be given to Vincent Wing, for the great pains he took in the composure of that excellent piece called Harmonicon Cœleste?

II. Whereas it is humbly conceived fit by Machiavel and his pupils, that all the gangrened members of the body politick be cut off, lest putrefaction of the whole should ensue: It is therefore worthy the consideration, whether it be not expedient to employ an ambassador to the man in the moon, to procure habitations for our new courtiers (greater antipodes to the present government, than the old constant cavaliers?) And, for the better effecting thereof, it is deemed necessary, that the great clerk, Doctor Wilkins, warden of Wadham college in Oxon, in regard he hath the greatest knowledge in that new plantation, be desired, with all speed, to provide his winged chariot for their convenient carriage, and that he undertake the employment of a coachman to conduct them thither.

III. But if that design fail, whether it be not expedient to ship them all for Oceana, and that Mr. Harrington, our famous modern Columbus, discoverer of that floating *terra incognita*, be desired to be the pilot to conduct them thither; who for his pains deserves to be made Knight of the Sun, and that, in a grateful remembrance of his good service, it should always be called after his name, viz. Harringtonia?

IV. Whether it be not convenient, or rather necessary, to call all persons to an account, that have any way contributed their assistance for the establishing of the late deceased tyrant, as chief magistrate of this commonwealth? And whether any person or persons, who have any way abetted him, and endeavoured to confirm him in his tyranny, or acted under him in any places of trust, or power, or sat in any parliament, or convention, summoned by his writ, be fit to be intrusted with any office in the commonwealth, as it is now settled?

V. Whether it be not a great contempt of the law enacted by this parliament, that made it treason for any one person to aim at the sole government of this commonwealth, to suffer such person to go unpunished, in despight of the said law? And, whether it be not prudence to have such person brought to condign punishment, that hath transgressed that law, to terrify others for the future, from making the like attempt?

VI. Whether those apostate officers of the army, that were active, and grand instruments in suspending and disturbing this session of parliament, as well as secluding, imprisoning, and unjustly detracting several members of the same parliament before, that were eminent assertors of the people's liberties, against tyranny and oppression, conscientious propagators of the gospel, and establishers of the fundamental, municipal law of the land, and valiant champions of the true old cause: And, by their declaration of August 22, Anno Dom. 1653; as also by a Pasquil called, The true State of the Commonwealth, An. 1654, declared this session of parliament to be actually and finally dissolved from being any more a parliament, by an extraordinary providence, but also branded the members thereof ignominiously for a corrupt party, carrying on their own ends, to perpetuate themselves as supreme authority, never answering the ends which God and his people expected from them, exercising arbitrary power, and swallowing up the ancient liberties, and properties of the people, and to perpetuate their miseries, vexations, and oppressions, through the multitude of unnecessary laws, and ordinances, concerning their own particular interest, as they there at large remonstrated, be fit persons to have any employment, either military or civil, within this commonwealth?

VII. Whether a weather-cock, a king-fisher, a pliant willow, a piece of wax capable of all impressions, a time-server, a Persian still sacrificing to the rising sun, a lord president, under the late tyrant, of his high court of injustice; a man, that hath made justice quick-sighted, and redeemed it from blindness, be a fit keeper of the commonwealth's conscience?

VIII. Whether a hot-brain'd parrot, that multiplies words without matter; a new courtier, an apostate from his first principles and the good old cause, as appears by a speech he made in the last parliament in the behalf of R. C. be fit to be restored to his place of attorney-general for South-Wales?

IX. Whether pride and arrogancy, one who is of yesterday, and knows nothing; a clerk, or barrister of nine years standing; in his heart a quaker, yesterday a protectorian, this day a republican, to-morrow what you please; a favourer of levellism, and one that is not constant in any thing but inconstancy (save only in the opinion, that there are no witches, nor can deserve death, though an act of parliament be made to that end) be fit to be a judge in Wales?

X. Whether a debaucher of both the protectors, an oppressor of his country, a persecutor of the godly; one, that sacrilegiously robbed God's house, to build himself sumptuous palaces, and hath purchased five-thousand pounds per annum; who never fought, nor drew a sword in anger, be fit to sit in that venerable assembly of the commonwealth's representatives? or whether it be not fitter for him to be rejected, and his estate sold to pay just publick debts?

XI. Whether it be lawful for an ignorant scribbler to vent his pettish humour, malice, and reproaches against those persons, who, in the seat of judicature, have behaved themselves upright, just, and honest, and done the commonwealth singular good service, during both the late protectors governments?

XII. Whether levellers, dippers, independants, presbyterians, jesuits, donatists, manichees, pelagians, enthusiasts, schismaticks, hereticks, hypocrites, devils incarnate; yea, whatever the present power will have them to be, of any religion, of all religions, of none at all; the true orthodox and learned divines ordeals; knaves, fools, yea favourers of their brethren learned in the same faculties, and Telenus's house of correction in a mercurial new-found land, be fit persons to be intrusted with the power over the consciences of honest and religious men? And whether some of them, that are so well acquainted with the mysterious art of bribery and simony, and such Simon Magus, as, by the knack of registry, hath increased his estate, from a parsonage of one-hundred pounds per annum, to twelve-hundred pounds per annum land of inheritance, ought not, in justice and prudence, to be called to an account; and their estates, acquired by the ruins of the church and several poor ministers, to be sold, towards the payment of arrears due to the poor bankrupted common soldiers, that suffer hunger and want, while such enjoy the streams of Tagus in their coffers?

XIII. Whether it be not a matter of dangerous consequence to permit a crop-eared pettifogger, a reviler of the saints, a constant opposer of powers, an unwearied scribbler, a demoniack possessed with a legion of hellish fiends, the spirit of contradiction to publish a scandalous libel against the good old cause and the defenders thereof, in such a juncture of time, wherein most spirits are factious, and apt to take fire, like tinder, at the least spark of encouragement dropping from a fiery pen?

XIV. Whether a Plagiarius, a Demetrius, a jailer of our liberties, and one who, in the last assembly, was in a probability to suffer for his unparalleled crimes, be fit to be trusted with the command of the most important place of the nation? And whether it be not necessary to expose him to the sword of justice, who hath so much abused the sword of the commonwealth?

XV. Whether it will not be wisdom to look back to the occasion of the late bloody and unhappy war, and gradually to the prosecutions thereof, and the end that was proposed at the beginning; and when the continuance of the medium conducing to that end was everted; and then to return to the place where passion captivated reason, and there to build a happy government upon the basis of the true old cause, according to the first principles that were owned by all good people?

XVI. Whether it be not the purest and safest kind of free state, to have a free parliament elected annually, or twice a year, as it was before the conquest, and after many years, without restraint on the wills of the free people of the nation; which parliament may constitute and elect a senate, that shall act according, and subject to the law of the land, in the interval of parliament, and so to be elected from year to year by each parliament; which parliaments, being the free people of England's representatives, ought not to be restrained, or curbed, by any sort of court convention, or council enjoying co-ordinate power, for that will be to abolish the grand inconvenience of one negative voice so much brayed against, and to set up a monstrous hydra of negatives (for great care ought to be taken to preserve unity in a republick, which lieth most obnoxious to popular commotions, and factions) [the epidemical disease of this schismatical age:] And further, that such men may be elected for representatives in parliament councils, and senates, as be wise, honest, prudent, and religious; and not factious sectaries, or such as wear both law, equity, reason, and religion in their scabbards, and father all their prodigious wilful and exorbitant actions on providence?

XVII. Whether the army's declaration, and seclusion of the parliament in 1653, were an absolute dissolution of that session; and, whether the people making new elections by virtue of O. P. his writ, and also most of the members of the said parliament owning the said elections to be legal by their endeavours to be elected, and sitting by vertue of such election, was a confirmation thereof; and moreover, whether they can be remitted to their ancient right, by getting possession without the concurrence of an ancient remediable right, which is absolutely necessary to work a remitter?

XVIII. Whether it consists with policy and national prudence to keep such a lawless army on foot, who are carried away with a whirlwind or tempest of ambition, and walk antipodes to all settled and peaceable government, and are ready instruments for any insolent apostate, or tyrannical dictator, that will equal them in pretences of religion (yet denying the power thereof) and, like Pompey, will make it his design, by secret engines, to cast the state into an absolute anarchy and confusion, that the state might cast itself into his arms, in necessity, for a protection, and so the sovereign power be cast on him; who, probably, hath neither reason, nor law on his side, save only to make good the saying of Solon, who, when Crœsus shewed him his treasury of gold, said to him: That, if another came, that had better iron, he would be quickly master of his gold?

XIX. Whether it be not safer, and more agreeable to the present government of this commonwealth, and all other free states, where due course of law is admitted for recovery of rights, or deciding of meum and tuum, and liberty of subjects favoured (which we have, with great expence of blood, so long fought for) to raise the militia in each county, under the command of prudent and religious men, that have interest in their country, and are concerned in the welfare of the commonwealth; and not mere hirelings, that will be apt to take any impression, to the disturbance of the publick peace, for their own private ends, and will make their swords patronise intolerable rapine?

XX. Since the apostles call religion, our reasonable service to God, insomuch as the very ceremonies and figures of the old law were full of reason and signification, but more especially the christian faith under the gospel, as in all things, so in this, deserveth to be highly magnified; holding forth the golden mediocrity in this point, between the law of the heathen and the law of Mahomet, which have embraced the two extreams (for the first had no constant belief or confession, but left altogether to the liberty of professors; and the last, on the other side, interdicteth all arguments about the matter, and enjoineth unity in the manner of the profession of religion, the one having the very face of error, the other of imposture; whereas the faith doth both admit, and reject disputations and professions with difference) whether then it be not requisite to settle such a religion in this nation, as may consist with the apostle's words, and such a mediocrity, that we be neither tied on the one hand to a Mahometan unity of accidental discipline and manner of worship, nor, on the other hand, be left to a heathenish liberty both in the articles and principles of religion, and also in the substantial matter of belief, and decent manner of discipline and confession, since such boundless liberty is the mother of all sects, heresies, and atheism (which this age abounds with, though veiled under the specious garment of tender conscience, who are enemies to all settled government, whether monarchy or oligarchy) except their heretical opinions be favoured, and themselves mounted to the zenith of preferment, and stern of government, which is hoped will never be, though highly at present endeavoured?

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2. The Cares of the World satisfied: or, a Rest from Labour: wherein is proved a rest for such souls, as could find no rest, under the old government, written by Henry Donne, Executioner.

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10. Divide & impera: The Art of Supplanting or Compassing one's Ends, being a subtle Piece, dedicated to the Lord Lambert, and written by Peter Talbot, Soc. Jesu.

11. The Art of Preaching and Praying, with the right Use of Religion: by that incomparable Artist, Sir Henry Vane, Knight.

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tune shall hereafter make Secretaries of State; shewing their Necessity of being conversant in the Secrets of both Sexes, most politickly handled, and written by Thomas Scott, Secretary.

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19. Asinus ad Lyram: or, a new Way of Improving the Goldfinders Office, proposed to the Privy-Council, for the ease of the city, by a person of a good report, and one who petitions to be Duke of the Dunghil, because he has much insight into a business of this nature; the first letters of whose name, is Alderman Atkins.

20. The Rebels Catechism, translated out of the Scottish Directory, by Colonel Hewson.

21. Berecynthius Heros: Wherein it is demonstrated, that Mr. Rowe is the fittest Orator for his Auditors extended ears, his voice being as low as his rhetorick, and both as lean as his person.

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23. A Curry-Comb for a Cox-Comb: or invisible John discovered, by Colonel Overton.

These are the gift of Charles Lord Fleetwood, for the better encouragement of future benefactors.

A SHORT, LEGAL, MEDICINAL, USEFUL, SAFE, AND EASY PRESCRIPTION TO RECOVER OUR

KINGDOM, CHURCH, AND NATION,

From their present dangerous, distractive, destructive Confusion, and worse than Bedlam Madness;

Seriously recommended to all English Freemen, who desire Peace, Safety, Liberty, Settlement.

By WILLIAM PRYNNE, Esq. a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn.

Judges xix. 30.—Consider of it, take advice, and speak your minds.

Prov. xii. 19, 20.—Deceit is in the heart of them that imagine evil, but to the counsellors of peace is joy. There shall no evil happen to the just, but the wicked shall be filled with mischief.

Printed at London, and are to be sold by Edward Thomas, at the Adam and Eve, in Little Britain, 1659. Quarto, containing twelve pages.

THE ambition, treachery, turbulency, avarice, and late infused jesuitical principles of some swaying officers in the parliament's army, aspiring after the supreme authority, government, and publick revenues of our three kingdoms, having so far corrupted their judgments, seared their consciences, depraved their wills, and hardened their hearts, as openly, frequently to violate all sacred oaths, vows, covenants obligations, trusts, commissions, engagements to the late king, his heirs and successors, the old parliament, kingdom, nation, for whose defence they were originally raised, and commissioned, and, to their own new-created anti-parliamentary junctos, conventions, protectors, and conventicles, which they have all successively subverted, engrossing the sovereign, royal, and parliamental power into their own hands, opposing and advancing themselves (by mere treachery, perjury, violence, and other desperate ways of unrighteousness) like that man of sin, and mystery of iniquity, above all that is worshiped and called God; making no less than three publick revolutions of our government, and forcibly dissolving two parliaments, as they deemed them, of their own modelling, convening, within six months space, last past; and thereby made our formerly renowned nations, the scorn, reproach, wonder, derision of all the world; themselves the monsters of men, the shame of christianity, chivalry; exposed our three nations to the uttermost extremity of danger by new unprecedented ataxies, divisions, incroachments upon their hereditary rights, liberties, properties; caused a total decay of all sorts of trade, justice, legal proceedings at home, and occasioned a speedy much feared invasion from our potent combined popish adversaries abroad, when thus miserably distracted, discontented, impoverished, and totally disabled to repulse them: It is high time for every publick spirited Englishman in this strange, distracting confusion (which hath almost as much divided and discontented all conscientious officers, soldiers in the army, navy, as the people of all callings, conditions) to contribute their best advice, by all just, legal, hopeful, speedy ways, agreeable with the laws of God and the land, and those rights, liberties of the people (the defence whereof all officers, soldiers in the army, have so frequently and constantly avowed they were principally raised, and resolved to defend, though they have, hitherto, failed in their promises) to recover us out of the labyrinth of our almost inextricable amazing confusions, settle our pernicious distractions, and prevent that visible, imminent, universal desolation else likely to fall upon our church, state, nation, religion, beyond all possibility of escape, through the army officers rash destructive counsels, and violations of their trusts, oaths. engagements, both as soldiers, christians, and members of the kingdom.

The only just, legal, probable means now left that I can prescribe both for our nation's, church's, army's, present and future safety too (if they will cordially and christianly submit thereto, as they ought in conscience, justice, prudence) is,

First, for all ancient nobility of the kingdom (the hereditary great council and counsellors of the nation in all actual interregnums, and publick confusions, as our historians, records, law books, and the commons themselves in the long parliament resolved, both by custom, law, right) to assemble themselves by common consent at Westminster, or so many of them at least, or their heirs, if dead, who constantly adhered to the long parliament, and there to issue out writs according to the statute of 16. Car. chap. 1. on the third Monday of November next, under twelve or more of their hands and seals, for a free and legal election of knights, citizens, burgesses, barons, in every city, county, borough, port, according to former usage, to appear at the parliament-house in Westminster, the third Monday in January next ensuing, at a parliament then and there to be held, in such a manner and form as this act prescribes; wherein such proposals and counsels may, by common consent, be pursued, as may, through God's blessing, soon restore our pristine peace, trade, honour, wealth, prosperity, felicity, settlement, and secure us from all future changes.

Secondly, for all freeholders in every county of the kingdom, at the next county court in November, to meet together, and make choice of the ablest, honestest, wisest, stoutest gentlemen for their sheriffs, to keep the peace of the county, command the militia, suppress all insurrections, elect, return knights, citizens, burgesses to serve in parliament, and execute the office of a sheriff; it being their ancient legal right and privilege, by special grants of our kings, both in and out of parliament, which none, in late or present power, ought to incroach upon, or deprive them of, and they are all now bound to exercise and maintain for their own preservation and safety. This their right I shall clearly evidence beyond contradiction:

First, by the people's ancient right in Edward the Confessor's time, or before, in their folkmote to chuse an heretoke, a baron, or person of quality, in every county, in nature of a captain, who had the power of the county and militia in every shire, 'Sicut et vicecomites provinciarum et comitatuum eligi debent per singulos comitatus in pleno folkmoto': As sheriffs of provinces and counties ought to be chosen in every county; as you may read at large in Mr. Lambard's Archaion, f. 135, de Heretochiis: in Sir Henry Spelman's Glossarium, Dux et Heretochius, p. 232, 348, 349: My Sovereign Power of Parliaments, part ii. p. 24, 25: Cooke's two Institutes, p. 174, 175.

Secondly, by Rot. Claus. anno 16 Johan. Reg. part. i. m. 2. dorso. 'Dominus rex concessit baronibus suis, militibus & libere 'tenentibus de Cornubia, quod habeant vicecomitem de aliquo ipsorum ad electionem eorum. Idem vero barones, milites, & libere tenentes concesserunt Willielmo Wise, quod habeat hundredum de Estweneleser ad feodi firmam, sibi & hæredibus suis 'imperpetuum, per dimidium marci argenti, ad festum sancti Michaelis reddendum.'

Thirdly, 'by Rot. Pat. An. 5. H. III. memb. 6 H. Dei gratia, '&c. archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, 'libere tenentibus & aliis omnibus de Com. Cornub. salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus vobis quod liberam habeatis electionem eligendi vobis in vicecomitem nostrum unum de Com. Cornub. Et 'ideo vobis mandamus quod eligatis tres fideles & discretos de Com. 'Cornub. & illos nobis præsentari fac. apud London in octab. 'clausi pasche, & nos unum ex illis tribus, prout nobis placuerit, 'vobis dabimus ad vicecomitem. Et interim commisimus comitatum illum Cornub. cum omnibus illis quæ ad nos pertinent dilecto & fideli nostro Reginaldo de Valletorta custodiend. vobisque 'mandamus quatenus eidem Reginaldo usq; ad prædictum terminum sitis intendentes & respondentes in omnibus, tanquam vic. 'nostro & ballivo nostro. Et in hujus, &c. T. H. de Burgo, &c. 'apud Westm. xxviii. die Jan. an. regni nostro quinto.'

Fourthly, 'by Pat. 10. H. III. memb. 4. Rex archiepiscopis, 'episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, libere tenentibus, & omnibus aliis de communibus Somerset & Dors. salutem. Sciatis quod electioni quam fecistis de Will. 'fil. Henr. ad Vic. nostrum faciend. de Comitat. Somerset & Dorset assensum nostrum præbuimus. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod 'ei tanquam Vic. nostro, quamdiu nobis placuerit, intendentes 'sitis & respondentes. In cujus, &c. Teste Rege apud Winton. 'xxvii. die Jan.'

Fifthly, by Mat. Paris, Mat. Westminster, Daniel, and others, who record, that, in the forty-fifth year of king Henry the Third, the king placed new sheriffs in every county, displacing the sheriffs the barons and people had made; whereupon the people, in every county, manfully resisted the sheriffs, and would not obey, nor regard nor answer them in any thing, whereat the king was much troubled. Much less then ought they now to obey any sheriffs obtruded on them by the army-officers, or any other illegal usurped power.

Sixthly, by the statute of Articuli super Chartas, An. 28. E. I.

chap. 8. the king hath granted to his people, that they shall have the election of sheriffs in every shire, where the shrivalty is not of fee, if they will. And, chap. 13. forasmuch as the king hath granted the election of sheriffs to the commons of the shire, the king willeth, that they shall chuse such sheriffs as shall not charge them, and that they shall not put in any officer for rewards or bribes: And that they shall not lodge too often in one place, nor with poor persons, nor with men of religion. By which statutes (being but confirmations of the people's former rights by custom, or kings grants, on which some of them incroached, which was the occasion of these acts) all counties used to elect their sheriff: And if they elected any mean or unfitting person, as they sometimes did, he then commanded them by his writs to chuse another, who was fit to discharge that office; witness this memorable record ensuing:

Cl. 31 E. I. m. 13 dorso. 'Rex coronatoribus & toti communitati Comitatuum Salop. & Stafford. salutem. Cum nuper pro communi utilitate regni nostri inter alia concesserimus populo ejusdem regni, quod habeat si voluerit electionem vic. in singulis comitatibus dicti regni cum opus fuerit vicecom. prædict. in eisdem, ubi videlicet vicecomes de feodo non existit. Ac Ricardus de Harlegh, per vos in vic. comitatuum prædictorum nuper electus, ad officium illud faciendum minus sufficiens est, sicut ex testimonio fide digno accepimus: Vobis mandamus quod aliquem qui melius sciat & possit officio vic. dictorum comitatuum intendere & utilior fuerit ad idem officium exequendum in vic. eorundem comitatuum pro vobis, si volueritis, eligatis, & ipsum sic electum per aliquem legalem & circumspectum hominem ex parte vestra cum literis vestris patentibus sub sigillis sex de discretioribus & probioribus mil. eorundem comitatuum Thess. & baronib. nostris de Scaccario in crastino Sancti Michaelis prox. futuri sine dilatione præsentetis, ut ipse tunc ibidem præstito sicut moris est sacramento, extunc ea faciat & exerceat, quæ ad officium vicecomitis pertinent in com. prædictis. Et habeatis ibi tunc hoc breve: Scituri, quod si talem per vos electum modo prædicto non præsentaveritis coram præfatis Thess. & baronibus nostris in crastino prædicto, prædicti Thess. & barones extunc nobis de alio Vicecomite vobis præficiendo in defectu vestri providebunt.' Teste Rege apud Sarum. 16. die April.

Eighthly, by Claus. 12 E. III. pars 2. m. 15. Claus. 13 E. III. pars 3. dors. 16. Cl. 14 E. III. pars 2. m. 3. 'De Vicecomitibus Eligendis per totam Angliam;' wherein are several writs issued, authorising and commanding the people, to elect their sheriffs, in every county, throughout England; with other records, to the like effect, over tedious to recite at large.

Ninthly, by Mr. Lambard's Archaion, f. 135. and Sir Edward Cook's two Institutes on Magna Charta, p. 174, 175, 558, 559, 566, who resolve: That sheriffs, in ancient times, were, and ought to be chosen by the freeholders of the county, in the county-court, as conservators of the peace, coroners, verderers, constables, petty constables, were then, and since elected likewise by the people; as well by the king's writs, as without them, in cases of necessity.

Tenthly, by the constant custom of all corporations, which are counties within themselves, having power, annually, to chuse sheriffs only by the king's charters, without any special writ; as London, Bristol, Gloucester, York, Canterbury, Coventry, &c. use to do, therefore every county in England and Wales may do the like without any special writs, being a necessary, annual, ancient standing office, especially, in these confused times, when none have any legal authority to issue out writs or commissions, to elect or swear sheriffs, by vertue of the premised statutes: And the army officers, with other self-created usurping powers, may as lawfully obtrude mayors, sheriffs, and other officers, on every corporation of England, without their election, and deprive them of their freedom to elect them; as thrust sheriffs, justices of the peace, coroners, or other eligible officers upon counties, and rob them of this their just, ancient right and privilege, now strenuously, to be revived, asserted for their common safety against all incroachments thereon. The statute of Westminster, 1 chap. 5, enacting, declaring, that, all elections ought to be free, and not disturbed by force of arms, under great forfeitures, by no great men, nor others.

Thirdly, let all counties, cities, boroughs, ports, make choice of the wisest, ablest, stoutest, discreetest persons, such as are best affected to peace, settlement, and the nation's publick interest, for their knights, citizens, and burgesses, not of raw, unexperienced, timorous, or time serving, unstable, self-seeking, turbulent men.

Fourthly, let all counties, cities, noblemen, gentlemen, yeomen, clergymen, and freemen of the nation unanimously resolve, to obey no new, illegal, tyrannical, upstart powers, officers, conventicles, committees or councils of men whatsoever, forcibly obtruded on them; nor to execute any of their orders or commands; but only to obey such legal officers, as themselves shall legally elect, or a free parliament duly elected by them; nor pay any taxes, customs, imposts, excises, contributions whatsoever, to any officers, soldiers, collectors, but such as shall be imposed by common consent, in a free and lawful parliament, it being their ancient birth-right (for defence whereof, the army was first raised) ratified not only by sundry ancient statutes and the late petition of right, but several acts, votes, declarations, judgments, the last long parliament of king Charles, acknowledged in the instrument of government itself, the late petition and advice, the army's own former declarations, and the late dissolved junto, in their very last knack, of the twelfth of this instant October, their plea and papers since.

Fifthly, if any officers, and soldiers of the army, out of faction, ambition, self-ends, or jesuitical seduction, shall obstinately, traiterously, maliciously, or tyrannically oppose the people in their elections of sheriffs, knights, citizens, burgesses, or levy any taxes, excises upon them by armed violence, contrary to all their former forfeited, now expired commissions, declarations, engagements; let them then unanimously declare and proceed against them, as professed publick enemies, traytors to their native country; who by their former and late treacheries, rebellions, and unwarrantable proceedings against all their superiors, transcending all precedents in profane or sacred stories, have actually in law, justice, forfeited not only all their commissions, commands, and arrears of pay, but all their very lives, lands, estates; and that our whole three nations, by their solemn league and covenant, for their own future preservation, are obliged to bring them to publick justice, as themselves have proceeded against hundreds, nay, thousands of other delinquents, not half so criminal as themselves; and, thereupon, intreat all other officers, soldiers in the army, who have any fear of God, or love to themselves, their posterities, or native country, remaining in their breasts, as Moses did the congregation of Israel, in the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who mutinied the people against him and Aaron, Numb. xvi. "Depart, I pray ye, from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their sins. So they gat up from the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram on every side." And as many officers, soldiers, as shall, thereupon, desert the tents of their rebellious commanders, and contribute their assistance for the speedy calling, and safe fitting of a free, lawful parliament, without any future mutinies, to interrupt or dissolve it, when convened according to the premised statute of 16 Car. chap. 1. let them be assured of their full arrears, and of indemnity for what is past, which none else but a free and lawful parliament can grant them, all other indemnities being void in law. And, if this will not satisfy, let them beware, lest the earth cleave asunder, that is under them, and then open her mouth, and swallow them up alive, with their houses, men, goods, and all appertaining to them, and they perish from among the congregation, as Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with their families and adherents did, by this or some other exemplary judgments, and a universal insurrection of our three whole discontented, oppressed, ruined nations against them, which they may justly fear and expect, if they believe there is a righteous God, that judgeth in the earth, a Lord of Hosts able to scatter, punish, execute vengeance on them here, and cast them into hell for ever hereafter, for their manifold, unlamented, reiterated, transcendent rebellions; or repute these texts canonical, which I shall recommend to their saddest meditations: Prov. xxix. 10. "He, that being often reproved hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy:" As the late anti-parliamentary junctos and protectors have been. Prov. xi. 21. "Though hand go in hand, yet the wicked shall not go unpunished." Psal. lxviii. 21. "God shall wound the head of his enemies, and the hairy scalp of such a one as goeth on still in his trespasses." Ezek. xxiv. 14. "I the Lord have spoken it, it shall come to pass, I will do it; I will not go back, neither will I spare, neither will I repent; but according to thy ways, and according to thy doings I will recompense, and they shall judge thee, saith the Lord." Col. iii. 25. "He that doth wrong shall receive according to the wrong done, and there is no respect of persons with God;" who can, in a moment, as easily destroy an whole army, and great host of men (as he did *Sennacherib's, Jeroboam's, and other armies) as any one single person.

October the last, 1659, the day of king-condemning John Bradshaw's death, and translation to his proper place, and arraignment, in the highest court of justice.

LET ME SPEAK TOO:

OR,

ELEVEN QUERIES,

HUMBLY PROPOSED TO THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY, CONCERNING THE LATE ALTERATION OF GOVERNMENT.

The last testimony amongst men, both Greeks and Barbarians, which no time will abolish, is that which, by oath, calleth the Gods to be Sureties of their covenants. PROCOPIUS.

Psal. xv. 4.—Having sworn to his own hurt, he changeth not.

Let your moderation be known to all men, for the Lord is at hand.

London: Printed 1659. Quarto, containing eight pages.

Gentlemen,

AS it pleased the Lord of Hosts to conduct you through many difficulties hitherto, with whom to this time I have kept pace, and wherein I cannot accord, I humbly with all affection propose my scruples, being willing to be delivered from any error, and misapprehension in any kind, and that, which is given with the right-hand, will not, I hope, be taken with the left: And let me acquaint you, it is not private interest, or worldly gain, is any ground at all to incline me to query; for I was never no courtier, nor received any benefit by it, nor was ever like to do, nor ever received the least personal injury from the long parliament.

Therefore, as they are the naked and plain result of an unbiassed mind, I hope you will the rather bear with them and me; I know some amongst you, which, I am sorry to see, take all ill, and resent nothing to be reason, but that which comports with their own humours; as for them, I am in little hope, either to receive or give satisfaction.

This only I would farther say, that the former blessings of God, and his mercy unto you, is no argument at all, that he will ever continue the same, but will, as he hath done to other people, more highly declare himself against you, in case you take sanctuary at unrighteous ways and courses, and what are not justifiable before God and men: You have I loved above all the nations of the earth, I therefore will punish you for your iniquity. I do not know any one action, that ever brought your principles into suspicion, and that you bear not the same good-will to righteous and just proceedings, as this last of dethroning his Highness without any reason or cause given, at least worthy such severity: All that I have further to say is, that, if you have done well, and have the testimony of a good conscience, the Lord establish you; if not, God give you repentance, and make restitution.

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* 2 Kings, xiii. 35. 2 Chron. xiii. 16, 17.

QUERY 1.

WHETHER there be any power or authority by kings or protectors, with parliament or parliaments alone, or a free state so called; and what other government soever be more *jure divino*, than another? And the reason of this query is this: Because no one government, but hath been as beneficial a government to the people as the other: And there is nothing in any new-devised way of rotation, which, in itself, is seemingly rational, but whether other governments are not every way as rational, and freer from inconveniences in the practice of it, than the other, and far more, if well considered?

2. Whether the late protector was not proclaimed, as protector and supreme magistrate, by the commanders in chief of the army, in the greatest solemnity imaginable; first, at the Exchange in London, Westminster, and, afterwards throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the greatest testimonies of the soldiers good-will and liking, and of the people's reception and entertainment with a *nemine contradicente?*

3. Whether the officers and soldiers of the army afterwards, upon more serious deliberation, did not generally address themselves unto the protector as supreme magistrate, and so did further thereby oblige themselves, and, by such a kind of transaction, subjected themselves by way of the most solemn engagements unto him, as supreme magistrate?

4. Whether the people, from all quarters of the nation, did not, after the most solemn manner, address themselves likewise unto him, with the most cordial, zealous, and pathetical expressions, that it was possible, for a poor people, tired out with war and blood, to utter: thinking with themselves, that now they were arrived at the fair haven of peace and safety? And, withal, let this be considered also, that if an agreement of the people, so much talked of by some, be that which would be as a fundamental basis for a government to be settled upon; then, lo here it is. I think it may be said, without the least kind of presumption, that no prince, or king of England, or any other government, since this was a land, had a greater testimony, and witness, and agreement of the people, both religious and others, than this protector hath, having about four or five-hundred-thousand hands, and twice as many hearts besides?

5. Whether he was not acknowledged and recognised by the freest parliament chosen many years, as supreme magistrate?

6. Whether the Lord Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert, Bury, Hewson, Cooper, &c. did not swear to be true to him as protector when they sat in parliament; and how hateful to God and men, yea, to the very heathens have such things been? Ezek. xvii. 12, 13, 14, 15, speaking of the faith that the Hebrew kings had given to the Babylonians, "Shall he prosper, shall he escape that doeth such things? Or, shall he escape that breaks the covenant, and be

delivered?" Verse 16, "As I live, saith the Lord God, surely in the place where the king dwelleth that made him king, whose oath he despiseth, and whose covenant he brake, even with him in the midst of Babylon he shall die." Verse 18, "Seeing he despiseth the oath, by breaking the covenant (when, lo, he had given his hand) and hath done all these things, he shall not escape."

Philo. An oath is God's testimony of a thing in question?

Austin. He that swears by a stone, if he swear falsly, is perjured; and afterwards saith, The stone heareth not thy words, but God punishes thy fraud.

7. Whether the late protector, for so it seems he must be called, ever gave any reason or ground at all, for these gentlemen to dethrone him, and to protest against him and his government? I could wish, and many thousands more, the reasons might be seen, for nothing hath passed or been observed by diligent observers and partners with you in the same cause, that might render him unlovely or unacceptable to any person whatsoever. However, if there be any grounds or considerations, that might induce the army to such a grand transaction as this; first, to reject and slight him, and then to give reasons, if there be any, is to hang a man first, and to try him afterwards?

8. But, if there be no substantial grounds, as it is presumed, there none can be, even as little as you may blame the sun for running his course, so harmless hath he been: Whether then there hath been, in any age, more unfaithfulness in justice, greater covenant-breakers, persons so rebellious, men that have rendered the blessed gospel of Christ and professors thereof more uncomely, than this generation hath done; let the world judge, for, indeed, they have already given their verdict in the case, which is more the pity.

9. Whether your invitation of the long-parliament, to return to their trust, be not a transparent figment? Who trusted them? The people. But the people since have delivered their trust elsewhere; for, when the late protectors did send out writs, the people might have staid at home, there were none forced to chuse, but freely they have elected others: And, if so be the free choice and election of the people make a parliament, and they are also free to chuse, as often the providence of God shall put opportunity into their hands, then it is very doubtful whether this be any other thing than only a parliament so called, the people having freely declared themselves otherwise.

Obj. But if it be objected, that these gentlemen, with others, made a vote in the long-parliament, that they should not be dissolved, nor disturbed, until they themselves pleased or saw cause.

Ans. It is a good way of arguing if it would serve, for if ten or more lords, or great men, should chuse stewards and trustees to manage their estates for the best advantage, as usually they do; and, after they felt and tasted the sweets of their trust, they should enter into a combination, and resolve and agree amongst themselves, that now, having the sole disposal of their lords estates, that they would not be put out of their stewardship, until they themselves pleased: Do you think that they that did thus trust these good stewards were obliged by their stewards resolution? Doubtless, no: But if, at any time afterwards, their lords should appoint other stewards, doubtless, they ought to officiate, and the others to shift for themselves, except they liked to entertain them the second time; and, whether this be not the present case in hand, and these as much a parliament as the other stewards, is the query.

10. Whether this parliament, if it needs must be so called, with seventy more gentlemen for a senate, be not like to infringe the people's rights, and give less satisfaction, than one single person with a parliament? The first reason is, this parliament of fifty or sixty, or th reabouts, and seventy more besides, have every one of them a long train; there is never a one but is a file-leader, that is, hath, at least, six or ten at his heels, to be provided for one way or other; and all hungry as hawks, ready to catch at any thing, and nothing will serve but the blood of the people, for they must be fed with something.

2. *Reason.* It is against the standing rules of reason, the professed principles of the army, for any power or authority to have the militia, and the command of the people's purses, which this parliament, or people, hath, which is both destructive and pernicious; though the command of the people's purse was never desired or practised by a single person; and, whether a government, settled by parliament, under one head, to execute the laws of the government so made by parliament, be not more pleasing and rational than to have a body consisting of so many heads, which is monster-like? The people, generally, doubtless, had rather have their laws executed by one person, which they love and honour, than to have a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men equal, or worse than themselves, to domineer over them, as it is too apparent they were accustomed to do: Besides, you will find, in case of any exorbitancy in a government, that one for his trust is sooner dealed with than many.

11. Whether the good old cause, so much talked of, be not generally mistaken? For what is this cause so much magnified, but that which you have possessed and enjoyed as free in this protector's time, as in the long-parliament; nay, and more also by far? Now let us first enquire what it is: If first the basis of all our fierce and fiery contests with all sorts, as well the pulling out the long-parliament themselves, as against the king and bishops, was not for liberty of conscience, and for a toleration of men of different minds in God's worship and service: Let every man examine the times, the army's declarations, and the course of things every year since the first beginning, and you will find the kindle-coal of all differences was in this, that sometimes prelacy, and then presbytery, both in England and Scotland, had an itch to be beating their fellow-servants; and, to ward the dint of their blow, presently

we still betook ourselves to our arms; if you will say the liberties of the people was a part and a principal one too: It is true it was, I believe, not only pretended, but intended also: But the people are the most proper judges; he, that is beaten, is best able to judge of the blows; and he that is diseased of the gout, or the like, he is most sensible of the ease, when he hath it; so the people, if their verdict may pass, whether the executive power in this protector, or in committees of parliament, be best; it is too apparent, if the people, whose servants these gentlemen pretend to be, might speak and be heard, they would neither give them meat, drink, nor lodging for their work, but would be as bad as a high court of justice I fear.

PLEA FOR LIMITED MONARCHY.

See Vol. I. p. 20.

AWAKE O ENGLAND:

OR,

THE PEOPLE'S INVITATION TO KING CHARLES.

Being a Recital of the Ruins over-running the People and their Trades;
With an opportune Advice to return to Obedience of their Kings,
under whom they ever flourished.

Navita de ventis, de tauris narrat arator;
Enumerat miles vulnera; pastor oves.

"Let mariners observe the winds, and painful ploughmen till their grounds;
"Let honest shepherds feed their flocks, whilst soldiers glory in their wounds."

And so God save all who cry, GOD SAVE THE KING.

London: Printed for Charles Prince, and are to be sold at the east end of St. Paul's. MDCLX.

WE plebeians assuming the name, not of a house, but of a kingdom of commons, having, for twenty years, stood fearfully staring (like our innocent sheep at the barking and howling of dogs and wolves) not daring to tune our pipes of pastime, which to us and them were much more acceptable musick than the shrieking trumpets and affrighting drums, that, like thunder, warn us to our cottages, as in prevention of a storm.

We, who have been robbed of that rich treasure, our liberty, and of that honest freedom, whereby we drew our wholesome country air with safety, more natural to us than parliamentary pills or military lances, even we also find ourselves to be in the condition of our poor rustick neighbour, who hearing herself abused, and in danger to be ruined by her knavish and corrupted lawyer, cried out to the judge, that, in bearing ten children, she felt not so much pain as at that time she did to hold her peace, whilst she was wrongfully divested of her livelihood; therefore, our silence breaks forth.

But our case is far worse, for ours is already gone, even all the substance that we had; and being much against our will wasted (not, like prodigals, upon harlots, who, nevertheless, would have shewed some remorse towards them they had ruined). Our lot is rather like theirs, who, having fallen into the merciless hands of thieves and pyrates, are left wounded and stripped, yet not at all regarded by our hard-hearted landlords, or by our leech-like lawyers, nor yet by our uncharitable clergy, who load us with duty to death, and for example are the first that fly from the trial.

Even we plebeians, beholding ourselves to be the moral of that emblem which presents the prelate praying for all, and the lawyer pleading for all, and the soldier fighting for all, and the countryman feeding all, have sadly found that we only, the despised peasants, have dearly paid for all; therefore (if losers have leave to speak) let no man censure us, if we, being brought to the hog's ordinary, to beg the husks of them who devoured the kernels and substance of our food, be yet denied that relief; that we, remembering when we bore obedience to our pious princes, and enjoyed a heavenly Father who provided for us, do now return to him and to our gracious king, his lawful deputy, and, with unfeigned repentance and humility, cry out, saying, "O heavenly Father, O earthly divine Sovereign, we, even we, have sinned and rebelled against heaven and against thee, and are no more worthy to be called thy sons; make us yet thy servants, O God, and O King, that so, our timely repentance finding thy gracious pardon, we may become thy sons again."

We now behold ourselves to be as the brutes in the wilderness, and hoping our lions, who by their power, and by the subtlety of their fox-like adjutants, have made themselves beastial kings over us, would, indeed, relieve and feed us according to their promises and our wants, do, on the contrary, find and feel, that, instead of help, our hunger is increased; instead of the liberty which they proclaimed, we languish in prisons, so that for the showers of joy (after which we have long gaped) our hearts are filled with heaviness, and our tongues utter only lamentations.

The oil and honey, promised us by Oliver, is turned into gall and bitterness; Lambert's free quarterings have licked up the little that was left in our cruses; Lawson hath lost the honour of our seas; and we who have so long feared and disclaimed, and cursed the papists, are now forced and glad to fly to a monk for safeguard, whom, nevertheless, we worthily bless; we worship him with our bodies, and endow him with our own and others worldly goods, yea, we willingly would espouse him also, did not his order forbid him to marry kingdoms; however, we will honour him as our Joseph, for his wisdom and courage in preventing us from devouring each other, as undoubtedly that famine, which we foresee, and he most prudently endeavours to prevent, would bring upon us.

The world admires and derides our causeless confusions, beholding that the quarrels of the most mighty potentates of Europe, for crowns and kingdoms, grounded upon justice and right, are soon and happily composed, whilst our unjust and unnatural cannibal-confusions are unwilling to look towards an end.

Was our royal stàte and unparalleled government the garden which we intended to weed? Behold, our foolish and unskilful hands have, together with our glorious monarchs, instead of calumniated evil counsellors, plucked up our inheritance in law and liberty, and swept away our freedom and safety with our Solomon's beautiful and magnificent tents; was our religion, that goodly corn-field, said to be over-run with tares and thistles, and cockle? Behold the ignorant man hath been that evil husband-man, who, refusing the wise instructions of his Lord, hath maliciously eradicated the wheat root and branch, and scattered over the whole field tares and thistles, and briars and thorns.

Our scriptures which instruct us, by the fall of Israel's nation, whose prophets had admonished them by judgments which they found infallible, have no where repeated to us such provocations from that people, as we have given to our God, until those, when their combinations took counsel against the Son of God, and crucified the Lord of Life; and surely our unchristian rebellion, or at least theirs, which have practised such treasons, have produced such effects, as no mortal man came nearer the sufferings of our Saviour's humanity, than did our royal and divine sovereign, crucified by lawyers, preachers, and soldiers.

Our magistracy and judicatures, which are the pretended sanctuary to our liberty, and inheritable interest to justice and right, which, by our ancient laws, were founded upon God's law, have, through usurpation of power, been intrusted in such viscous and bird-limed fingers, as none could have the benefit of them, but such as could give most for their sentence, insomuch as that, which was formerly under condemnation or bribery, hath lately grown to publick sale; whereby justice is become as valuable and common at rates as cardons at Rome.

We remember, that in the beginning of our late transcendent parliament (which none before it could reach in comparison of dangerous issues, and deadly fruits) how high the cries went against ship-money, patents, monopolies, illegal imprisonments, and such other breaches into our free-born interests, as appeared by the then condemning complaints, which searched our sores, to the worth of a sin; and yet amongst all those lamentations, which hooded our eyes, and deafened our ears, whilst our pockets were picked, and our wives fingers stripped, we never heard of excises, fifth and twentieth parts, sequestrations, taxes and contributions, and amongst all these oppressions, gifts to maintain foreign rebellions; but well we remember, that, whilst we honestly paid our tithes, we and our ministers enjoyed such a double blessing, as our souls fed upon the food, which now they want; and our ministers rested contented with their dues, for which they returned grateful hospitalities, without the new ungodly encumbrances of augmentations, whereby robbing Peter to pay Paul, many of our church doors have so lost their keys, as none have entered into them for many years.

When we paid ship-money, which amounted not to so much as one of our Friday-night suppers, in the whole year, by the pole, we had safeguard to our seas, our wool went to the workmen, our cloathing passed by the merchants to all parts of the world; returns were made of all things we wanted at easy rates, even to richness, glory, and plenty; our navigation was as sure as our travel from one market to another; our meanest sea-men, who took charge, had noble receptions at home and abroad; we enjoyed our houses and lands in peace, and had no complaining in our streets; our woods were guarded by laws, and supplied by plantation; our fleets were formidable upon all seas, and our people of all conditions, as well civil as soldiery, brought honour and dignity to our kingdoms.

Instead of these rejoicings, we are filled with howlings; our trades are generally lost, and there is none to give us work; our wool and leather, and corn, and butter, and cheese, are daily transported, and whilst we are lessened in our manufactures, and vocations and industries, we are raised in rents, and food, and taxes, and all things belonging to our livelihood; the mysteries of our crafts, and the materials of our manufactures, do find such acceptable receipt in foreign parts, as unconscionable men have brought the ruins of their own country into a trade; and those laws, which for the chief benefit of the people, and the very life of trade, are made, are so boldly affronted, as the good patriots, who for the benefit of themselves and country, endeavour to prevent the great damages, which come by such bold attempts, are by cunning practices of clerks, and the remissness of superior officers, so discouraged, as that law, which was made to defend and encourage them, is carried fully against them, and the plaintiffs are sued at law, till they have neither cloke, nor coat, nor bed, nor board, nor house, but a prison to receive them; widows wring their hands, and orphans lament, whilst there is none to deliver them; every man oppresseth his neighbour, for it seems good in his own eyes so to do, because, alas, we have no king.

If we look into our neighbour nations, we are the subjects of their mirth, and the song of the scornful; we (as if we were all guilty) are stiled murtherers, king-killers, and the very abjects among them trample upon us, for the blasphemous people among us have committed so horrible treasons, as ought not once to be named among us; if we turn our eyes and ears from these dismal spectacles and groans, we presently encounter another object of our sorrows, the body of our trades is anatomised, dissected, and, from the most intrinsick secrets thereof, is discovered to foreigners; all workings in wool, which together with that material have, by the providence of our ancestors, been, with all their wisdom, restrained from other nations, are now so much at liberty, and, by false-hearted Englishmen, made so familiar to strangers, as not only our mysteries are laid open, but our materials are made theirs, and that trade of cloathing, which, in one valuable kind or other, maintained eleven or twelve parts of our kingdoms, is almost totally lost to England, which, for many hundreds of years, hath made them be both loved and feared of all other nations.

As for our fleets, which were formidable, and our navigation, which was honourable throughout the world, our ships are now daily brought into captivity, insomuch as, through our short and improvident war, made with Spain, above two-thousand English vessels have been carried into their ports, and all the goods in them are made prizes; many, who have been very able merchants, who have not only kept hospitality at home to the great relief of the needy, but have built and maintained tall ships abroad, to the honour and strength of our kingdom, and to the increase of mariners and trade, have in these times been and still are brought to compound their debts, not with more disrepute to their credit than grief to their hearts, and ruin to their families.

We could launch forth into an ocean of our calamities, did we not hold it to be more material and timely to prescribe remedies, which, being like to prove a long work by precept, we will shut it up into example: Look we, therefore, upon our neighbour nations, among whom, though there have been long divisions by claims, each thinking himself to be in the right, and each having the unanimous affection and assistance of their own subjects, have yet thought fit, if not been forced, to compound their differences, which they embraced with no small joy; our case is more formidable, the members of the same body continue fighting against their natural head, for maintenance of which quarrel they have too long destroyed each other; therefore, in obedience to the divine doctrine, and in compassion to yourselves and posterity, dear country, return in duty to your lawful native sovereign, fall to your honest vocations; 'fear God and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change'; you have dearly paid for the knowledge of this truth, and let not now your obstinacy longer destroy you. Let him, who hath illegally gotten any thing by the late unnatural wars, make haste and restore it, and learn of that holy and inspired king David, "that a small estate, rightly gotten, is more and more prosperous than innumerable riches of unrighteous purchase or plunder." Though the Israelites, by God's command, divested the Egyptians of their wealth and jewels, yet it turned but to their own confusion; for even their most holy priests and instructors ensnared them with the works of their own hands, and though he called the molten images which he made out of their plundered ear-rings, and other ensigns of pride and luxury, their Gods which brought them out of Egypt, yet, doubtless, the devil had set such idols in higher esteem and honour with them than was the God of their deliverances. Their sufferings thereby are recorded for our example.

In a word, let no man be ashamed to return to his honest vocation; if God have hitherto used them as his rod, let them not be high-minded but fear, that the angry Father may, by the tears, and prayers, and humiliations, and returnings of children to duty in expression of his reciprocal love to his children, return also in affection, and, in sign of the same, cast his rod into the fire, "where shall be weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth," because you had not compassion on your brethren, truly penitent for their and your sins.

Repent, dear countrymen, and take a heathen poet's, Propertius, advice, as most properly becoming each man.

THE
LONDON PRINTER,
HIS LAMENTATION:
OR,
THE PRESS OPPRESSED, OR OVERPRESSED.

September, 1660. Quarto, containing eight pages.

In this sheet of paper is contained, first, a short account of Printing in general, as its usefulness, where and by whom invented; and then a declaration of its esteem and promotion in England, by the several kings and queens, since its first arrival in this nation; together with the methods taken by the Crown for its better regulation and government, till the year 1640; when, says the Author, this trade, art, and mystery, was prostituted to every vile purpose, both in church and state; where he bitterly inveighs against Christopher Barker, John Bill, Thomas Newcomb, John Field, and Henry Hills, as interlopers, and, under the king's patent, were the only instruments of inflaming the people against the king and his friends, &c. As more fully appeareth in the following paper.

HOW venerable and worthily honoured, in all kingdoms and commonwealths, the wonderful and mysterious invention, utility, and dignity of printing have always been, cannot be rationally contradicted; comparing it especially with the miserable condition and barbarousness of the ancients, as well in the eastern as the western parts of the world (as Strabo de Situ Orbis writeth) who, as he saith, for the better conveying to posterity the memorable acts and monuments of their present times, conceived and contrived at first no better medium, than the impression thereof with their fingers, or little sticks, in ashes or sand, thinly dispersed and spread abroad in vaults and cells: But, experience being the mistress of art, some better wits at length invented knives, and other instruments, for the incision of letters in barks of trees; others, for the graving or carving of them in stone; others, with pincers in leaves of laurel, fig-trees, and other crassy leaves (as in China, and other parts of the Indies and eastern countries) impressed their memorials in uncouth characters: Since that, the use of lead was brought in estimation, for the insculption of words in a more convenient method. But (as the adage is true, *facile est inventis addere*, and use tends every day more and more to perfection) the happy experiment first of parchment, and then of paper, was ingeniously found out, with the use of canes, pencils, quills, and ink of several sorts: Yet, all this while, the benefit, accruing by that invention, tended no further, than to the composing of one single manuscript at one time, by the labour and inscription of one single person: The rarity and paucity whereof hath caused such honour, reverence, and authority to be put upon the antiquities of our ancestors, as they worthily merit.

But, at length, this vast expence of time and pains forced men's wits, by a cogent necessity, to enquire into, and search out the more occult and secret mysteries of art, for the better convenience and communication of their writings: And thereupon, by the blessing of Almighty God, upon the study and industry of John Gottenburg, the rare and incomparable mystery and science of printing of books was invented and practised at Mentz in Germany, above two-hundred years ago; and, soon after, that art was brought over into England by one William Caxton, a worshipful mercer of the famous city of London, and there put in use, with meritorious approbation of the religious and virtuous king Henry the Sixth, and all the estates of this kingdom. Since which time, being about two-hundred and twenty years elapsed, that ingenious mystery, splendor of art, and propagatrix of knowledge hath been duly countenanced and encouraged, with so much favour and respect of all our English princes, that it is, by laudable succession of time, arrived at that exquisite perfection, as we now see it in itself. For true is the character of a printer, to wit:

Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno.

In English thus:

In one day's time a printer will print more,
Than one man write could in a year before.

To pretermit the honour and esteem placed upon it, in particular, by Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth, and the incorporation of the Stationers Company by Queen Mary, merely and only for her favour and respect to the printers, and not to the booksellers (albeit they were both in their several faculties then constituted in one body and society, under one generical and individual term of Stationers*): Let us come to the reign of the glorious queen Elisabeth, of ever blessed memory; and then we shall plainly and perspicuously discover her majesty's great love and royal affection to printing and printers; who, for the sake of them and it, so far descended from her royal throne, as that her highness not only made several gracious grants unto them, for better maintaining their poor, but also graciously recommended (for the special encouragement, and better subsistence of the master printers) the regulation of that mystery, and the professors thereof, to the right honourable and judicious, the Lords of her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; who, 23 Junii, 28 Elis. made a memorable and noble decree in the Star-Chamber, confining the number of master printers in England to the number of twenty, to have the use and exercise of printing-houses for the time being (besides her majesty's printers, and the printers allowed for the Universities) limiting and confining them within such an excellent method and strict regulation, as tended very much to the peace and security of the church and state. But, as the world waxeth old as doth a garment, and the corruptions and evil manners of times and men grow daily to a greater maturity and ripeness in sin and wickedness; and that all human kind are boldly inclined to rush through any forbidden mischief (like the old race of the giants, and the builders of Babel) so in tract and process of time, and especially in these later days (notwithstanding the severity and authority of that good decree of the queen's time) printing and printers, about the year 1637, were grown to such a monstrous excess and exorbitant disorder, that the prudent limits and rules of that laudable decree were as much transgressed and infringed at that time, as the King's-Bench rules in Southwark have been extended and eloined in later days, for want of due execution of justice.

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* As may more particularly be seen in the Charter of this Company, lately published by Thomas Osborne of Gray's-Inn.

Wherefore, by the special command of our late royal and most illustrious king Charles, of blessed memory, the right honourable Thomas Lord Coventry, lord keeper of the great seal of England; the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, his Grace the Lord Bishop of London, lord high treasurer of England, the Lords Chief Justices, and the Lord Chief Baron, being sat together in council in the Star-Chamber, 11 July, 13 Car. and reviewing and maturely considering the said decree and ordinances of the queen's time; in very great wisdom, prudence, and policy of state, thought fit and adjudged not only to confirm the same, but also to make and subjoin thereto several useful and convenient additions and supplements, as the reason of state and the necessity of the times did then require. Which last decree (with due renown to the memory of the makers thereof) was the best and most exquisite form and constitution for the good government and regulation of the press, that ever was pronounced, or can reasonably be contrived, to keep it in due order and regular exercise.

But now may we well with sorrow cry out at this day, with the comedian, *O tempora! O mores!* or; in another sense, with the spouse in the Canticles, ch. ii. v. 15. "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines, for our vines have tender grapes." Never was there such an honourable, ingenious, and profitable mystery and science in the world so basely intruded upon, and disesteemed, so carelesly regarded, so unworthily subjected to infamy and disgrace, by being made so common, as printing hath been since 1640, in the days of our miserable confusions and calamities: Neither can it be repaired, or restored to its native worth and regular constitution, so long as such horrid monstrosities and gibbous excrescences are suffered to remain and tumour in that disorderly and confused body, as now it existeth in itself.

The excessive number of printing-houses and master-printers, or such at least as use and exercise the faculty of printing (though some be booksellers only by trade and education, and others are of other trades, not relative to printing) is at present multiplied and increased to above triple the number of twenty, constituted by that decree of the Star-Chamber; so that, by means of that exorbitant and excessive number of above sixty printing-houses in and about London, and the necessitous conditions of many of the printers themselves, and the imposition of others upon them (who, if they will not adventure to print for them what is unlawful and offensive to the state and government, being treasonable and seditious, and most profitable for sale, shall not be employed upon things lawful and expedient) all the irregularities, inconveniences, and mischiefs, that can be imagined to be committed and done by the too much liberty and licentiousness of the press, have been and are occasioned at this day, and daily will (without some speedy remedy and restriction, for the better encouragement of the honest and ingenious artists) be continued amongst us. How can it, in reason, be conceived to stand with the royalty and dignity of his most excellent majesty (whom God Almighty prosper and preserve) or with the safety and security of his kingdoms, to permit and suffer either the fore-mentioned inconveniences for the future, or such notorious impieties and abominable indignities and insolences, done and offered to his majesty's most sacred person and estate, to go unpunished in the actors thereof; who are nevertheless in truth and reality his majesty's printers; against whom there is just cause of complaint at this present. As for example, Mr. Christopher Barker and Mr. John Bill, by their education and quality, have little or no skill or experience in the faculty and art of printing, as to the manual operation thereof, being never brought up in that mystery: And the old proverb is and will be true, to wit, *Senex Psittacus non capit ferulam.* And albeit they are said and intitle themselves (by a very questionable and doubtful authority both in law and equity) to be his majesty's printers; yet indeed are they but nominal and titular; for that the manual work and impression itself, as well of the late acts of parliament, as also of his majesty's proclamations, and other royal acts of state, hath been actually performed by Thomas Newcomb, John Field, and Henry Hills, printers: Which three persons, to give them their proper characters, have been the only insruments and incendiaries against, and enemies to his most sacred majesty, and his friends, in their stations and qualities, before and ever since the detestable and unparalleled murder of our blessed sovereign his royal father, as far as the extent of the press could make them capable or extant.

Who printed the pretended act of the commons of England for the setting up an high court of justice, for the tryal of his martyred majesty, in 1648? Or, the acts for abolishing kingship, and renouncing the royal line and title of the Stuarts? Or, for the declaring what offences should be adjudged treason? For taking the engagement? For sale of dean and chapters lands? For sale of the king's, queen's, and prince's goods and lands, and the fee-farm rents? For sale of delinquents lands? Or, the proclamation of the 13th of September, 1652, after the fight at Worcester, offering one-thousand pounds to any person, to bring in his majesty's person? But only John Field, printer to the parliament of England (and since, by Cromwell, was and is continued printer to the University of Cambridge) omitting many other treasonable offences, and egregious indignities done by him and H. Hills to the royal family, and good old cause of the king and kingdom, in all the late tyrannical usurpations. Who printed the Weekly Intelligencer, and Mercurius Politicus, with the Cases of the Commonwealth stated, and that Interest will not lye, for Marchamont Nedham, Gent. from 1650, till the blessed and assured hopes of his majesty's restoration of late, but Thomas Newcomb, printer, dwelling overagainst Baynard's-Castle in Thames-street? And with what familiar titles of honour did they salute his majesty therein, we pray, but of young Tarquin, the son of the late tyrant, the titular king of Scots, the young Pretender, with an infinite more of the like treasonable extraction? Which, for brevity's sake, and for that they are of Milton's strain, and so publickly known, and were the weekly trash and trumpery of every hawker, pedlar, and petty carrier, we omit.

But we cannot as yet pass over his majesty's good friends, Hills and Field (take them *conjunctim* and *divisim:)* What zealots and factors, or blood-hounds or tarriers rather, they have been for that abstract of traitors, tyrants, and usurpers, Oliver Cromwell, his son Richard, and the pretended Committee of Safety, in searching for, seizing, and suppressing, as far as they could, all books, treatises, and papers, asserting the king's right and title to the crown, or tending to the promotion of his interest, and vindication of his authority, the worst of his majesty's enemies must necessarily, with shame and detestation, confess! And is this all that hath been done by Hills and Field to his majesty only, and his royal relations and interests? No! Their impieties and insolences have mounted as high, as to become actual and professed traitors against the glorious crown and dignity of the King of Kings, blessed for ever: Have they not invaded, and still do intrude upon his majesty's royal privilege, prerogative, and pre-eminence; and, by the pusillanimous cowardice, and insignificant compact of Mr.

Christopher Barker, and another of his name, and, not without probable suspicion, by the consent and connivance of Mr. John Bill (though he was artificially defeated in his expectations of profit) have they not obtained (and now keep in their actual possession) the manuscript copy of the last translation of the Holy Bible in English, attested with the hands of the venerable and learned translators in king James's time, ever since the sixth of March, 1655; and thereupon, by colour of an unlawful and forced entrance in the Stationers Registry, printed and published ever since, for the most part, in several editions of bibles (consisting of great numbers) such egregious blasphemies and damnable erratas, as have corrupted the pure fountain, and rendered God's holy word contemptible to multitudes of the people at home, and a *ludibrium* to all the adversaries of our religion? Have they not suffocated and suppressed all books containing pious and religious prayers and devotions, to be presented and offered to the Blessed Trinity, for the blessing of heaven upon his majesty's royal person and family, and the church and state, by preventing and obstructing the printing of the Common-Prayer, Primmers, and Psalters, contrary to the statute of 1 queen Elisabeth, c. 2. and other good laws and ordinances, and the ecclesiastical canons of the church of England; unless that they contained prayers for their late protector! And are these small offences to be past and pardoned, or such as shall deserve the favour of indemnity and oblivion? God forbid!

Impunitas peccati præbet ansam peccandi. The not punishing of offences emboldeneth offenders to commit greater enormities with brazen brows, as if they were incorrigible: And, as the proverb saith, "He, that saves a thief from the gallows, shall be first robbed himself." Is not the king as the breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, his person sacred, his authority dreadful? And is not all our present and future security and happiness involved in his majesty's preservation and prosperity? And shall his majesty's most apparent and implacable enemies be chiefly entrusted in the great concernments of his state and government, as Newcomb, Hills, and Field are under his titular printers? God forbid. Are there not honest and well affected printers in London, sufficient and able and willing to serve his majesty, but his grandest adversaries must be picked out for his service? And are there not lodgings enough about the city to be had for convenience, but Mr. Christopher Barker and his family must now be entertained at the house of that libidinous and professed adulterer Henry Hills in Aldersgate-street? One that for his heresy in religion (being an anabaptist) and his luxury in conversation (having hypocritically confessed his fact in print, and been imprisoned for his adultery with a taylor's wife in Blackfriars) would scandalise a good christian, and an honest man, to be in his company. But, it seems, the old confederacy compacted between Barker, Hills, and Field, by the agitation of Nedham, upon their conversion of the copy of the Bible, cannot yet be forgotten; albeit it tend never so much to the dishonour, disparagement, and prejudice of his majesty's affairs? And therefore it is more than time, as is humbly conceived, that as well the establishment of his majesty's office of printer, as also the regulation of the number of printers in England within good rules and limits, were speedily provided for and determined; and not any longer be carelesly and improvidently left and subjected to such extreme mischiefs, and fatal inconveniences. And moreover, it is very fit to be taken into consideration, how much mischief and sedition a press at New England may occasion and disperse, in this juncture of time, if the licentiousness thereof be connived at, and any longer tolerated; whenas we daily see such ventilations of opinions, inclining to factions and seditions, are the common merchandise of the press about the city of London; which, to a sober christian and loyal subject, are plainly destructive both of church and state; which God for his glory unite, preserve, and propagate in the old good order and government.

Having thus truly represented to publick view the cause of our lamentation, we will never despair of his majesty's seasonable and timely redress; being humbly confident, that, for want of loyal and dutiful information presented to his majesty, many fanaticks and disaffected persons to his person and government, by a little counterfeit conversion and hypocritical subjection, do continue and creep into his majesty's service, in many great places of trust and profit, who, being dyed in grain in the principles of popular liberty, would willingly cast off his majesty's sacred authority, and abandon his person, as they did his royal father's, if God, for our sins, in judgment, should permit them the least opportunity. *Quod malum infandum avertat Deus!*

But, briefly to conclude, we most humbly submit the necessity of our speedy reformation and redress, upon consideration of the many great miseries and calamities, that have happened not only in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but also in Germany, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and other countries and places, by the exorbitant and unlawful exercise of printing in modern times. Which, had the science and use thereof been known in the time of the grand profession of the Donatist and Arian heresies, would have immerged and drowned the whole world in a second deluge of blood and confusion, to its utter destruction, long time since. Yet however, if our mystery be confined within fit and convenient bounds, and not permitted *transilire limites*, it is and will be of singular use and convenience to his majesty and his dominions: Otherwise, though the art be so exquisite and excellent in itself, yet, by corruption and depravation, it will become the more pernicious and perillous: As the strongest and richest wine, for want of good curing, will turn to the sharpest vinegar; and a little wound or contusion, neglected, will soon mortify and corrupt itself to an immedicable gangrene.

Ignis, ab exiguo nascens, extinguitur undâ;
Sed postquàm crevit, volitantq; ad sydera flammæ,
Vix putei, fontes, fluvii succurrere possunt.

In English thus:

A little fire to quench is done with ease;
But, when it rages, and the flames increase,
Ponds, fountains, rivers scarce can it surcease.

The application is easily inferred, in reference to the inconvenience of exorbitant and irregular printing in general. And, for his majesty's titular printers Mr. Barker and Mr. Bill, let them consider themselves (as all other wise men will and must do) under this trite and excellent aphorism, to wit, *Impossibile est, vel verè admodùm difficile, ut qui ipsa opera non tractant, peritè valeant judicare.*

Impossible, or very hard be 't will,
To judge a work well, wherein th'ave no skill.

If a presentment should be made of the matter of this complaint to any capable inquest in this kingdom, they would indorse it *Billa vera*, and not return it with an *Ignoramus.*

All which is most humbly submitted to publick consideration, in hopes of regulation and speedy reformation.

God save the King.

ENGLAND'S JOY:

OR,

A RELATION OF THE MOST REMARKABLE PASSAGES, FROM HIS MAJESTY'S ARRIVAL AT DOVER, TO HIS ENTRANCE AT WHITE-HALL.

London: Printed by Tho. Creak, 1660. Quarto, containing eight Pages.

BEING come a-board one of the fairest of those ships, which attended at Sluys, for wafting him over from the Hague in Holland; and, therein having taken leave of his sister the princess royal, he set sail for England on Wednesday evening, May 23, 1660. And having, during his abode at sea, given new names to that whole navy (consisting of twenty-six goodly vessels) he arrived at Dover on the Friday following (viz. May the 25th) about two of the clock in the afternoon. Ready on the shore to receive him, stood the Lord General Monk, as also the Earl of Winchelsea, constable of Dover castle, with divers persons of quality on the one hand, and the mayor of Dover, accompanied by his brethren of that corporation on the other, with a rich canopy.

As soon as he had set foot on the shore, the lord general, presenting himself before him on his knee, and kissing his royal hand, was embraced by his majesty, and received divers gracious expressions of the great sense he had of his loyalty, and in being so instrumental in this his restoration.

There also did the corporation of Dover, and the Earl of Winchelsea, do their duties to him in like sort; all the people making joyful shouts; and the great guns from the ships and castle telling aloud the happy news of this his entrance upon English ground.

From thence, taking coach immediately, with his royal brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, he passed to Barham-down (a great plain lying betwixt Dover and Canterbury) where were drawn up divers gallant troops of horse, consisting of the nobility, knights, and gentlemen of note, clad in very rich apparel, commanded by the Duke of Buckingham, Earls of Oxford, Derby, Northampton, Winchelsea, Litchfield, and the Lord Viscount Mordaunt: As also several foot regiments of the Kentish-men. Being entered the Down on horseback, where multitudes of the country-people stood, making loud shouts, he rode to the head of each troop (they being placed on his left hand, three deep) who, bowing to him, kissed the hilts of their swords, and then flourished them above their heads, with no less acclamations; the trumpets, in the mean time, also ecchoing the like to them.

In the suburb at Canterbury stood the mayor and aldermen of that ancient city, who received him with loud musick, and presented him with a cup of gold, of two-hundred and fifty pounds value. Whence, after a speech made to him by the recorder, he passed to the Lord Camden's house, the mayor carrying the sword before him.

During his stay at Canterbury (which was till Monday morning) he knighted the Lord General Monk, and gave him the ensigns of the most honourable order of the garter: And Garter, principal King at Arms, sent the like unto the Lord Admiral Montague, then a-board the navy, riding in the Downs. There likewise did he knight Sir William Maurice, a member of the house of commons, whom he constituted one of his principal secretaries of state.

From Canterbury he came, on Monday, to Rochester, where the people had hung up, over the midst of the streets, as he rode, many beautiful garlands, curiously made up with costly scarfs and ribbands, decked with spoons and bodkins of silver, and small plate of several sorts; and some with gold chains, in like sort as at Canterbury; each striving to outdoe others in all expressions of joy.

On Tuesday, May the 29th (which happily fell out to be the anniversary of his majesty's birth-day) he set forth of Rochester in his coach; but afterwards took horse on the farther side of Black-heath, on which spacious plain he found divers great and eminent troops of horse, in a most splendid and glorious equipage; and a kind of rural triumph, expressed by the country swains, in a Morrice-dance, with the old musick of taber and pipe, which was performed with all agility and chearfulness imaginable.

And from this heath the troops marched off before him, viz. Major-general Brown's, the Merchant-adventurers, Alderman Robinson's, the Lord Maynard's, the Earls of Norwich, Peterborough, Cleveland, Derby, Duke of Richmond's, and his majesty's own life-guard.

In this order proceeding towards London, there were placed in Deptford, on his right hand (as he passed through the town) above an hundred proper maids, clad all alike, in white garments, with scarfs about them; who, having prepared many flaskets covered with fine linnen, and adorned with rich scarfs and ribbands, which flaskets were full of flowers and sweet herbs, strowed the way before him as he rode.

From thence, passing on, he came into St. George's Fields in Southwark, where the lord mayor and aldermen of London, in their scarlet, with the recorder, and other city council, waited for him in a large tent, hung with tapestry; in which they had placed a chair of state, with a rich canopy over it. When he came thither, the lord mayor presented him with the city sword, and the recorder made a speech to him; which being done, he alighted, and went into the tent, where a noble banquet was prepared for him.

From this tent the proceeding was thus ordered, viz. First, the city-marshal to follow in the rear of his majesty's life-guard: next the sheriffs trumpets; then the sheriffs men in scarlet clokes, laced with silver on the capes, carrying javelins in their hands; then divers eminent citizens well mounted, all in black velvet coats, and chains of gold about their necks, and every one his footman, with suit, cassock, and ribbands of the colour of his company; all which were made choice of out of the several companies in this famous city, and so distinguished; and, at the head of each distinction, the ensign* of that company.

After these followed the city council†, by two and two, near the aldermen, then certain noblemen and noblemen's sons. Then the king's trumpets, then the heralds at arms.

After them, the Duke of Buckingham; then the Earl of Lindsey, lord high chamberlain of England, and the Lord General Monk; next to them Garter, principal King of Arms; the Lord Mayor on his right hand, bearing the city sword, and a Gentleman Usher on his left, and, on each side of them, the Serjeants at Arms with their maces.

Then the King's Majesty, with his equeries and footmen on each side of him, and, at a little distance on each hand, his royal brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester; and, after them, divers of the king's servants, who came with him from beyond sea; and, in the rear of all, those gallant troops, viz. the Duke of Buckingham, Earls of Oxford, Northampton, Winchelsea, Litchfield, and the Lord Mordaunt; also five regiments of horse belonging to the army.

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* Or arms of the Company painted or embroidered.

† Common Council.

In this magnificent fashion his majesty entered the borough of Southwark, about half an hour past three of the clock in the afternoon; and, within an hour after, the city of London, at the Bridge; where he found the windows and streets exceedingly thronged with people to behold him; and the walls adorned with hangings and carpets of tapestry, and other costly stuff; and in many places sets of loud musick; all the conduits, as he passed, running claret wine; and the several companies in their liveries, with the ensigns belonging to them; as also the trained bands of the city standing along the streets as he passed, welcoming him with joyful acclamations.

And, within the rails where Charing-cross formerly was, a stand of six-hundred pikes, consisting of knights and gentlemen, as had been officers of the armies of his late majesty * of blessed memory; the truly noble and valiant Sir John Stowell, Knight of the honourable Order of the Bath, a person famous for his eminent actions and sufferings, being in the head of them.

From which place, the citizens, in velvet coats and gold chains, being drawn up on each hand, and divers companies of foot soldiers; his majesty passed betwixt them, and entered White-hall at seven of the clock, the people making loud shouts, and the horse and foot several vollies of shot, at this his happy arrival. Where the house of lords and commons of parliament received him, and kissed his royal hand. At the same time likewise the Reverend Bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Rochester, and Chichester, in their episcopal habits, with divers of the long oppressed orthodox clergy, met in that royal chapel of king Henry the Seventh, at Westminster; there also sung *Te Deum*, &c. in praise and thanks to Almighty God, for this his unspeakable mercy, in the deliverance of his majesty from many dangers, and so happily restoring him to rule these kingdoms, according to his just and undoubted right.

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* King Charles I.

THE

CENSURE* OF THE ROTA

UPON MR. MILTON'S BOOK,

INTITLED,

The ready and easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth.

Die Lunæ 26, Martii, 1660.

Ordered by the Rota, that Mr. Harrington be desired to draw up a Narrative of this Day's Proceeding upon Mr. Milton's Book, called, "The ready and easy Way, &c." And to cause the same to be forthwith printed and published, and a Copy thereof to be sent to Mr. Milton.

TRUNDLE WHEELER, Clerk to the Rota.

Printed at London by Paul Giddy, Printer to the Rota, at the Sign of the Windmill in Turn-again Lane, 1660. Quarto, containing sixteen pages.

SIR,

I AM commanded, by this ingenious Convention of the Rota, to give you an account of some reflexions that they have lately made upon a treatise of yours, which you call, *The ready and easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth;* in which I must first bespeak your pardon, for being forced to say something, not only against my own sense, but the interest, which both you and I carry on; for it is enjoined me to acquaint you with all that was said, although I take as little pleasure to repeat it, as you will do to hear it. For whereas it is our usual custom to dispute every thing, how plain or obscure soever, by knocking argument against argument, and tilting at one another with our heads, as rams fight, until we are out of breath, and then refer it to our wooden oracle, the box; and seldom any thing, how slight soever, hath appeared, without some patron or other to defend it: I must confess, I never saw bowling-stones run so unluckily against any boy, when his hand has been out, as the ballots did against you, when any thing was put to the question, from the beginning of your book to the end; for it was no sooner read over, but a gentleman of your acquaintance said, he wished, for your own sake, as well as the cause you contend for, that you had given your book no name, like an anabaptist's child, until it had come to years of discretion, or else that you had got some friend to be gossip, that has a luckier hand at giving titles to books than you have. For it is observed, you have always been very unfortunate that way, as if it were fatal to you, to prefix bulls and nonsense to the very fronts of your learned works, as when you call *Salmasius*, *Claudius Anonymus*, in the very title of that admired piece, which you writ to confute his wife and his maid. As also in that other learned labour of yours, which you stile *Tetrachordon*, that is to say, *a Fiddle with four Strings;* but, as you render it a four-fold cord, with which you undertake (worse than Captain Ottor, and Cuthbert the Barber) not to bind, but, most ridiculously, to unty matrimony. But in this book, he said, you were more insufferable; for you do not only stile your declamation, *The ready and easy Way*, as if it were the best or only way, to the disparagement of this most ingenious assembly, who are confident, they have proposed others much more considerable; but do very indiscreetly profess, in the same place, to compare the excellencies of a commonwealth with the inconveniencies and dangers of kingship; this, he said, was foul play, and worse logick. For, as all conveniencies, in this world, carry their inconveniencies with them, to compare the best of one thing with the worst of another is a very unequal way of comparison. He had observed, that comparisons were commonly made on the wrong side, and so was this of yours, by your own confession. To this another added, He wondered you did not give over writing, since you have always done it to little or no purpose; for, though you have scribbled your eyes out, your works have never been printed, but for the company of chandlers and tobacco-men, who are your stationers, and the only men that vend your labours. He said, that he himself reprieved the whole defence of the people of England for a groat, that was sentenced to vile Mundungus, and had suffered inevitably, but for him, though it cost you much oil and labour; and the Rump three-hundred pounds a year, to whose service it was more properly intended; although, in the close, you pronounce them to be as very rascals as Salmasius, and all the christian world calls them, if ever they suffered any of their fellow-members to invade the government, as Oliver Cromwell and others have since done, and confess yourself fooled and mistaken, and all you have written to be false, howsoever you give yourself the second lye in writing for them again. After this, a grave gentleman of the long robe said, You had broken the heads of all the sages of the law, and plaid false in the very first word of your treatise. For the parliament of England, as you call the Rump, never consisted of a packed party of one house, that, by fraud and covin, had disseized the major part of their fellows, and forfeited their own right, by abetting the ejectment of the whole house of peers, and the greater part of their own, which was always understood to be the whole house, with whom they had but a joint right. That they had been several times justly dissolved by the army, from whom they really derived their authority; and the general voices of the people, in whom they had declared the supreme power to reside; and their own confession, upon record in their journal-book. But this, he said, you stole from Patriot Whitlock, who began his declaration for a free state with the same words; and he wondered you would filch and pilfer nonsense and fallacies, that have such plentiful store of your own growth. Yet this was as true as that which follows, that a great number of the faithfullest of the people assisted them in throwing off kingship; for they were a very slight number, in respect of the whole, and none of the faithfullest that forswore themselves, to maintain and defend that which they judged dangerous, and resolved to abolish: And, therefore, they turned regal bondage, as you word it, into a free commonwealth, no more justly and magnanimously, than other knights of the post do their feats, by plain down-right perjury. And the nation had little reason to trust such men with their liberty or property, that had no right to their own ears, but, among the rest of their cheats, had defrauded the very pillory of its due. This, being put to the ballot, was immediately carried on in the affirmative, without a dissenting pellet. When presently a gentleman, that hath been some years beyond-seas, said, he wondered you would say any thing so false and ridiculous, as that this commonwealth was the terror and admiration of France itself; for, if that were true, the cardinal and council were very imprudent to become the chief promoters of it, and strive, by all means to uphold that, which they judged to be dangerous to themselves, and for the interest of a nation, which they hate and fear so much as they do us; for, if this free state be so terrible to them, they have been very unwise, in assisting it to keep out the king all this while, especially if they saw the people of Paris and Bourdeaux disposed, as you say, to imitate us, which appears very strange; for, by their history, any man would judge, we had catched the disease of them. As for our actions abroad, which you brag of, he said, he never heard of any where he was, until Oliver Cromwell reduced us to an absolute monarchy, under the name of a free state; and then we beat the potent and flourishing republick of the United Provinces. But, for our actions at home, he had heard abroad, that they savoured much of Goth and Vandal barbarism, if pulling down of churches, and demolishing the noblest monuments in the land, both publick and private, beside religion and all laws, human and divine, may amount to so much. And yet, he said, he granted what you affirm, that they were not unbecoming the rising of a glorious commonwealth, for such are usually founded in faction, sedition, rebellion, rapine, and murder. And how much soever you admire the Romans, —— *ab infami gentem deducis Asylo*, if you remember, they were, at first, but a refuge for thieves and murderers. In all Asia, Africa, and the New World, there is no such thing as a republick, nor ever was, but only that of Carthage, and some paltry Greek colonies upon the skirts of Asia Minor; and, for one commonwealth, there have been an hundred kingdoms in the world; which argues, they should be the more agreeable to mankind. He added, commonly republicks arise from unworthy causes, not fit to be mentioned in history; and that he had heard many persons of honour, in Flanders, affirm, that it was not the tyranny of Spain, nor the cruelty of Duke d'Alva, nor the blood of their nobility, nor religion, nor liberty, that made the Dutch cast off their obedience to their prince, but one-penny excise laid upon a pound of butter, that made them implacably declare for a commonwealth. That the Venetians were banished into a free state by Atyla, and their glorious liberty was, at first, no other, than he may be said to have that is turned out of his house. That the Romans were cuckolded into their freedom, and the Pisans trapanned into theirs, by Charles the Eighth. That, as commonwealths sprung from base originals, so they have ruined upon as slight occasions. That the same Pisans, after they had spent all they had upon a freak of liberty, were sold, like cattle, by Lewis the Twelfth. The Venetians hectored, and almost ruined, by Maximilian the First, a poor prince, for refusing to lend him money, as they were not long before, by Francesco Sforza, about a bastard. The Florentines utterly enslaved, for spoiling an ambassador's speech, and disparaging Pedro de Medici's fine liveries. The Genoese —— But, as he was going on, he was interrupted by a gentleman that came in, and told us, That Sir Arthur Hazlerig, the Brutus of our republick, was in danger to be torn to pieces, like a Shrovetuesday bawd, by the boys in Wesminster-Hall; and, if he had not shewn himself as able a footman as he that cudgelled him, he had gone the way of Dr. Lamb infallibly. This set all the company a laughing, and made the traveller forget what he was saying. After a little pause, a learned gentleman of this society stood up, and said, he could not but take notice of one absurdity in your discourse, and that is, where you speak of liberty gloriously fought for, and kingly thraldom abjured by the people, &c. for, if by liberty you mean commonwealth, as you do, there was never any such thing, as either the one or the other; unless you will state the quarrel at the end of the war, which is very senseless, and directly contrary to all oaths and engagements; or can prove that hanging, drawing, and quartering of some of the people, and selling others as slaves, for taking up arms, in all parts of the nation, for the king, are abjurations of his authority. And he wondered you could be so weak, or impudent, to play foul in matters of fact, of which there are so many thousand witnesses to disprove you. But he was of opinion, that you did not believe yourself, nor those reasons you give, in defence of commonwealth; but that you are swayed by something else, as either by a stork-like fate (as a modern protector-poet calls it, because that fowl is observed to live no where but in commonwealths) or, because you have unadvisedly scribbled yourself obnoxious, or else you fear, such admirable eloquence, as yours, would be thrown away under a monarchy, as it would be, though of admirable use in a popular government, where orators carry all the rabble before them. For who knows to how cheap a rate this goodly eloquence of yours, if well managed, might bring the price of sprats; as no wiser orators than yourself have done heretofore, in the petty factions, Greek republicks, whom you chiefly imitate; for all your politicks are derived from the works of declaimers, with which sort of writers, the ancient commonwealths had the fortune to abound, who left many things behind them, in favour or flattery of the governments they lived under, and disparagement of others, to whom they were in opposition, of whom we can affirm nothing certain, but that they were partial, and never meant to give a true account of things, but to make them finer or worse than they really are; of which men, one of their own commonwealth poets gives a just character, by sorting them amongst the worst of men:

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* This is the 26th number in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

——Ἱερόσυλοι ῥήτορες,
Καὶ συκοφάνται, καὶ πονηροὶ.——

All which you have outgone (according to your talent) in their several ways, for you have done your feeble endeavour to rob the church of the little which the rapine of the most sacrilegious persons hath left, in your learned work against tithes; you have slandered the dead, worse than envy itself, and thrown your dirty outrage, on the memory of a murdered prince, as if the hangman were but your usher. These have been the attempts of your stiff, formal eloquence, which you arm accordingly, with any thing that lies in your way, right or wrong, not only begging, but stealing questions, and taking every thing for granted, that will serve your turn; for you are not ashamed to rob Oliver Cromwell himself, and make use of his canting, with signal assistances from heaven, and answering condescensions; the most impious Mahometan doctrine, that ever was invented among christians, and such as will serve as well to justify any prosperous villainy amongst men. He said, when God punishes a nation for sin, the executioners of his judgments are commonly but malefactors reprieved, as they are usually among men; for when he punished the Israelites for idolatry, he made use of greater idolaters then themselves: And when he afflicts a people for their disobedience to a just government, and fantastick longing after imaginary liberty, it is with infallible slavery, for their deliverers always prove their tyrants. This the Romans found true, for they had no sooner banished their kings, but they were, in few years, glad to banish themselves, from the tyranny and oppression of their patriots, the assertors of their liberty; and that very contest furnished their free state with sedition, and civil war, for 500 years, and never ended, until they were reduced to an absolute tyranny, under the power of that faction, that took upon it to vindicate their liberty. He added, that he could not but smile at one thing you said, and that is, that king and bishops will incroach upon our consciences, until we are forced to spend over again all that we have spent, and fight over again all that we have fought, &c. For if you did not look very like a cunning man, no body would believe you, nor trust your predictions of the future, that give so ill an account of things past. But he held you very unwise to blab any such thing; for that party you call *We* have gained so abundantly much more than they have spent, that they desire nothing more, than to fight over the same fights again, at the same rate; and if you could but make your words good, he would undertake they should be the first men that should set bishops about your consciences. For how vile soever you make the blood of faithful Englishmen, they have made such good markets of it, that they would be glad at any time to broach the whole nation at the same price, and afford the treasure of miraculous deliverances, as you call it, into the bargain. This, he added, was easier to be understood, than your brand of gentilism, upon kingship, for which you wrest scripture most unmercifully, to prove, that though Christ said, *His kingdom was not of this world;* yet his commonwealth is. For if the text which you quote, *The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority over them, are called benefactors: But it shall not be so among you*, &c. be to be understood of civil government (and to infer commonwealth, as you will have it right or wrong) and not to be meant of his spiritual reign, of which he was then speaking, and expressly calls so; you must prove that he erected a republick of his apostles, and that, notwithstanding the scripture every where calls his government, *The kingdom of heaven*, it ought to be corrected, and rendered, *The commonwealth of heaven*, or rather, *The commonwealth of this world;* and yet the text does as well prove benefactors heathenish as kings; for if our Saviour had meant to brand kingship with any evil character, he would never have stiled himself "King of the Jews, King of Heaven, King of Righteousness," &c. as he frequently does; but no where a state-holder or keeper of the liberties.

To this, a young gentleman made answer, that your writings are best interpreted by themselves; and that he remembered in that book, wherein you fight with the king's picture, you call Sir Philip Sidney's Princess Pamela (who was born and bred of christian parents in England) a heathen woman; and, therefore, he thought that by heathenish, you meant English; and that in calling kingship, heathenish, you inferred it was the only proper and natural government of the English nation, as it hath been proved in all ages. To which another objected, that such a sense was quite contrary to your purpose; to which he immediately replied, that it was no new thing with you to write that, which is as well against as for your purpose. After much debate, they agreed to put it to the ballot, and the young gentleman carried it without any contradiction. That done, a gentleman of good credit here, taking occasion from the former discourse, said, you had shewn yourself as able a divine, as a statesman; for you had made as politick provision for spiritual, as civil liberty, in those pious and orthodox (though seemingly absurd and contradictory) grounds you have laid down, in order thereunto, which being rightly interpreted, do say, or by consequence, infer thus much: That the church of Christ ought to have no head upon earth, but the monster of many heads, the multitude, who are the only supreme judges of all matters that concern him; a privilege they claimed, when he was upon earth, when they took upon them to condemn him, and cried, Crucify: That all christian laws and ordinances have a coercive power, to see themselves put in execution, and yet they ought to be subject to every man's will and humour (which you call his best light) and no man to them but in his own sense. That the scripture only ought to interpret itself (just as it can read itself) and every man is to take the interpretation in such a sense as best suits with his own capacity, or his occasions: That every man may do what he pleases in matters of religion, but only those that are in authority, who ought not to meddle in such matters, as being of so different a nature from their cognisance (or any other) that if it be their will to command the only true religion to be observed, it presently becomes unchristian, inhuman, and barbarous. That no man can serve God, nor save his own soul, but in a commonwealth; in this certainty you go after your own invention, for no man ever heard it before: But if it should be true, it is a sad thing to think, what is become of the apostles themselves, and all the saints in the primitive times, when there was never a christian commonwealth in the world? That any man may turn away his wife, and take another as often as he pleases, as you have most learnedly proved upon the fiddle, and practised in your life and conversation, for which you have atchieved the honour to be stiled the *Founder of a Sect.* All this you call liberty of conscience, and christian liberty, which you conclude no government is more inclinable, not only to favour, but protect, than a free commonwealth. In this, he said, you say right; for it is notorious enough, that since we have been but called a commonwealth, such pious doctrines, as these, have been so wonderfully propagated, that England does now abound with new christians, no less than Spain did of late years, and of the same mungrel breed; all which agree in nothing, but the extirpation of christian religion, and subversion of government, to which your discipline does naturally conduce. For certainly, the most ready and easy way to root out religion, is to render it contemptible and ridiculous; which cannot be sooner done, than by giving licence and encouragement to all manner of frenzies, that pretend to new discoveries in matters of faith; these will quickly make it become a sport and mockery to the people, until it be utterly extinct; and this, some of the church of Rome found true, who gave a greater check to the growth of reformation, by cloathing some of the new professors in fools coats, and exposing them to the derision of the multitude, than by persecuting, and putting thousands to death. And this is the way you go, which will never fail you, as long as there are fools and mad-men to carry on the work. And with this, if you could but introduce the wholesome canons of the council of Munster, it would make an admirable model for the ecclesiastical part of the republick, if it were not for one unlucky circumstance, and that is, that Knipper Dolling proclaimed John of Leyden king, and not state-holder. This, he said, was an unhappy mistake, and no less out of your way, than that of the Fifth Monarchy men, who would have been admirable for your purpose, if they had but dreamed of a fifth free state.

By this time, they began to grow weary of your perpetual falshoods and mistakes, and a worthy knight of this assembly stood up and said, that, if we meant to examine all the particular fallacies and flaws in your writing, we should never have done; he would therefore, with leave, deliver his judgment upon the whole, which, in brief, was thus: That it is all windy foppery, from the beginning to the end, written to the elevation of that rabble, and meant to cheat the ignorant. That you fight always with the flat of your hand, like a rhetorician, and never contract the logical fist. That you trade altogether in universals, the region of deceits and fallacy, but never come so near particulars, as to let us know which, among divers things of the same kind, you would be at. For you admire commonwealths in general, and cry down kingship as much at large, without any regard to the particular constitutions, which only make either the one or the other good or bad, vainly supposing all slavery to be in the government of a single person, and nothing but liberty in that of many; which is so false, that some kingdoms have had the most perfect form of commonwealths, as ours had, and some republicks have proved the greatest tyrannies, as all have done at one time or other. For many, if they combine, have more latitude to abuse power, than a single person, and less sense of shame, conscience, or honour to restrain them; for what is wickedly done by many, is owned by none, where no man knows upon whom in particular to fix it. And this we have found true by experience in your patriots and assertors (as you call them) for no one person could ever have done half the mischief they have done, nor outlived the infamy they have suffered, without any sense of shame. Beside this, as all your politicks reach but the outside and circumstances of things, and never touch at realities, so you are very sollicitous about words, as if they were charms, or had more in them than what they signify. For no conjurer's devil is more concerned in a spell, than you are in a mere word, but never regard the things which it serves to express. For you believe liberty is safer under an arbitrary unlimited power, by vertue of the name Commonwealth, than under any other government, how just or restrained soever, if it be but called kingship. And therefore, very prudently you would have the name parliament abolished, because it signifies a parly of our commons with their Norman kings. But in this you are too severe a Draco, to punish one word, for holding correspondence with another, when all the liberty, you talk so much of, consists in nothing else but mere words. For though you brag much of the people's managing their own affairs, you allow them no more share of that in your Utopia, as you have ordered it, than only to set up their throats and baul, instead of every three years, which they might have done before, once in an age, or oftener, as an old member drops away, and a new one is to succeed, not for his merit or knowledge in state affairs, but because he is able to bring the greatest and most deep-mouthed pack of the rabble into the field; a more wise and equal way, in your opinion, of chusing counsellors, than any king is capable of. But he added, you had done worst of all, where you are most like yourself, and that is in that false and malicious aspersion of Popish and Spanish counsels which you cast on the present king. For it is well known to all the world, he hath preferred his conscience before three crowns, and patiently endured to live so many years in exile, rather than change his religion; which if he would have done, or been moved with such counsels, he might long since have procured all the forces of the catholick world upon us; whereas it cannot be denied of his greatest opposers, that they are so jealous of their ill-gotten purchases bought with their crimes, that rather than be in danger of losing a pig, they would, with the Gergesenes, desire Christ to depart out of their coasts. After this said, he moved the assembly that I might be desired to deliver my judgment upon the book, as he and others had done, which being immediately past, I knew not, though unwilling, how to avoid it; and therefore, I told them as briefly as I could, that that which I disliked most in your treatise was, that there is not one word of the balance of propriety, nor the Agrarian, nor Rotation in it, from the beginning to the end; without which, together with a Lord Archon, I thought I had sufficiently demonstrated, not only in my writings but publick exercises in that coffee-house, that there is no possible foundation of a free commonwealth. To the first and second of these, that is, the Balance and the Agrarian, you made no objection, and therefore, I should not need to make any answer. But for the third, I mean Rotation, which you implicitly reject in your design to perpetuate the present members, I shall only add this to what I have already said and written on this subject, that a commonwealth is like a great top, that must be kept up by being whipped round, and held in perpetual circulation, for if you discontinue the Rotation, and suffer the senate to settle, and stand still, down it falls immediately. And if you had studied this point as carefully as I have done, you could not but know, there is no such way under heaven of disposing the vicissitudes of command and obedience, and of distributing equal right and liberty among all men, as this of wheeling, by which, as Chaucer writes, a single fart hath been equally divided among a whole convent of friars, and every one hath had his just share of the savour. I told them, I could not but be sorry to find so learned a man so ignorant, in the nature of government, as to make disproportionate parallels of councils as you do, where you compare the senate of Rome with the grand council of Venice, between which there is no analogy at all; for the senate of Rome was never the supreme power of the people, as the grand council of Venice is, but merely a council of state. But I wondered most of all, at what politick crack in any man's scull, the imagination could enter of securing liberty under an oligarchy, seized of the government for term of life, which was never yet seen in the world. The Metropolitan of all commonwealths, the Roman, did but once adventure to trust its whole power and authority, in the hands of one council, and that but for two years, and yet they had like to have lost their liberty for ever; whereas they had frequently in all ages left it wholly in the power of a single person, and found it so far from danger or inconvenience, that the only refuge they had in their greatest extremity was, to create a dictator. But I could not but laugh, as they all had done, at the pleasantness of your fancy, who suppose our noble patriots, when they are invested for term of life, will serve their country at their own charge: This, I said, was very improbable, unless you meant as they do, that all we have is their own, and that to prey and devour is to serve; in which they have appeared so able and industrious, as if they had been made to no other purpose, but, like lobsters, were all claws and belly. For though many laugh at me for accounting 300,000 pounds in wooden ware, towards the erecting of a free-state, in my Oceana, but a trifle to the whole nation; because I am most certain that these little pills the ballots are the only physick that can keep the body politick soluble, and not suffer the humour to settle, I will undertake, that if the present members had but a lease of the government during life, notwithstanding whatsoever impeachment of waste, they would raise more out of it to themselves in one year, than that amounts to; beside the charge we must be at in maintaining of guards to keep the boys off them, and before half the term be expired, they would have it untenantable. To conclude, I told them, you had made good your title in a contrary sense; for you have really proposed the most ready and easy way to establish downright slavery upon the nation that can possibly be contrived, which will clearly appear to any man that does but understand this plain truth, that wheresoever the power of proposing and debating, together with the power of ratifying and enacting laws, is intrusted in the hands of any one person, or any one council, as you would have it, that government is inevitably arbitrary and tyrannical, because they may make whatsoever they please lawful or unlawful. And that tyranny hath the advantage of all others that hath law and liberty among the instruments of servitude. J. H.

THE

QUALIFICATIONS OF PERSONS,

DECLARED CAPABLE BY THE

RUMP-PARLIAMENT,

To elect, or be elected, Members to supply their House.

Printed in the year 1660. Quarto, containing sixteen pages.

THE representative of the parliament of England, having for many years employed their constant endeavour, to impose freedom and liberty on the three nations; notwithstanding their obstinate reluctancy and opposition thereunto, who would take upon them, against all right and reason, to be their own judges; and being now, after two scandalous ejectments, and as many signal restorations, happily returned to discharge the remaining fragment of their trust; do find, to their unspeakable grief, the red-coats, in whom they always loyally acquiesced, failing of their pay, to fail likewise of their trust, and, seduced by evil counsel, to adhere unto the common enemy; that is to say, the said three nations, in complying with their desires and addresses, which are, to have this present representative dissolved, and a free parliament speedily convened, which they tremble to think upon, or the secluded members re-admitted, which they equally abominate, or the present house supplied with new elections, which their bowels sigh to reflect on. Nevertheless they have, after serious and mature deliberation, resolved upon the last, that is to say, to fill up their house, as being, though of dangerous consequence, less horrible and dreadful to themselves, than any other way. And to the end the persons to be elected may be of as near a condition as may be, to match the present members, and so, possibly, go hand in hand with them, in carrying on the said work; they have agreed upon these following qualifications, and do enact, and be it hereby enacted, that no person whatsoever presume to elect or be elected, under pain of confiscation of his estate, and sale of his person, that is not allowed capable thereof, by the said qualifications, in which they do profess, before the Searcher of all Hearts, that they have freely discovered the naked truth of all their intentions, as, if their breasts were to be opened, and their hearts taken out, which God defend, it would manifestly appear to all the world.

Qualification I.—Whosoever hath at any time been known to take the name of God in vain, that is, to swear or forswear himself for nothing, without advantage to the publick, or his own particular concernments, but merely out of rash and needless prophanation, is hereby declared utterly incapable to elect, or be elected, as a member to serve in this present parliament. For oaths have been found, by experience, to be wonderful expedients in state-affairs; and ought not to be made or broken, but with great and serious consideration.

Qualific. II.—Whosoever is noted to be a sabbath-breaker, or prophaner of the Lord's day, is declared incapable to elect, or be elected, &c. For he that cannot one day in seven observe, at least in shew, one commandment in ten, that costs nothing the keeping, nor gains any thing by being broken, is not fitly qualified to sit in this parliament: For all such sins, as have no immediate relation to the service of this house, must be openly detested, that there may be the less notice taken of such as are for the advantage and interest thereof.

Qualific. III.—Whosoever hath at any time, within the space of these twenty years last past, been observed to be disguised in drink, unless he can bring testimony that it is his usual custom to drink himself drunk in private alone, to avoid giving evil example, or in secret and well affected company, without healths; is declared incapable to elect or be elected: Provided that surfeit and gluttony be not included within this incapacity, nor such other alterations as may fall upon the spirit of a man, at thanksgiving dinners.

Qualific. IV.—Whosoever doth live in adultery, or fornication, or hath at any time had carnal copulation with the wife, sisters, or daughter, of any member of parliament, now sitting, without the consent or satisfaction of the said member; or hath been seen, in the day-time, to resort to houses of evil fame, or frequent the company of common women; is declared incapable to elect or be elected, &c. Provided, that this do not extend to any person, that hath kept a concubine or concubines so long, that now there is no notice taken thereof, or to such as by the loss of their eyes or noses, botches in their skins, or aches in their bones, can bring proof of their repentance, and resentment of their former lives; as it hath been allowed in the cases of William Lord Viscount Monson, Sir Henry Martin, Mr. Secretary Scot, William Heveningham, Esq; and others.

Qualific. V.—Whosoever hath suffered for his conscience, either by imprisonment, sequestration, or sale of his estate, or hath refused to take any oath imposed by this parliament, howsoever contradictory to any former oath, by him taken: Or hath gained nothing by the ruin of his native country, nor is liable to suffer by any revolution, that may tend to the general settlement thereof, but, being unbiassed by any party, is at liberty to promote the proper and natural interests of the nation in general: Or hath subscribed any petition or remonstrance for a free parliament; or for the re-admission of the secluded members to their right of sitting; or, at a time to be prefixed, to determine the sitting of this present parliament, or any thing else against the sense of this house, in order to the settlement of the nation: Or hath declared against taxes, excise, free-quarter, plunder, arbitrary government, the perpetuation and supremacy of the present parliament, continuation of the distractions, decay of trade, and slavery of the English nation. Any, and every such person, is hereby declared not only incapable to be elected a member of this present or any future parliament, or of bearing any office, or place of trust, in this commonwealth, but shall suffer such farther punishment, either by sequestration, or sale of his estate or person, as to the wisdom of this house shall seem expedient.

Qualific. VI.—Whosever hath been engaged in the late rebellions of Sir George Booth, Bart. or Lambert Symnell, Esq; or any way aiding or assisting thereunto: Or hath sat or acted in, or under the late committee of safety, or had any hand in the late disturbances of this present parliament; is, beside such other punishment as this house shall judge fitting, declared incapable to elect, or be elected, to serve in this or any future parliament: Provided that this shall not extend to such members of this house, as were engaged in the said insurrections. For, if all such should be impeached before the house be full, there would not be a quorum left to make it a parliament.

Qualific. VII.—Whosoever hath called Charles Stewart king, or drunk his health, or prayed God to restore him to his right, and every honest man to his own, or used any malignant and treasonable expressions: Or hath called the present parliament Rump, Arse, Bum, Tail, or Breech: Or hath rejoiced at the interruptions thereof, or wished it at an end: Or hath sued, arrested, reviled, beaten, kicked, cuckolded, trepanned, or refused to trust any of the members thereof, during the intervals: Or hath action of debt, or bill of complaint against any member now sitting; and doth refuse to give the said member a full discharge, and general release; any, and every such person, is declared utterly incapable to elect, or be elected, to serve in this present or any future parliament, or of bearing any office or place of trust in this commonwealth.

Qualific. VIII.—No man shall be judged qualified, nor admitted to sit in this house as a member thereof, that doth not first acknowledge this parliament to be a free parliament, unfounded by the laws of God or man; that all things are exposed to the will of the members thereof, who may freely dispose of the estates, persons, consciences, and lives of men, as they please, and afterwards make it lawful. That this house hath a greater power in civil affairs than the Turk, and in spiritual than the Pope, for it is head of churches, not yet in being, and Judge more of faith, than all the general councils ever were. That it can damn, and save, and bind, and loose in this world, in despight of the next; make what it pleases holy or profane, true or false, scripture or apocrypha, and no man dares to question its infallibility; and that every member thereof can vote and swear contradictions, and make others do so too, or pay them for it.

Qualific. IX.—No man shall be judged rightly qualified, nor admitted to sit in this house, until he hath engaged to use his christian endeavour to carry on a thorough reformation of the calendar, that the English nation may no more use the Julian account, nor reckon by the year of our Lord, but by the Roman indiction, according to the custom of the christians in ancient times; that is, reckon the year by their taxes, and not their taxes by the year: A reformation, which this parliament made some progress in before their late interruption, when they drew the whole year within the compass of four months, and do intend, by God's help, to bring to perfection with all convenient expedition.

Qualific. X.—Whosoever makes profession of godliness and holiness of life, although he be commonly reputed to be both a fool, and a knave, a notorious villain, and diabolical hypocrite; shall, nevertheless, be allowed, if duly elected, to be rightly qualified to sit in this present parliament. Provided that this capacity do not extend to Charles Fleetwood, Esq; John Desbrow, Yeoman; and Sir Henry Vane, Knight, lately elected; or John Hewson, Cordwainer, of the city of London.

Ordered that Dr. John Owen, Mr. Hugh Peters, and Major John Wildman be included within this qualification, notwithstanding they are in orders.

Qualific. XI.—Whosoever hath had a hand in the late king's blood, or petitioned to bring him to tryal, or hath demolished his houses, cut down his woods, or pulled down churches, to sell the materials; or can bring proof, that he hath been of one or more high-courts of justice, or at one or more committees of sale or sequestration, of the committee for propagation of the gospel; or hath been a commissioner of the excise, a sequestrator, treasurer, or trustee, for the sale of king's lands or goods, or bishops, and deans and chapters, and delinquents lands; and hath gotten a considerable estate, by buying or selling the aforesaid lands; and can make it appear, that his head is forfeited to the Tower on London-Bridge, and the four quarters of his outward man to four respective gates of the city, if any revolution should happen to the general settlement of the nation. Any, and every such person, is declared rightly qualified to sit in this present parliament, and shall be admitted without taking any oath at all; for a man's skin is tenderer than his conscience, and this world much nearer to him than the next.

Qualific. XII.—Whosoever can bring proof, by the loss of his ears, or otherwise, that he hath stood on the pillory for perjury, forgery, faction, or sedition, to hinder the government of the late king; or that he hath been burnt in the hand, forehead, or shoulder, thrown over the bar, set in the stocks, carted, or whipped at the tail of a cart, for any thing by him done, said, or written against the said government, before the year 1642, shall be approved as most fitly qualified to sit in this present parliament. Provided that this shall not extend to William Prynne, of Swanswick, Esq; Utter Bencher of Lincoln's-Inn, nor to Major William Poe.

Qualific. XIII.—Whosoever is son, brother, or nephew, or can prove himself to be the natural son or bastard of any member, or of the mother, sister, or wife of any member of this parliament now sitting, or any member thereof deceased, that sat since the year 1648, and will engage to conform to the sense of this house, according to the example of the said member unto whom he hath relation, is hereby declared rightly qualified, either to elect, or be elected, a member of this present parliament.

Qualific. XIV.—Whosoever can bring proof, that he is a man of a publick spirit, fit for all times and occasions, of approved liberty of conscience, and of courage and resolution to encounter any danger that extends to soul or body, if need be, rather than live out of authority and command, or under the laws of God or man. That he hath proper suits for the service of the present government, and can do the same things by the spirit of God, which other men are drawn to by the temptations of the devil. That he can break oaths by Providence, and forswear himself, to the glory of God; deal falsely and treacherously with men, out of conscience; and verily believeth it to be a greater sin to name faith, than to break it. That religion is his trade, and God himself his occupation. That he can hold forth any useful, though notorious untruth, with convenient obstinacy, until he believes himself, and so renders it no sin. That he hath an excellent spirit to find out ways of raising money, and will deserve his share both of the substance and curses of the people. Any, and every such person, is declared to be most aptly qualified to elect, or be elected, member of this present parliament. Provided that this capacity do not extend to Bulstrode Whitlock, Esq; or Richard Salway, Grocer, lately ejected this house.

Qualific. XV.—Whosoever can produce testimony, that he hath taken the late oath of allegiance and supremacy, the protestation, the solemn league and covenant, the engagement, to be true and faithful to the present government, without king or house of lords. That he hath subscribed the addresses, to live and die with Oliver and Richard Cromwell, and taken the oaths to be true and faithful to the governments under them, and feels no alteration in his conscience, but is ready to take the oath of abjuration of Charles Stewart, King Jesus, or any other single person. Any, and every such person, is declared, as rightly qualified to elect, or be elected, a member of this present parliament, and shall be admitted to sit, being duly elected, without taking any further oath at all.

Qualific. XVI.—Ordered, that a bill be forthwith brought in, to make Newgate, Bridewell, and Bedlam Corporations; that writs may be issued out, to impower them to chuse their respective representatives, to serve in this present parliament, in as full manner, as the Upper-bench and the Fleet have already done.

Qualific. XVII.—Any nobleman, or late peer of the realm, that will renounce his creation, or his Creator, and is otherwise qualified, shall be allowed capable (being first naturalised by an act of this house) to be made a knight, citizen, or burgess; and, being duly elected and sworn, shall be admitted to sit among the rabble of this house, in as full manner as Philip Herbert, Esq; late Earl of Pembroke, and William Cecill, late Earl of Salisbury, at this present do. Provided that this shall not extend to any peer of the late other house, that, having a trade to get his living honestly by, did, nevertheless, betake himself to so lewd a course of life

Qualific. XVIII.—Whosoever, by fraud, coven, or otherwise, hath possessed himself of another man's estate, or hath gotten into his hands any office or place, of considerable value, by ejecting, indirectly, the right owner thereof, and does not know how to maintain and justify the same so well, as by being chosen a member of this house, shall be approved of, in so doing, to have given good security for his fidelity to the present government, and be capable to elect, or be elected, &c.

Qualific. XIX.—Resolved, that the curses of the people shall, henceforth, that is to say, from this present fourteenth of February, 1659, be reputed, and taken for their free voices; and whosoever hath most of the curses of his country, shall be understood to have most of their free voices, and be approved, as most fitly qualified to sit in this present parliament. For such will be very profitable members to this house, when it shall be judged seasonable to make the people pay for their cursing, as well as they have done for their swearing.

Qualific. XX.—No man shall be admitted to sit in this house, as a member thereof, howsoever duly qualified and elected, except before excepted, until he hath taken the following oath upon the Holy Evangelists.

THE OATH.

'I A. B. do swear, in the presence of Almighty God, and by 'the contents of this book, to be true and faithful to this present 'government, as it is now unestablished, and to the keepers of the 'liberties, unsight unseen, whether they are of an invisible and 'internal nature, as fiends, pugs, elves, furies, imps, or goblins, 'or whether they are incarnate, as redcoats, lobsters, corporals, 'troopers, or dragoons. I do also swear, that neither Charles 'Stewart, nor any person claiming from King James, shall ever 'be restored to the crown of England, Scotland, or Ireland, either 'by foreign or domestick assistance, all dispensations and outgoings of providence to the contrary notwithstanding. I do likewise swear, never to understand, nor believe any thing, that is 'against the authority, interest, or sense of this house; and that 'I will never give my vote, to determine the sitting thereof, during 'the natural life of every respective member thereof now sitting, 'nor consent to the establishment of any thing, but taxes, excise, 'free-quarter, plunder, confiscations, arbitrary government, high-'courts of justice, committees of sale and sequestration, a gospel-'preaching ministry, and liberty of conscience. I do further 'swear, that I will constantly believe in all the privileges of par-'liament, as the house believes; and that I will, to the utmost of 'my power, maintain and defend the same, although I do not un-'derstand, nor ever will, what they are, or how far they extend. 'And lest the present members should, when the house is full, be 'secluded by their own votes (by which the secluded members are 'declared uncapable of ever sitting in parliament, or bearing any 'office of trust in this commonwealth) I do swear, that the seclu-'ded members, properly so called, are not these who have been 'twice secluded, that is to say, the present members now sitting, 'but those who have been secluded but once, that is, the major 'part of the long parliament. As also, that, when it shall seem 'good unto this parliament to make every member thereof an offi-'cer or commander of the army, this house will, nevertheless, be 'no council of officers, but a very parliament, and the sword still 'in the hand of the civil magistrate. I do also swear, that what-'soever time shall hereafter produce (six governments off) for the 'advantage of the present parliament, or whatsoever they shall at 'any time do, say, or swear, in order thereunto, how contrary 'soever to any thing by them formerly done, said, or sworn, is, 'and will be always the good old cause, and the work of the Lord. 'That the present distractions are for his glory, and the peace of 'the government, and that the slavery of the English nation is for 'the liberty of the people. That, notwithstanding, they are bar-'red to change their masters, as christian bondslaves, as in Tur-'ky, and are conveyed from government to government, as rogues 'are from constable to constable, still to be whipped and punish-'ed; all is for their freedom and protection in their ancient laws, 'rights, and immunities. Lastly, I do swear never to divulge the 'secrets of this house, nor discover the hidden mysteries thereof. 'The admirable art of managing factions, with confederate contests 'in ordinary matters, and staving, and tailing with the rabble of 'parties in businesses of profit and advantage, to carry on private 'designs under the masque of publick good. The subtle ways of 'packing committees, and proroguing business without doors. The 'ingenious artifices of double-dealing, by selling with one hand, 'and buying with the other, whereby several members have afforded 'themselves good bargains of delinquents estates, in suborned pur-'chasers names. The most excellent invention of advising votes, 'and finding out the true value of a leading or seconding voice, 'third, fourth, or fifth; how many a lasting voice goes for, like 'the last trick at picquet; how to balance all these upon account, 'so that every sharer may have his due; with infinite other curi-'ous and occult sciences, which the present members, out of their 'long practice and experience, have found out, to the glory of 'God, and good of the nation.

'So help me God.'

Qualific. XXI.—And lest the new-elected members should (notwithstanding all these oaths and qualifications) oppose, and, being the greater number, overvote the present members, like a new piece of cloth upon an old garment, instead of patching, tear it wider: It is resolved, that but eight writs for new elections be issued forth, at one time, and no more, until the new returned members have been intrusted in the practice of this house, and, being engaged by profitable employments, have given proof of their conformity thereunto; or, in case of refusal, have been ejected.

THE

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

OF

FATHER PETERS:

As it was found quilted into my Lord Chancellor's Cap, with a Letter directed to his Lordship, &c. and his Prayer to the Blessed Virgin of Loretto.

Quarto, containing four pages.

MERITORIOUS SIR,

UNDERSTANDING that you were to be my successor in these houses of clay, I thought it would not be amiss to leave you my executor, who, next my Reverence, have done the king the best service in the nation, and consequently must be no stranger nor enemy to Father Peters. I have now laid aside the sword of the spirit, and betaken myself to an arm of flesh; and, having converted my apostolical robe into the Whore of Babylon's dye, am resolved to visit Father le Chaise, and send over the king of France with thirty-thousand men. I need not put you in mind of the terrible blow that shall come, and none see who hurts them, nor any other private juggle; for, having made room for your admittance to his majesty's ear, there is nothing can fall betwixt the cup and the lip. It would be superfluous to tell you, that innumerable prayers and indulgences for you, and your posterity after you, are, together with this my sanctuary, conferred upon you; I wish England do not grow too hot for you in a little time: However, I go to prepare a place for you. Be not troubled, your merits and my beads will never let you lie long in purgatory, should all hopes fail, and therefore be secure of a future happiness; be of good courage, and your faith will save you. This I am sure of, and all the world knows it, that you have made to yourself friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness, so that you are like to feed well as long as you live in this world; and, as for the other, let not one melancholy thought make you soak your guts one bowl the less, for I will warrant you, my works of Supererogation helping out your defects, I shall have nothing too much, nor you too little, to bribe admittance into paradise. St. Peter and I were old cronies, and, as long as I have but an evidence of his own handwriting to produce, he cannot for shame, but out of good manners, let me and my friend in. However, go on bravely, thou son of perdition, and fill up the measure of thy iniquity, till thou grow ripe for translation, and the Roman calendar. Divine Bard, and Reverend Impostor, into thy hands alone I commit my English spirit, and my last Will and Testament to be disposed of according to my appointment, together with an inventory of what goods I have left in those lodgings for your use; and a private prayer, to be said over seventeen times a day, and the Blessed Virgin hear thee in the day when thou callest upon her, and make the works of thy hand prosperous, and thy counsels like Haman's, or good Achitophel's.

Thine eternally, PETERS.

The last Will and Testament of Father Peters.

I GIVE my soul into the hands of the Blessed Gabriel, to be translated into purgatory; and, there, after two turns of the spit, and one winding up of the jack, which is enough for the purification of any jesuit, and from thence, to carry it to the lap of his mistress, the Blessed Virgin of Loretto, whom I serve, and whose I am.

Let my heart be dried, and beaten to powder, and so divided into several drams, to be drank by all the new converts in England, in a glass of a heretick's warm blood.

Let the king, queen, and Prince of Wales take a morning's draught of my spleen, prepared after the same manner, as my heart by his Holiness.

My gall should be at the French king's service, but they have more need of it in England, therefore let that fall to Sunderland's share.

My brains have overgrown me this last three or four years, and therefore shall be divided amongst pluralities, Peterborough, Huntington, Bishop Chester, Smith, and Chapman.

Chester, not content with my brains, snaps at my kidnies; by St. Francis, he is the likeliest man to make good use of them, let him take them.

Let my scull be carried to St. Omers, and, tipped with silver, to be drank in upon the solemn day that is consecrated to my name; and, being filled with blood, upon the admission of every novice, to be turned off by all the brotherhood, at the time of the administration of the holy sacrament.

My wanton eyes I bequeath to the nuns at St. Bridget's, and to those objects of charity, that the king's alms were bestowed upon.

My tongue, to the Earl of Winchelsea, because he has so little.

My ears, to Penn, Ferguson, and the rest of that tribe; or Titus Oates, that courageous gnaw-post.

My nose, to the P. O. who has scratched his out of Scipio's grave.

My teeth, to Harry Hills, for beads; or, to polish the Rosary; or, instead of it, Aretine, Tully and Octavia, Rochester, School of Venus, &c.

My throat, to the Earl of Essex, to be shaved.

My breasts, to the queen, who lost her own with longing for a box of the ear of the princess, and sausages made of hereticks dripping.

My issues, to queen dowager, who, they say, has twenty; ten to my knowlege.

My instrument of propagation, otherwise called the carnaledge part, to my Lady Salisbury, or Stonehorse Spencer.

My prolifick juice, to the queen, and my blessing; together with all the hairs of my ——— to make a peruke for my son ———.

The strength of my back, to the king, together with all my merits: Some one will be apt to say, *Your merit*, quoth he, *That is a halter*. Good Mr. King, if you will put up the affront, I will, or else, my intent being well directed, I am clear.

My a———, to the great button-maker of England.

My deputy hair, and my alderman's hat, to Alsop, and the rest of the gang.

My rasor let Jefferies shave himself with, and cut his throat when he has done. My breeches I recommend to the queen's use, to get her with child without the help of a man; and the smell of my stockings to make her fair. How beautiful upon the mountains, &c. Let my corpse be buried in the room where Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey was murdered, to fright his bodily appearance, and I will, to the devil to choak his ghost. Twenty-thousand pounds for swords, knives, powder, fireballs, &c. Ten-thousand pounds for him that stabs the Prince of Orange. Two-thousand for the French dragoons, to be paid by Father le Chaise, for their good service. One-hundred for him that kills a heretick. One-thousand for the colonel of St. Ignatio, to invent and provide all manner of tortures. Two-thousand to the chapel of the Blessed Virgin of Loretto, to be converted into a golden chamber-pot. All this last to be paid by the king, as soon as I have sent him money from France.

An Inventory of the Goods that I left in my Lodgings, to the Lord Chancellor, with their Value set upon them.

1. A PIECE of Adam's fig-leaf-apron, together with an apple of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Three hundred thirty-thousand pounds.

2. A frog, a louse, and a locust, that was upon Pharaoh's land; with Joseph's coat, Sampson's jaw-bone, and half Gideon's fleece. Fifty-thousand pounds.

3. The hoof of Balaam's ass, the dart that killed Absalom, together with the stone that slew Goliah, and a piece of Bathsheba's smock, prized at one-thousand pounds.

4. Three chairs that Solomon sat in at study, together with his black fur cap; and a table that St. Paul made use of, when he wrote his Epistle to the Hebrews. Two-thousand pounds.

5. The parchments, that the same apostle sent for, by Timothy, with the cloke; St. Agnes's candlestick, and St. Winifred's ink-horn. Three-thousand pounds.

6. St. Francis's clock; St. Dennis's fire-shovel and tongs; a broken chamber-pot of the Blessed Virgin of Loretto; and a lit-

tle sauce-pan for the Prince of Wales, that Zacharias bought for his son John. Thirty-thousand pounds.

7. St. Ignatius's warming-pan, the nail of Loyola's little toe, Pope Joan's placket, and Bellarmine's close-stool. Ten-thousand pounds.

8. A surreverence of St. Clemens in a silver box; St. Ambrose's clyster-pipe; St. Austin's almanack: valued at one-thousand pounds.

9. St. Cyprian's bason; Cicely's looking-glass, and Marmalade pot; Coleman's halter, St. Catharine's tower, and curling-pin, with her wash to beautify the face, which I have used this many years, and it wastes no more than the widow's cruise, which I also have: Twenty-thousand pounds.

10. Some of Paul's fasting-spittle in a bottle, sealed with his coat of arms, good for sore eyes, and to restore even the blind; a nail of Timothy's shoe, Queen Mary's ruff, and St. Margaret's scissars. Three-thousand pounds.

11. A board of the ark, a feather of Noah's dove, a grain of Lot's wife, took from the pillar of salt; and the paper that saluted Lyass B———. Seven-thousand pounds.

12. The dirt-pies that the Virgin Mary made when she was a child; some of the dung that fell into Tobit's eyes; the horns of Ne-buchadnezzar, when turned into a cow; St. Bridget's thimble, and case of needles. Two-thousand pounds.

13. The nails that held our Saviour to the cross; the spear that pierced his side; some of the water and blood that came out; the inscription that was set over his head, in Pilate's own hand-writing. Six-thousand pounds.

14. Judas's bag full of bread and cheese; the piece of money that was taken out of the fish's mouth for tribute; some of the water that was made wine. Seven-thousand pounds.

15. A piece of our Blessed Saviour's cradle; the manger; the key of St. Peter's back-door into heaven; his slippers; the bill, spurs, and comb of the cock, that crowed when he denied his Master. Four-thousand pounds.

16. A part of the nipple of St. Agatha; St. Margaret's piss-burnt garter; the table-cloth, napkins, and knives, that were used in the institution of the Lord's Supper; the bed that Pope Joan pigged in; Pope Boniface's codpiss-buttons; and our Lord's Prayer, in our Saviour's own hand-writing. Nine-thousand pounds.

15. A drop of the Blessed Virgin's milk, which she gave to St. Biasio, when he thirsted in the wilderness.

A Form of private Prayer used by Father Peters.

O Blessed Mary, Mother of God, Queen of Heaven, Saviour of the World, Giver of Salvation, the Almighty Lady, Author of our Redemption, I beseech thee to hear me. Bow the heavens, and come down from that thy throne, to hear the petition of thy humble suppliant. By our Saviour's birth and baptism, by the manger in which he was laid, by the gifts the wise men brought, by the star that appeared in the east, by the swaddling-cloaths he wore, by the milk he sucked, by the tears he shed in his agony, by the kiss given him by Judas, by the halter with which Judas hanged himself, and the bag that he had to bear; by the lance that pierced our Saviour's side, by the water and blood that came out, by the tomb in which he was laid, by the spices with which he was embalmed, by the ointment with which he was anointed unto his burial, by the cross on which he suffered, by the two thieves that together died with him, by the choir of angels at his birth, and the choir of angels that were his attendants at his resurrection; by the superscription of Pilate, by the high-priest's ear that was cut off, by the name of woman, with which Christ pleased to signify thy pre-eminence over all women, &c. I beseech thee to hear me. Let not the scepter depart from Amalek, nor a lawgiver from the Jebusites; nor a cardinal from England, nor a Peters from the court, so long as the sun and moon endure. Pray for us, O Blessed Virgin, that all our designs and contrivances may have good success; and command thy son to be so careful of the good of his society, that it may be implanted in all the nations of the world; and particularly, in this wherein we live. Let the king hearken to me, the charmer, who charms wisely; nor be as a deaf adder, that will not hear; nor stiff-necked as his people, that will not obey. Make him resolute in his religion, and true to the cause which he has promised to maintain; and let the abundance of his merits wash away the many religious vows and oaths, which he has made and broke, for the honour of the Roman church. We are thy people, and the sheep of thy pasture; if thou hadst not been for us, we had been swallowed up quick in this heretical, damnable, prejudiced kingdom, when they were so wrathfully displeased at us; but thou hast fought for us, and defended us. O go on to perfect this work of thine, which thou hast, in some measure, begun; and make us all one sheepfold, under one shepherdess, the Blessed Mary. Make Peter open to all, that will open the door of their hearts to thee; and damn all those eternally that shall presume to refuse it, for thy name's sake, and mine, the Lord Chancellor's, Salisbury's, Chester's, Peterborough's merit, &c. Amen.

THE

TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION

OF

Colonel ADRIAN SCROOPE, Mr. JOHN CAREW, Mr. THOMAS SCOTT, Mr. GREGORY CLEMENT, and Colonel JOHN JONES,

Who sat as Judges upon our late Sovereign Lord King Charles.

Together with their several Answers and Pleas, at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bailey, Friday the 12th of October, 1660, before the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, appointed by his Majesty for that purpose.

James ii. v. 13.—For he shall have judgment without mercy, that shewed no mercy.

London: Printed for John Stafford and Edward Thomas. 1660. Quarto, containing eight pages.

THIS day being Friday the twelfth of October, 1660, the king's lords justices, for trial of several persons, who had a hand in the death of our late sovereign, sat in the sessions-house in the Old Bailey, and called to the bar the persons following, viz.

Col. Adrian Scroope	Gregory Clement
John Carew	John Jones
Thomas Scott	

Col. Adrian Scroope was first called to his trial; who, having excepted against several of the jury, at last had such a one as he agreed to.

Proclamation being made, and silence commanded, the indictment was read, and one of the king's council stood up, and spoke to this effect:

Gentlemen of the Jury,

You have heard by the indictment of several that did assemble themselves together, to compass and take away the life of the king our late sovereign, among which persons the prisoner at the bar was one, who, under his hand and seal, did consent to the said murther: First, by setting hand to the commission, which gave being to that bloody court, and afterwards by signing that bloody warrant, which occasioned the severing his head from his body, which we can prove by several witnesses.

The court calls for the warrant of the king's execution, and went to shew it to one of the witnesses; which, when Col. Scroope saw, he said, "My Lord, let me see it; if it be my hand, I will not deny it."

[The warrant is carried to him.]

Scroope. My Lord, I do not deny but it is my hand.

Mr. Masterton, one of the witnesses, is sworn.

King's Council. Whether did you see this gentleman sitting amongst the judges of the king?

Masterton. My Lord, I was at the High-Court of Justice so called, several times, and I saw the prisoner at the bar sitting amongst them, and particularly on the 27th of December, being the day on which sentence was given.

Scroope. My Lord, pray ask this gentleman whether he and I were ever in company together, that he should know me so well, for I never saw him in my life before to my knowledge.

To which it was answered, that he in person answered to that name, and was the man.

Several other witnesses were sworn to the same purpose.

Col. Scroope desired that one might be asked, if he could tell whereabouts he sat; to which the witness answered,

My Lord, I cannot say that positively; I cannot remember such a circumstance so long; but, to the best of my remembrance, he was the uppermost judge on the right-hand.

Sir Richard Brown was sworn, to give evidence concerning several treasonable words that he should speak about the king's murther.

The act for constituting the High-Court of Justice was likewise read; and Col. Scroope owned that to be his hand which subscribed thereunto; saying, he did not desire that witnesses should be sworn to more than was needful.

The king's council then spoke to the jury, and told them, that they had heard by six several witnesses, that the prisoner had sat amongst the king's judges; and by three, that he sat the day which was by them called, *The Day of Judgment.*

The prisoner said, that he had a great disadvantage in answering to such learned men, who were to plead against him, and said, that he would not undertake to justify his person, but desired time and council to answer to matter of law.

The Judge. That is where you have matter of law.

The prisoner answered, My Lord, I was not of the parliament, I beseech you take notice of that; and that which was done, my Lord, was by a High Court of Justice, who had a commission from the parliament. My Lord, it was that authority which was then accounted the supreme authority, that the generality of the nation submitted to; having received command from that authority, it was, in obedience to the same, that I sat; I was promoted thereunto by that command: I have not time to bring these matters to a head, because I have been these six weeks close prisoner in the Tower, that I could not get council to prepare myself: Therefore, my Lord, let me have some time, and council, to provide myself to plead. My Lord, I was no contriver of that business, only executed the command.

To which was answered, that that, which he called the parliament, was no parliament; that there was no colour of authority to justify them; and that, if the whole house of commons had been sitting, as these pretending that authority were not a sixth part, yet they could not act against the life of the least cripple at the gate, without the king, much less against himself.

Col. Scroope. I say, my Lord, I am but a single person; and, if there be mistakes, I am not the only person that have been misled; I hope that an error in judgment will not be accounted an error in will, and shall not be accounted malice: Truly, my Lord, I must say this, and I desire your lordship to take notice of me, that I am without any malice at all.

After several things of the like nature, hoping the authority of the rump-parliament would clear him, and be taken as a sufficient plea for his aforesaid treasonable conspiracy, the judge asked him, If he had any thing further to offer in the case? Which he being not able to do, the charge was given to the jury, who never went out of the court to give in their verdict; and being asked, according to the form, Whether the prisoner at the bar was guilty of the high treason whereof he stood indicted, or not guilty?

The foreman said, *guilty*; and so they said all.

Whereupon the prisoner was taken from the bar, and shackled with chains.

The next, who was called to the bar, was Mr. John Carew, who, after the formalities of the court were passed as aforesaid, and the indictment read, he was charged by the king's council as followeth:

'The prisoner at the bar stands indicted for (not having the fear 'of God before his eyes) imagining, contriving, and compassing 'the death of our late sovereign of blessed memory; for the proof 'of this, there are several things in the indictment which do discover their private imaginations, which is, that they did meet and 'consult, &c. there is a statute of the 25th of Edward the Third, 'against imagining, designing, or compassing the death of the king, 'which ye are to enquire after.

'There was a thing called the High Court of Justice, in which 'bloody court our sovereign was tried, and this gentleman was 'one of those miscreants that had the confidence, nay, the impudence to sit amongst them, and afterwards sealed to that bloody 'roll whereupon he was executed.'

Several witnesses, being examined, spoke to this effect:

That they saw him several days in that court sitting amongst those who were called the king's judges, and particularly on the twenty-seventh day of January, 1648, on which day the sentence was passed; also knew that to be his hand, which was to the warrant for the king's execution, and for establishing a High Court of Justice.

Whereupon the prisoner was asked, What he had to say for himself? Who answered, that he came not there to deny any thing that he had done; that whereas what was done in the case, was ushered in with these words [not having the fear of God before his eyes] he did declare it was not done in such a fear, 'But in the fear of the Holy and Righteous Lord, the Judge of the Earth.'

Whereat the court was much troubled and disturbed, that he should make God the author of their treason and murder.

But he went on to this purpose:

When this came about, there was an ordinance wherein my name was set, which, when I saw, I struck it out; I leave it to the Lord to judge, I thought not well of it, and so was very unwilling to appear in it, there being, as I thought, enough besides me to be employed in it, and therefore I speak the truth, as it is in Jesus, to shew how I had the fear of the Lord before me; I say, as to what I did was upon this account; I did it, first, in obedience to the then supreme authority of England, and after the Lord gave answer to solemn appeals.

Running on after this rate, the court was wearied with his discourse, and put him on to plead to his indictment.

He desired he might declare the grounds whereupon the parliament proceeded, and give the grounds and reasons of the fact.

To which the king's council said, then you must needs confess it. Whereupon he acknowledged that he was there, and proceeded according to the act of parliament: But was told, as the court had often said before, that neither the lords nor the commons, jointly or severally, had any power without the king; and that the power then in being had not the least colour of authority for what they did; and that it was not a thing to be debated without denying our allegiance, that the subject can hold up his hand against his sovereign.

After, the Lord Annesley made a learned speech, declaring the illegality of their proceedings, that when a treaty was concluded with the king, and accordingly all things like to be settled, he and some other had contrived and designed to keep the far greater part of the members out against their allegiance, the laws of the land, and against the privileges of parliament, &c. making themselves an arbitrary parliament, and driving away the rest, &c.

But Mr. Carew being not able to say any thing in defence of his high charge; the jury never went out for it, but presently brought him in *guilty*.

Mr. Scott was brought next, and, after all the formalities of the court were over, he first pleaded the privilege of a parliament-man; several witnesses were produced against him, that he so gloried in the death of the king, as to say, "That he desired it might be written upon his tombstone, to the end all the world might know it;" as also other things, which expressed his malicious forwardness in that horrid murther. The main part of his pleading, was to justify the authority of the rump-parliament, which, being so often answered before, need not here be inserted. The jury soon concluded with him likewise, and found him *guilty*.

Mr. Gregory Clement petitioned the court to wave his plea of Not Guilty; which the court granting, he confessed the indictment.

Col. John Jones confessed, that he was present at giving sentence against the king, only denied the form of the indictment;

whereupon a jury was, without his excepting against any, quickly sworn, and, according to his own confession, found him *guilty.*

The judge, in a very learned speech, endeavoured to make them sensible of the heinousness of the sin, and, persuading them to repentance, prayed God to have mercy upon them, and read their sentence upon all together:

You shall go from hence to the place from whence you came, and from that place shall be drawn upon a hurdle to the place of execution, and there shall hang by the neck till you are half dead, and shall be cut down alive, and your privy-members cut off before your face and thrown into the fire, your belly ripped up and your bowels burnt, your head to be severed from your body, your body shall be divided into four quarters, and disposed as his majesty shall think fit.

All were shackled with fetters, and carried to the press-yard.

BIBLIOTHECA FANATICA:

OR,

THE FANATICK LIBRARY.

Being a Catalogue of such Books as have been lately made, and, by the Authors, presented to the College of Bedlam.

Printed in the Year 1660. Quarto, containing eight pages.

THE Difference between Rogue and Robert, Titchburn and Tyburn, learnedly stated in several positions, in answer to a late Libel, or University Queries; by Robert Titchburn, Alderman.

Canaan's Grapes; being a taste of the virtues and fidelity of our Saints: By the same Author.

Ochus Redivivus: or, a clear Demonstration that a Trap-door, or Gallows, is the best reward for traiterous assistance. an excellent piece; illustrated with variety of Figures, and intended lately for publick view; by the Parliament of England. A Manuscript not yet printed.

But lately married: or a grave Reason why, amongst other Wares, he hath but for these two Years traded in Horns; by Nicholas Gold, Rump Merchant.

Ragionamenti d'Aretino: or, pathetical and feeling Dialogues, for the Preparation and Instruction of the sanctified Sisters; by Thomas Scot, a Brewer's Clark, and late Secretary of the Council of State, The Sword of the Spirit the Devil's surest Weapon: or, Preaching and Praying the most expedient Way to rule the Earth; by Sir Henry Vane, Knight.

Vanitas Vanitatum, omnia vanitas: or, Saint-like Ejaculations against the Vanity of Turbulency and Ambition; by the same Vane author.

Corruptio unius generatio alterius: or, a Treatise to prove that a Run-away Apprentice makes an excellent States-man; by Major Salwey.

Sanguis Martyrum semen Ecclesiæ: A compleat Work, proposing to the Parliament, that the best way to propagate the Commonwealth is to settle it on the Ruins of its first Founders, Lambert, Vane, Desborow, Titchburn, &c. by a Friend to the Commonwealth of England.

Mercurius Acheronticus: or, the Infernal Post, being a Way lately invented for more speedy and safeConveyance to the diabolical Regions; by Thomas Scot, now Post-master General to the Prince of Darkness.

Hoylius Redivivus: or, a perfect Demonstration, that the easiest way, to revenge a Man of his Adversaries, is to make use of the help of Alderman Hoil's Chain: A Manuscript intended shortly for publick View; by Sir Arthur Haslerigge, a crack-brained Knight.

Solemn Prayers for the Destruction of Babel, being very pithy Ejaculations for the pulling down St. Pulcher's Church, lest he should never get Money for the sale of his Horse; by Jeremy Ives, the gifted Maggot-Monger.

De Antiquitate Typographiæ, to shew, that Printing, or Pressing, was as ancient as Grand-father Adam, learnedly put home by Henry Hills, Printer, to the Taylor's Wife in Black-Friars.

Tempora mutantur & nos mutamur in illis: or, a compleat History of the Life of blind Hewson, from his Awl to his Sword, and now to his Last, by his own Hands.

Ariana Arianissima divulgata: or, a plain discovery of those Places and Honours, which are already by the Devil provided for his best Servants of the Rump.

Utrum horum mavis accipe: or, the gracious Proffer of a Halter, or a Hatchet, to the grand Assertors of the good old Cause, by a Friend to the Commonwealth of England.

The Harmony of Confessions: or, the Fanatick Directory; compiled by Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Feak, James Naylor, and others; a Piece wonderfully conducing to the Interest of the Saints, and Destruction of that Antichristian thing, called, Settlement.

Babylon is fallen, Babylon is fallen: or, the true Relation of the final Overthrow, and utter Destruction of the rotten Rump of a Parliamentary Junto, by a Friend to King Charles the Second.

The Rump's Seminary: or, the Way to find out the ablest Utopian Commonwealth's-Men, by the Coffee Club at Westminster.

Lucri bonus est odor ex re qualibet; a Treatise written in Defence of his seizing on the Boy's Close-stool Pan, and reserving the Contents for his own Profit, because the Lad was so profane to carry it on a Sunday; by Alderman Atkins, Shit-breeches.

A T. is as good for a Sow as a Pancake; whereby is clearly demonstrated, that the Rump would have carried on the Business of the Saints, better than any Parliament chose according to the Laws of the Nation; by Tim. Rogers, princeps fanaticorum.

The Saints may fall away finally, proved in Colonel Overton's Delivery of Hull, into the Hands of the Wicked, when he had resolved to keep it till the Coming of the fifth Monarch; with sundry other Examples of the Brethren's Apostasy.

No-beard, the true characteristical Mark of a pious Brother, and a real Assertor of the good old Cause; by John Ireton and Robert Titchburn.

The Spirit in the Shape of an Owl, howling upon the Top of the Mountains; by Vavasor Powell.

The Repentance of a Sinner, or Paraphrastical Meditations upon the Rump's Lamentations; by Colonel John Streater.

Sicut erat in principio, As you were, Gentlemen; a serious Exhortation to his Brethren of his Blade, to return to their former pitiful Occupation; by John Desborow, Ploughman.

Crispin and Crispianus, an excellent Romance, illustrated and innobled; by Col. John Hewson.

E malis minimum eligendum, Of two Evils the least is to be chosen; and then whether Milk-purse Lawyers, or Cut-throat Tyrants, are the more tolerable; by Eugenius Philopater.

Dapple Groans under the Weight of Sancho Pancha: or, the quondam miserable Estate of the City-Ass; by John Ireton, then Lord Mayor of London.

De tribus Impostoribus, or, a perfect History of those three notorious Cheats, Rogers, Feak, and Praisegod Barebone.

Animadversions and Corrections of St. Paul's Epistles, and especially of that Sentence, Godliness is great Gain; whereas it should be, Gain is great Godliness; as is clearly proved by William Kiffin, Broker of the World.

The Art of Pimping set forth to the Life, for the Benefit and Instruction of all the indigent Brethren; by Michael Oldsworth, Pimp-master General to the late Earl of Pembroke.

The Defect of a Virtue is worse than the Excess; a Treatise, shewing how much better it is to be hung like a Stallion with Henry Martin, than with the Lord Mounson to want a Bauble.

Diva Pecunia, a brief Discourse, to prove that there neither is, nor can be any other God, which should be adored by the Saints, but the omnipotent Lady, Money; by Marchamond Needham, the Devil's Half-Crown News-Monger.

Fistula in Ano, and the Ulcer of the Rump; wherein is shewn, that there is no better Way to cure such Distempers, than a Burning, or Cauterising: by the Rump-confounding Boys of the City of London.

Lex Legum: or, a clear Demonstration that there can be no better Way for the Security of the Saints, than by quite abolishing the Laws of England, and setting up in their stead the Canons of Beelzebub; by Miles Corbet, Lord Chief Justice of the infernal Commonwealth.

The Saints shall possess the Earth; proving, that it is lawful for the Brethren to stab, cut the throats of, or any Way make an End of the Wicked of this World, if so be there will thereby any Profit accrue to themselves; by the Congregations at St. Paul's, and elsewhere.

A LETTER OF ADVICE

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

LORD GENERAL MONK.

London: Printed in the year 1660. Quarto, containing eight pages.

My Lord,

THE government of this nation, for these many years till of late, hath been mixed, partly monarchical, partly aristocratical, and partly democratical; in which the power also was fatally divided between king, lords, and commons; whereby, every state therein having distinct aims, and sometimes contrary ones, the nation was impotent and weak, and wanted that harmony, which is to be found in all the parts of a well-ordered government: Yet, under this form, did England enjoy many good days, and great liberties and privileges, and also met with not a few oppressions. Those good days I cannot but assign (whether truly, or no, I leave to your lordship's sounder judgment) to the democratical part of the government, which was the constant bulwark of English liberties, and procured us those excellent laws, which our kings, by their good-wills, otherwise would never have passed, and which yet (such is the blindness of many men) it is thought, in most good companies, we shall never be able to retain, without the restoration of monarchy. On the other side, the exorbitancies and oppressions of the late government, the house of commons, in the reigns of the two late kings, imputed to the prerogative and power of the king; which at last seemed so heavy and grievous to the people, that, incited by the famous long parliament, they took up arms against the king, to devest him of the militia, and negative voice, and some other rights he claimed, of which an English king being stripped, could be nothing but an heroick monarch; and, in this sense, they fought against monarchy itself. In this war, the royalists, having lost no small quantity of their best blood, were vanquished, and, with the death of the late king, monarchy itself, for a time, expired. And now this poor nation, not meeting with the felicity of being put immediately into the form of an equal commonwealth, yet met with the best expedient, being governed by the members of parliament that continued to sit after the king's death; who, through their wisdom, put the nation in such a posture, as was a great refreshment to the harrassed country; and, through their victories, more increased our territories, and were more successful in arms, than all the martial princes that reigned in this isle since the conquest; approving themselves to the whole world prudent, active, and courageous statesmen, and such as minded the interest of their country. What good, what benefits, what felicities might we not justly expect from these worthy patriots, but this only, namely, a good government? And, if this also is not expected, it is not because their good intentions to the nation are at all questioned, but because they, being too many, are not capable of performing it. But, as they were too many to frame a good government, so also they were, and still are, looked on, by wise men, as too few to make a popular council. Being but a piece of a house of commons, and necessitated to sit so many years, and to lay heavy taxes and burdens on the people, General Cromwell, during his time, turned them out of doors, and then called a select senate; which, being packed by him, plaid his game, at last resigning into his hands their power. He, rejecting the title of king, assumed to himself the government, and a greater power, than the English kings formerly had, with the consent of a great part of the people, who, like affrighted children, thought they should be safe, being hid under the gown of this great man. Yet failed he in his design of erecting a durable monarchy, who, probably, was able to have brought to pass any thing else in this nation. With difficulty, whilst he lived, he made a shift to keep himself in the saddle, which his son lost, presently after he was mounted. The government then devolved into the hands of this present parliament, who kept it not long, before they were ejected by their army; but now again, this third time, are they risen from the dead, and restored, through the fidelity and courage of your excellency, to the exercise of their trust.

Thus hath this poor nation, within these few years, tried all sorts of government, but an equal commonwealth. We have experienced monarchy in the old line, and in the two protectors, a select senate, an oligarchy, the government of an army, What not? And have not as yet met with the ends of a good government. Like a drowning man, this nation hath laid hold of every thing that came in its way; but all things have proved but straws, and helpless twigs, that will not bear it above water.

And now, Sir, can any thing else save us but an equal commonwealth? Which in truth is no more than a free and full parliament, but a free and full parliament more truly elected, and better formed. You having been bred up in the best school of experience, and being acquainted by history with ancient, and, by your travels and employment, with modern patterns of government, out of which your exact judgment will readily gather whatever is excellent, or agreeable to this nation; I shall not presume to discourse particularly of the framing of a government to your excellency, whom God, I hope, hath raised to be the legislator of England. Only give me leave to remember you, that it is the judgment of the oracle in the politicks, grounded on notable examples, experience and reason, and approved by modern writers, that the legislator of a nation must be but one man; who, whatsoever extraordinary actions he attempeth, or whatsoever power he assumeth to himself for the accomplishing of so worthy an end, as the settling of a commonwealth will prove to be, deserves not only excuse, but also honour. Consider, Sir, the present state of affairs, and see if you are able to discern the foot, on which our present commonwealth, so called, now stands, so narrow is it become: Or, if it hath a foot, is it not like that of Nebuchadnezzar's image, part of iron, and part of miry clay, which will not cleave together? It is already fractioned and crumbled into a small handful, which, though so small, is not well knit, but affords daily cause of jealousy; that like the little church or sect, which, consisting, as Barclay relates, of but three men, came at last to be three several churches: "Sic de angustâ ecclesia, & trium hominum numero definita, tres quoque ecclesiæ natæ sunt;" this party will break, till they have not number enough to make up a family. And do you think so weak a defence, as this party is, will be able to repel the violent rage of that increased multitude, which, like a mighty sea, threatens to overbear it? But, Sir, either you look on the parliament, not only as willing, but also as able to settle us a good government, or else you would never, I conceive, stand by it, and own it. If you look on the parliament as able to perform it, we have new cause to esteem and love our country, after a more extraordinary manner, that can produce one or two-hundred able and sufficient legislators, when Rome, Sparta, Athens, or Israel, can boast of but one a-piece.

But, my Lord, the opinions of so many men met together must be various, and, like a multitude of physicians, will indanger, if not destroy their languishing patient. Let England, therefore, my Lord, have but one physician, and such an one as they esteem and love; which will facilitate its recovery. Your excellency, being esteemed and loved by your country, crowned with victory, celebrated for martial skill, for your undaunted courage, your politick conduct, and also having the militia's of the three nations at your back, is that physician that may make us as happy, or as miserable as you please.

But alas! whilst the ship, that we are all embarked in, is tossed in a high sea, you, Sir, seem to sleep, notwithstanding the loud noise of all degrees of people, crying out to you, "Save us, or we perish." Behold, what a chaos England, your native country, is become; be you to it, as Moses was to Aaron, instead of a God; reduce the jarring elements into their places; set a new and beautiful face on your deformed country, and, by bestowing on it an equal commonwealth, make it a paradise, wherein we may pass our days happily, and chearfully, blessing God for so worthy and heroick a person, as you thereby will approve yourself.

England, when an equal commonwealth, will be as wise as Venice, as rich as Holland, as virtuous and military as Rome. Believe it, Sir, no legislator hitherto hath had so large territories, to settle a mighty and glorious commonwealth on, as England affords. All manner of materials are made ready for erecting the most beautiful structure; there only wants an able workman. Can you see any obstacle in your way? You yourself have affirmed, that the foundation of monarchy is gone. And what nobility is there to oppose you, but a titular and impotent one? What army hath England, but what is at your command? Multitudes of people, indeed, like children, who must have a baby to play with, and something to glitter in their eyes, cry for a king; but, when they shall once view the glory and splendor, and enjoy the felicity of an equal commonwealth, they will cry out with the ravished apostle at the transfiguration of our blessed Saviour, "It is good for us to be here, let us build us tabernacles." At worst, if this kind of government prove so good for the nation, as is promised, these fond people will not, nor indeed can they, make any person more than a prince in the commonwealth.

What should hinder you then from settling such a government? Or what encouragements are wanting? Do it, and you make this people glorious and blessed; you will infinitely please them, and thereby attain to the highest step of honour, becoming the founder of a potent state; a legislator, that shall be commended by a learned age, the father of your country, and *princeps perpetuus. Et quo sis alacrior ad tutandam remp. sic habeto: Omnibus qui patriam conservaverint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum esse in cælo, ac definitum locum, ubi beati ævo sempiterno fruantur.* Cic. de Som. Scip.

AN EXACT ACCOUNT OF THE

RECEIPTS, AND DISBURSEMENTS

EXPENDED BY THE

COMMITTEE OF SAFETY,

UPON THE EMERGENT OCCASIONS OF THE NATION.

Delivered in by M. R. Secretary to the said Committee, -

To prevent false Reports and prejudicate Censures.

London: Printed for Jeremiah Hanzen, 1660. Folio, containing twelve pages.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOURS,

I AM come here, according to order, to present unto you an exact account of what money was disbursed by the Committee of Safety, in the short time of their sitting. Truly, I would fain justify myself, and those who were my masters, for I desire to appear an honest man outwardly, whatever I am inwardly. I know, and am not ignorant, what a good thing it is to be a good steward; for I know you love good stewards, and have thrown out the family of the Stewards, because you thought them not to be good stewards. I make no question, but your honours will find this to be a just and true account; for I learned subtraction, multiplication, and addition, while I was at Drury-House; and, I thank God, I attained also to some small knowledge of the golden rule. I could have wished with all my heart it had been more, yet I intended to have perfected my knowledge in the Committee of Safety, had my time not been so short; however, I intreat your honours to consider, that the Committee of Safety could be at no small charges, in regard of the expences that wait upon authority. We had many mouths to feed, many wanting brethren, that were in charity to be relieved; and charity, your honours know how laudable a thing it is. All men love money, all men seek for it, and are not well till they have it; and would you have the Committee of Safety more than men? Truly, I can assure your honours, they were but men at their highest, and now they are God knows what; it is thought, some of them now wish they were women. It is true, changes have been very advantageous to a great many men in these times, but there are no changes now can do them good, but such metamorphoses, as the poets speak of. I myself wish I had been changed into an elder-tree, to have been cut out into potguns, when I first fingered a penny of their money. Truly, I think the curse of Simon Magus fell upon them; for no sooner was their money spent, but they were forced to run away; so that I may say of them, that they and their money perished together. How it perished, I hope your honours will hereby receive full satisfaction. I would have your honours contented with this account, which I have here brought; but I assure your honours, if you will not, I can bring you no other. I have one word more, by way of petition: That your honours would be pleased to consider my condition; and, if I have laid out any money out of my purse (as you may hereby perceive that I have) that you will be pleased to restore it me again, and give me ten times as much more. It is a sad thing to be poor and needy. 'O hunger, hunger,' said the famous Champion of England, 'more sharp than the stroke of 'death, thou art the extremest punishment that ever man endu-'red; if I were now king of Armenia, and chief potentate of 'Asia, yet would I give my diadem, my scepter, with all my pro-'vinces, for one sliver of brown bread.' I speak this to shew you how much it concerns every man, and as well myself, as any body else, to prevent poverty; which makes me urge my petition to you once again, that you would not only not take away what I have got, but rather, as I said but just now, give me ten times more. May it please your honours, I have done; the Lord bless you, and incline your hearts to pity and compassion.

Received, out of the treasuries of the Excise, Customs, and the

Exchequer, four-hundred and thirty thousand pounds. Disbursed as followeth:

THE ACCOUNT.

Imprimis, For three-and-twenty long clokes, at seven pounds ten shillings per cloke, to cover the Committee of Safety's knavery, one-hundred seventy-two pounds ten shillings.

Item, For six dozen of large fine Holland handkerchiefs, with great French buttons, for the Lord Fleetwood, to wipe away the tears from his excellency's cheeks, at twenty shillings per handkerchief, seventy-two pounds.

Item, For four new perriwigs for his lordship, at six pounds a perriwig, together with a dozen pounds of amber powder, with four wooden blocks, and half a dozen of tortoise-shell combs, forty-one pounds ten shillings.

Item, For a silver inkhorn, and ten gilt paper-books, covered with green plush and Turky leather, for his lady to write in at church, seven pounds, three shillings, and three pence.

Item, Paid his young daughter's musick-master and dancing-master, for fifteen months arrears, due at the interruption of the parliament, fifty-nine pounds five shillings.

Item, For twelve new brass nails that were wanting in his coach, and removing all his excellency's horses shoes, and blooding his pad nag, one-hundred and sixty pounds, one shilling, and two-pence.

Item, For four rich mantles for his lady, two laced, and two embroidered, and a brave new gown made to congratulate her husband's new honour, two-hundred and seventy pounds.

Item, Bestowed by her order, upon the journeymen taylors, and given to him that brought home and tried on her said gown, seven pieces in gold, seven pounds fourteen shillings.

Item, For changing an old fashion caudle cup, and three silver skillets that were melted, ten pounds.

Item, For the use of his excellency's rooms, his chairs and cushions, as also for candles and Scotch coals, while the Committee of Officers sat in his house, five-hundred pounds.

Item, For an innumerable company of pectoral rolls and lozenges, to dry up his excellency's rheum, at two pence a-piece, thirty pounds, two shillings, and two pence.

Item, Paid the apothecary's bill, for pills and clysters for the last autumn, eighty-one pounds twelve shillings.

Item, For two rolls of Spanish tobacco for Colonel Sydenham, at twenty shillings per pound, according to the protector's rate; and five black pots to warm ale in, at twelve pence a-piece; together with ten groce of glazed pipes, at nine shillings the groce, forty-five pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence.

Item, For two gilt horn-books for his great son, at two shillings and six pence a-piece, five shillings.

Item, Bestowed upon the Lord Lambert, to buy him the several pictures of Moses, Mahomet, Romulus and Remus, Cæsar, and all those that were the first founders of large empires and kingdoms, five-thousand pounds.

Item, Presented to the Lord Lambert the root of a tulip, and a certain East-Indian flower with a hard name; which, for their rarity, cost two-hundred and fifty pounds.

Item, Paid the said lord, who is now no lord, to be spent, the Lord knows how, in a certain northern expedition which came to nothing, six-thousand pounds.

Item, Laid out for seven rich new gowns, bespoke at Paris for the Lady Lambert, to be worn seven several days one after another, at her husband's coming to the crowns, every gown valued at sixty pounds one with another, four-hundred and twenty pounds.

Item, For pins and gloves for the said lady, eighty-three pounds nine shillings.

Item, For seven new whisks, laced with Flanders lace of the last edition, each whisk valued at fifty pounds, three-hundred and fifty pounds.

Item, For four-hundred packs of French cards, with pictures, to play at Best and Picquet withal, two-hundred pounds.

Item, For a new pair of spurs for Colonel Clark, and a new whip with a silver handle, and a coral whistle at the end of it to call the ostler, three pounds six shillings.

Item, For vamping the said colonel's riding-boots, and for new spur-leathers, ten pounds.

Item, Laid out, for wedding-clothes for the Lord Lambert's daughter, eleven-hundred and fifty pounds.

Item, Given to the Lord Wareston, to buy him a house and land here, because his lordship had expressed a very great dislike of his own country, and was then resolved never to have gone thither any more, one-thousand pounds.

Item, Given to the Lord Strickland, for his very ordinary service, a dozen of gilt nutmegs, at six pence three farthings a-piece, six shillings and four pence.

Item, Given to Colonel Berry, to buy him a three-handed sword, five-hundred pounds.

Item, Given to Lord-mayor Tichburne, to buy him a hobby-horse and a clear conscience, three-thousand pounds.

Item, Paid to a spectacle-maker, for a spectacle with one glass for Colonel Hewson, four-hundred pounds.

Item, Paid for three great saddles for the Lord Lawrence's son, and for provender for his lofty steeds, ever since the protector's political death, five-hundred pounds.

Item, Reimbursed to the said Lord Lawrence several sums of money, which his eldest son squandered away upon poets, and dedications to his ingenuity, to the value of five-hundred pounds more.

Item, Paid Sir Harry Vane, to defray the extraordinary charges of his fruitless voyage into the Hope, eight-hundred pounds.

Item, Given the gunner, for four salutes, as he went off the Admiral, ten pieces in gold, to the value of twelve pounds.

Item, Paid the scrivener, for writing out the league made betwixt him and the Lord Lambert, when they joined their forces together, fifteen pounds.

Item, For a great sharp knife, to cut his meat according to his stomach, with an agate handle, two pounds, four shillings, and one penny.

Item, For caudles, devoured by his lady every morning, for these last three months, sixty pounds, seven shillings, and two pence.

Item, Allowed Sir Harry Vane, five-hundred pounds, to pay for the exchange of money which he transferred into Holland.

Item, Allowed him five-hundred pounds more, to buy him Fortunatus's Cap.

Item, Given to Colonel Cobbett, three-hundred pounds, to buy him Mambrino's helmet, and the sword which St. George pulled out of the rock, in all four-hundred pounds.

Item, Disbursed to the Lady Thomas, at the request of her father-in-law, four-hundred and seventy pounds, to make her husband a new pair of horns, his old ones being now worn out.

Item, For new chairs for the council-chamber, and for brushing the hangings, and airing the room, for fear of any infection that the Lord Lambert's enemies might leave behind them, two-hundred and one pounds, three shillings, and six pence.

Item, For switches which the Lord Lambert wore out when he interrupted the parliament, and for making clean his boots the next day, forty-three pounds.

Item, Bestowed upon Mr. Holland nine-hundred pounds to buy him six new iron chests, to lock up his money in.

Item, Paid the herald for a new coat of arms for Major General Desborough, with this motto, "*God speed the Plough*," fifty-eight pounds.

Item, Paid, for new matting one of his bed-chambers, sixteen pounds, two shillings, and two pence.

Item, Paid the Lord Whitlock one-hundred pounds for his great Swedish cat, that it might be kept in the Tower as one of the Lord Lambert's chattels, for the publick benefit and satisfaction of the nation.

Item, Paid the fellow that cut the Lord Lambert's corns, the day before he went out of town, five pounds ten shillings.

Item, For a tinder-box for the Lord Lambert, with a thousand card-matches to light his candles with, when he waked in the night, sixteen pounds, fifteen shillings, and ten pence.

Item, For half a score new lasts for the Committee, to set their consciences upon when they began to pinch them, thirty pounds seven shillings.

Item, Taken by Mr. Cor. Holland five-thousand pounds, to satisfy himself for an old debt owing him by king James, paid no less than twice before.

Item, Taken by the Lord Whitlock, to satisfy himself for his ambassy into Swedeland, twenty-thousand pounds.

Item, Given to Mr. Thankful Owen, a small collop to etch out his fortunes, four hundred pounds.

Item, Given to Mr. Brandrith a thousand pounds, because he had never any thing given him before.

Item, Presented by the whole Committee to the Lady Lambert a tooth-pick case of gold, beset all over with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, that cost fifteen-hundred pounds.

Item, For a bundle of rods, and urine to soak them in, which rods were prepared for those that voted the Lord Lambert out of commission, seventy pounds, ten shillings, and five pence.

Item, Given to Cardinal Mazarine fifty-thousand pounds, to shew him there was money stirring then in England, as well as in the protector's time.

Item, Bestowed upon Colonel Salmon five-hundred pounds, to buy him borage-water, and syrup of gilly-flowers, to keep up his heart, by reason of his continual sighing.

Item, Laid out of my own purse two-hundred and fifty pounds, for several collations and dinners both in Fish-street, and elsewhere.

Item, For bottles of wine spent in my own house, one-hundred pounds.

Item, For banqueting-stuff, and sweet-meats of all sorts, for my wife to entertain visitants, and for six new Flanders laced smocks, three-hundred pounds.

Item, For a neck-lace of oriental pearl, and three diamond-rings, and a silver warming-pan, four hundred pounds, ten shillings, and six pence.

Item, For a new great powdering-tub, and a suit of tapestry hangings, sixty-one pounds five shillings.

Item, Laid out one-hundred thousand pounds, which was carried down to the banks of the river Tweed by way of temptation, which, being utterly refused, was afterwards distributed into private quarters, which is all the account I am able to give of it.

Item, Paid the under-clerks of the Committee several sums of money spent in ale-houses, and bawdy-houses, according to their several accounts, amounting in all to one-hundred eighty-three pounds.

Item, Paid Politicus five-hundred and five pounds, to make good several sums of money by him lost in bowling-greens, and at the comb-makers ordinary.

Item, For capers, samphire, and olives, and ten bushels of Kentish pippins for lambs-wool, being all very scarce commodities in the North, to furnish the Lord Lambert's table, seven-hundred pounds, six shillings, and two pence.

Item, For a hundred bottoms of packthread, but for what use I know not, one-hundred and three pounds.

Item, For ink, paper, pens, wax, and blue dust, one-thousand pounds.

Item, For a hundred-thousand pounds of great candles, and given in as a gratuity to the chandler's boy, for bringing them in, two-thousand five hundred pounds.

Item, Paid to link-boys, for lighting the Commissioners and Council of Officers home to their lodgings, ninety-four pounds.

Item, Paid unto the centinels, for pissing near the guard, fifty-seven pounds, three shillings, and six pence.

Item, For East-India night-gowns for the Commissioners, and the rest of the Officers, and for night-caps for them, two-hundred and thirty-three pounds.

Item, Paid the chaplains for three fast-days, and for pome-citron to keep the Commissioners empty stomachs from wambling, seven-hundred eighty-nine pounds.

Item, For twelve pair of cut-finger'd gloves for myself to write in, ten pounds.

Item, For coffee, which the Commissioners drank every morning, especially when they had got a dose over night, three-hundred and forty pounds ten shillings.

Item, Towards the repairing the ruins of Troy, twenty-thousand pounds.

Item, For whips, tops, and jointed babies, for the Commissioners younger children, eighty-nine pounds seven shillings.

Item, For writing out the instrument of government seven times over, fifty pounds.

Item, Allowed Colonel Hewson, for his charges at the sessions-house, four-hundred ninety-five pounds.

Item, For three blue beans in a blue bladder, ninety-three pounds.

Item, Paid to Lilly, for casting the nativities of the Commissioners children, five-hundred pounds.

Item, Given to Sir Harry Vane three thousand pounds, to raise a regiment of anabaptists.

Item, Bestowed by his appointment upon inciters, promoters, and instigators, one-thousand pounds.

Item, Given, as a present to the pope, twenty-thousand pounds by the said Sir Harry, for several and sundry courtesies done him by his holiness.

Item, For a hundred new cords, which were to be used when the Lord Lambert came to town, and also for new setting the ax in the Tower, two-hundred and four pounds, five shillings, and ten pence.

Item, For a very strong padlock to be hung upon the parliament house door, and a silver key, which was to be delivered to St. Peter, to be by him kept till the Lord Lambert should call to him for it, one-hundred and ten pounds, twelve shillings, and eight pence.

Item, Given the porter of Wallingford House, for letting the officers in and out, and sitting up all hours in the night, one-hundred pounds.

Item, For drawing the mortgage of my Lord Lambert's house and lands, and for fees to the council, two-hundred pounds.

Item, For a new riding-hat for his lordship, because he was told that that, which he wore in the day of his wrath, made him look like a Finsbury archer, ten pounds.

Item, Bestowed in new-years gifts one upon another, every one giving out of the publick stock, seven thousand pounds.

Item, For a paddle, staff, and brown bill, for Major-General Desborough, when his worship pleases to walk his grounds, seven pounds ten shillings.

Item, Paid to Mr. Saloway for raisins, currants, and prunes, at excessive rates, for the keeping of Christmas, two-thousand pounds.

Item, Laid out for turbants, sashes, and scimitars for the Lord Lambert, and the rest of his adherents, nine-thousand five-hundred fifty-six pounds, which made men think they would have turned Turks, had they come into power.

Item, To the great officers in the commonwealth of Oceana, the Polemarch, the Strategus, and my Lord Epimonus, ten-thousand pounds, to buy them figs, melons, and yellow hats.

Item, Given in charity to the State of Venice, who are the bulwark of Christendom, twelve-thousand pounds.

Item, Laid out upon a great hog-trough to be set up in Rumford, as a trophy of their publick magnificence, three-thousand pounds.

Item, Sent into Lapland for the retaining of a certain necromancer, who was to assist them in the carrying on their great work, five-thousand pounds.

Item, For black wool and civet, to stop the ears of the Committee and Council of Officers from hearing any thing that might tend to their own, or the good of the nation, fifty pounds.

Item, Laid out for a new scepter, for his intended Highness the Lord Lambert, five-hundred pounds.

Item, For granado's to fire the city, one-hundred pounds.

Item, Paid for a pound of May-butter, made of a cow's milk that fed upon Hermon Hill, given to the Lady Lawrence for pious uses, eighty-seven pounds ten shillings.

Item, Given to a projector, toward a certain design which he had to bring over an inchanted castle, to secure the Lord Lambert's foes in, five-thousand pounds.

Item, Paid to another projector, towards a design which he had to look into the middle of the Western Ocean, for a great Spanish Galleon that was sunk with the weight of the gold that she carried, some thirty years ago, two-thousand five-hundred pounds.

Item, For a fair pair of tables, with several bales of dice, that those Commissioners, who cared not to trouble themselves with the affairs of the nation, might not want something to pass the time away withal, fifty-seven pounds five shillings.

Item, For nine mill-stones for the Lord Lambert's nine worthies to wear about their necks instead of Georges, and for blue ribbons to hang them in, five-hundred pounds.

Item, For one of the Emperor of Russia's cast furr-gowns, for the Lord Wareston to wear while he was President of the Committee, seven-hundred and fifty-four pounds.

Item, For a shoe-maker's measure to be provided by Colonel Hewson, for the Commissioners to take the length of the people's feet, twenty-three pounds.

Item, For a ton of sallet oil, to make their tongues glib, when they were to talk with the aldermen and common-council, two-hundred and thirty-three pounds, twelve shillings, and six pence.

Item, Paid the Lord Fleetwood, for scraps given to the beggars at his door, three-hundred pounds.

Item, For twenty pair of castanets, for the ladies to dance serrabands at Sir Harry Vane's son's wedding, fifty pounds.

Item, Paid to the army, never a farthing.

Item, Paid to the navy, as much.

The sum total, amounting to four-hundred thirty-thousand pounds.

Thus your honours may see how vainly and profusely we have squandered away a very considerable sum, which your honours had carefully laid up for better and more important uses. I shall only say this, in the behalf of my masters, that, if you please not to be rigorous with them, and to call them to any further account, they will take it not a little courteously, and be bound to pray for your honours; though if your honours think fit to do otherwise, I do believe the whole nation in general will be more indebted to your justice.

THE MANNER OF CREATING THE

KNIGHTS OF THE ANTIENT AND HONOURABLE ORDER OF THE BATH,

ACCORDING TO THE CUSTOM USED IN ENGLAND, IN TIME OF PEACE;

With a List of those honourable Persons, who are to be created Knights of the Bath at his Majesty's Coronation, the Twenty-third of April, 1661.

[From a quarto, containing ten pages, printed at London, for Philip Stephens, at the King's Arms, over-against the Middle Temple, 1661.]

1. WHEN an esquire comes to court, to receive the order of knighthood, in the time of peace, according to the custom of England, he shall be honourably received by the officers of the court; *sc.* the steward, or the chamberlain, if they be present; but otherwise, by the marshals and ushers. Then there shall be provided two esquires of honour, grave, and well seen in courtship and nurture; as also in the feats of chivalry; and they shall

be esquires, and governors in all things relating to him, who shall take the order abovesaid.

2. And, if the esquire do come before dinner, he shall carry up one dish of the first course to the king's table.

3. And, after this, the esquire's governors shall conduct the esquire that is to receive the order, into his chamber, without any more being seen that day.

4. And, in the evening, the esquire's governors shall send for the barber, and they shall make ready a bath, handsomely hung with linnen, both within and without the vessel, taking care that it be covered with tapestry, and blankets, in respect of the coldness of the night. And then shall the esquire be shaven, and his hair cut round. After which the esquire's governors shall go to the king, and say, "Sir, it is now in the evening, and the esquire is fitted for the bath, when you please;" whereupon the king shall command his chamberlain, that he shall take along with him, unto the esquire's chamber, the most gentle and grave knights that are present, to inform, counsel, and instruct him, touching the order, and feats of chivalry: And in like manner, that the other esquires of the houshold, with the minstrels, shall proceed before the knights, singing, dancing, and sporting, even to the chamber-door of the said esquire.

5. And, when the esquire's governors shall hear the noise of the minstrels, they shall undress the said esquire, and put him naked into the bath; but, at the entrance into the chamber, the esquire's governors shall cause the musick to cease, and the esquires also for a while. And, this being done, the grave knights shall enter into the chamber, without making any noise, and, doing reverence to each other, shall consider which of themselves it shall be that is to instruct the esquire in the order and course of the bath. And when they are agreed, then shall the chief of them go to the bath, and, kneeling down before it, say with a soft voice: "Sir! Be this bath of great honour to you;" and then he shall declare unto him the feats of the order, as far as he can, putting part of the water of the bath upon the shoulder of the esquire; and, having so done, take his leave. And the esquire's governors shall attend at the sides of the bath, and so likewise the other knights, the one after the other, till all be done.

6. Then shall these knights go out of the chamber, for a while; and the esquire's governors shall take the esquire out of the bath, and help him to his bed, there to continue till his body be dry; which bed shall be plain, and without curtains. And, as soon as he is dry, they shall help him out of bed; they shall cloath him very warm, in respect of the cold of the night; and over his inner garments shall put on a robe of russet with long sleeves, having a hood thereto, like unto that of an hermit. And the esquire being out of the bath, the barber shall take away the bath, with whatsoever appertaineth thereto, both within and without for his fee; and likewise for the collar (about his neck) be he earl, baron, banneret or batchelor, according to the custom of the court.

7. And then shall the esquire's governors open the door of the chamber, and shall cause the antient and grave knights to enter, to conduct the esquire to the chapel: And, when they are come in, the esquires, sporting and dancing, shall go before the esquire, with the minstrels, making melody to the chapel.

8. And, being entered the chapel, there shall be wine and spices ready to give to the knights and esquires. And then the esquire's governors shall bring the said knights before the esquire, to take their leave of him; and he shall give them thanks all together, for the pains, favour, and courtesy, which they have done him; and, this being performed, they shall depart out of the chapel.

9. Then shall the esquire's governors shut the door of the chapel, none staying therein except themselves, the priest, the chandler, and the watch. And in this manner shall the esquire stay in the chapel all night, till it be day, bestowing himself in orisons and prayers, beseeching Almighty God, and his blessed Mother, that of their good grace they will give him ability to receive this high temporal dignity, to the honour, praise, and service of them; as also of the holy church, and the order of knighthood. And, at day-break, one shall call the priest to confess him of all his sins, and, having heard mattins and mass, shall afterwards be commended, if he please.

10. And after his entrance into the chapel, there shall be a taper burning before him; and, as soon as mass is begun, one of the governors shall hold the taper, until the reading of the gospel; and then shall the governor deliver it into his hands, who shall hold it himself, till the gospel be ended; but then he shall receive it again from him, and set it before him, there to stand, during the whole time of mass.

11. And, at the elevation of the host, one of the governors shall take the hood from the esquire, and afterwards deliver it to him again, until the gospel *in principio;* and, at the beginning thereof, the governor shall take the same hood again, and cause it to be carried away, and shall give him the taper again into his own hands.

12. And then having a penny, or more, in readiness, near to the candlestick, at the words *verbum caro factum est*, the esquire, kneeling, shall offer the taper and the penny; that is to say, the taper to the honour of God, and the penny to the honour of the person that makes him a knight. All which being performed, the esquire's governors shall conduct the esquire to his chamber, and shall lay him again in bed, till it be full day-light. And when he shall be thus in bed, till the time of his rising, he shall be cloathed with a covering of gold, called Singleton, and this shall be lined with blue cardene. And when the governors shall see it fit time, they shall go to the king, and say to him, "Sir! When doth it please you, that our master shall rise?" Whereupon the king shall command the grave knights, esquires, and minstrels, to go to the chamber of the said esquire, for to raise him, and to attire and dress him, and to bring him before him, into the hall. But,

before their entrance, and the noise of the minstrels heard, the esquire's governors shall provide all necessaries ready for the order, to deliver to the knights, for to attire and dress the esquire.

And when the knights are come to the esquire's chamber, they shall enter with leave, and say to him; "Sir! Good morrow to you, it is time to get up, and make yourself ready;" and thereupon they shall take him by the arm to be dressed, the most antient of the said knights reaching him his shirt, another giving him his breeches, the third his doublet; and another putting upon him a kirtle of red tartarin; two others shall raise him from the bed, and two others put on his nether stockings, with soles of leather sewed to them; two others shall lace his sleeves, and another shall gird him with a girdle of white leather, without any buckles thereon: Another shall comb his head; another shall put on his coif; another shall give him his mantle of silk (over the bases or kirtle of red tartarin) tied with a lace of white silk, with a pair of white gloves hanging at the end of the lace. And the chandler shall take, for his fees, all the garments, with the whole array and necessaries, wherewith the esquire shall be apparelled and clothed on the day that he comes into the court to receive order: As also the bed, wherein he first lay, after his bathing, together with the singleton and other necessaries: In consideration of which fees, the same chandler shall find, at his proper costs, the said coif, the gloves, the girdle, and the lace.

13. And, when all this is done, the grave knights shall get on horseback, and conduct the esquire to the hall, the minstrels going before, making musick; but the horse must be accoutred as followeth: The saddle having a cover of black leather, the bow of the saddle being of white wood quartered; the stirrop-leathers black, the stirrops gilt; the paitrel of black leather, gilt, with a cross-pate, gilt, hanging before the breast of the horse, but without any crupper: The bridle black, with long notched reins, after the Spanish fashion, and a cross-pate on the front. And there must be provided a young esquire, courteous, who shall ride before the esquire bare-headed, and carry the esquire's sword, with the spurs hanging at the handle of the sword; and the scabbard of the sword shall be of white leather, and the girdle of white leather, without buckles. And the youth shall hold the sword by the point, and after this manner must they ride to the king's hall, the governors being ready at hand.

14. And the grave knights shall conduct the said esquire; and, as soon as they come before the hall-door, the marshals and ushers are to be ready to meet him, and desire him to alight; and, being alighted, the marshal shall take the horse for his fee, or else *C. s.* Then shall the knights conduct him into the hall, up to the high table, and afterwards up the end of the second table, until the king's coming, the knights standing on each side of him, and the youth holding the sword upright before him, between the two governors.

15. And when the king is come into the hall, and beholdeth

the esquire ready to receive his high order, and temporal dignity, he shall ask for the sword and spurs, which the chamberlain shall take from the youth, and shew to the king. And, thereupon, the king, taking the right spur, shall deliver it to the most noble and gentle person there, and shall say to him, "Put this upon the esquire's heel; and he, kneeling on one knee, must take the esquire by the right leg, and, putting his foot on his own knee, is to fasten the spur upon the right heel of the esquire; and then, making a cross upon the esquire's knee, shall kiss him: Which being done, another knight must come, and put on his left spur, in like manner. And then shall the king, of his great favour, take the sword, and gird the esquire therewith: Whereupon the esquire is to lift up his arms, holding his hands together, and the gloves betwixt his thumbs and fingers.

16. And the king, putting his own arms about the esquire's neck, shall say, "Be thou a good knight," and afterwards kiss him. Then are the antient knights to conduct this new knight to the chapel, with much musick, even to the high altar, and there he shall kneel; and, putting his right hand upon the altar, is to promise to maintain the rights of holy church, during his whole life.

17. And then he shall ungird himself of his sword, and, with great devotion to God and holy church, offer it there; praying unto God, and all his saints, that he may keep that order which he hath so taken, even to the end: All which being accomplished, he is to take a draught of wine.

18. And, at his going out of the chapel, the king's master-cook, being ready to take off his spurs for his own fee, shall say, "I, the king's master-cook, am come to receive your spurs for my fee; and if you do any thing contrary to the order of knighthood (which, God forbid) I shall hack your spurs from your heels."

19. After this, the knights must conduct him again into the hall, where he shall sit the first at the knights table, and the knights about him, himself to be served as the other knights are; but he must neither eat nor drink at the table, nor spit, nor look about him, upwards nor downwards, more than a bride. And this being done, one of his governors, having a handkerchief in his hand, shall hold it before his face when he is to spit. And when the king is risen from his table, and gone into his chamber, then shall the new knight be conducted, with great store of knights and minstrels proceeding before him, unto his own chamber; and, at his entrance, the knights and minstrels shall take leave of him, and go to dinner.

20. And, the knights being thus gone, the chamber-door shall be fastened, and the new knight disrobed of his attire, which is to be given to the kings of arms, in case they be there present; and if not, then to the other heralds, if they be there; otherwise, to the minstrels, together with a mark of silver, if he be a knight-batchelor; if a baron, double to that; if an earl, or of a superior

rank, double thereto. And the russet night-cap must be given the watch, or else a noble.

21. Then is he to be cloathed again with a blue robe, the sleeves whereof to be streight, shaped after the fashion of a priest's; and, upon his left shoulder, to have a lace of white silk, hanging: And he shall wear that lace upon all his garments, from that day forwards, until he hath gained some honour or renown by arms, and is registered of as high record, as the nobles, knights, esquires, and heralds of arms; and be renowned for some feats of arms, as aforesaid, or that some great prince, or most noble lady, can cut that lace from his shoulder, saying; "Sir! we have heard so much of the true renown concerning your honour, which you have done in divers parts, to the great fame of chivalry, as to yourself, and of him that made you a knight, that it is meet this lace be taken from you."

22. After dinner, the knights of honour and gentlemen must come to the knight, and conduct him into the presence of the king, the esquire's governors going before him; where, he is to say, "Right noble and renowned Sir! I do, in all that I can, give you thanks for these honours, courtesies, and bounty, which you have vouchsafed to me:" And, having so said, shall take his leave of the king.

23. Then are the esquire's governors to take leave of this their master, saying, "Sir, we have, according to the king's command, and, as we were obliged, done what we can; but, if through negligence, we have in aught displeased you, or by any thing we have done amiss at this time, we desire pardon of you for it. And, on the other side, Sir, as right is, and according to the customs of the court, and antient kingdoms, we do require our robes and fees, as the king's esquires, companions to batchelors, and other lords."

The Form of his Majesty's Summons, in a Letter from the Lord Chamberlain, to the several Persons of Honour, who are to be created Knights of the Bath.

SIR,

After my hearty commendation to you,

WHEREAS his majesty hath appointed the twenty-third day of April next, for his solemn coronation at Westminster, and the day before, to proceed publickly through the city of London, to his palace at White-Hall; and, according to the antient custom used by his royal predecessors, his majesty is graciously pleased to advance certain of his nobility, and principal gentry, into the Noble Order of the Bath, to attend him in those great solemnities, and, amongst others, hath vouchsafed to nominate you to be one of that number: These are, therefore, to will and require you, in his majesty's name, to make your appearance at his majesty's palace at Westminster, upon Thursday in the afternoon, being the eighteenth of April next, furnished and appointed, as in such cases appertaineth, there to begin the usual ceremony, and the next day to receive the said Order of Knighthood of the Bath, from his majesty's hands. Hereof you are not to fail. And so I bid you heartily farewell.

Your very affectionate friend, MANCHESTER.
Whitehall, March 1, 1661.

The Names of some of those honourable Persons, who are to be created Knights of the Bath, at the Coronation of his Majesty, April 23, 1661.

The Lord Richard Butler, son to the Lord Marquis of Ormond.
Mr. Hyde, son to the Lord Chancellor.
Mr. Egerton, son to the Earl of Bridgwater.
Mr. Berkley, son to the Lord Berkley.
Mr. Peregrin Barty, second son to the Earl of Lindsey.
Mr. Veere Vane, second son to the Earl of Westmoreland.
Mr. Bellasis, son of the Lord Bellasis.
Mr. Capell, brother to the Earl of Essex.
Mr. Francis Vane, son of Sir Francis Vane.
Mr. Henry Vane, son of George Vane, Esq;
Mr. Edward Hungerford, of Farley Castle.
Mr. Monson, son of Sir John Monson, Knight of the Bath.
Mr. Charles Frenaman, whose noble father was slain at Bevis.
Mr. Nicholas Slannying, son of that loyal subject, Sir Nicholas Slannying, slain at Bristol, 26 July, 1643.
Mr. Thomas Fanshaw, son of Sir Thomas Fanshaw.
Mr. Edward Wise.
Mr. Carr Scroop, grandson to the valiant Sir George Scroop, who received so many wounds in the royal cause at Edge-Hill.
Mr. Butler.
Colonel Edward Harley, Governor of Dunkirk, eldest son of Sir Robert Harley, late Knt. of the Bath.
Mr. Alexander Popham.
Colonel Richard Ingoldsby.
Mr. George Browne.
Mr. Bourchier Wray, son of Sir Chichester Wray.
Mr. Francis Godolphin.
Sir Thomas Trevor.
Mr. Simon Leech.
Mr. John Bramston, son of Sir John Bramston, late Lord Chief Justice.
Mr. Wise.
Mr. George Freeman, son of Sir Ralph Freeman.

AN HISTORICAL DISCOURSE
OF THE
FIRST INVENTION OF NAVIGATION,
AND THE ADDITIONAL IMPROVEMENTS OF IT.

With the probable Causes of the Variation of the Compass, and the Variation of the Variation.

Likewise some Reflexions upon the Name and Office of Admiral.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A Catalogue of those Persons that have been, from the first Institution, dignified with that Office.

By THOMAS PHILIPOTT, M. A. *formerly of Clare-Hall in Cambridge.*

London: Printed in 1661. Quarto, containing thirty pages, including the Dedication.

To his Noblest Friend, Sir Francis Prujean, Doctor of Physick.

SIR,

THE censures and suffrages of the world are like rocks and shelves, against which, books, like vessels, oftentimes dashing, find their own fate and shipwreck. Sir, your acceptance will dispense a nobler and more auspicious gale, than any which can be breathed from the looser or vainer air of popular applause, to transport this discourse to the publick; and it will be the happiness of this treatise, that in future times it shall intitle its safety to so successful a steerage. For, indeed, the tempest, with reason, is frequently more destructive and ruinous, than the storm without it: My own fear and caution can secure or rescue me from the danger of the last; but only your candor and approbation can redeem from the prejudices of the first,

Sir, your most devoted servant,
THOMAS PHILIPOTT.

There having been much written concerning this subject, which lies dispersed in the pages of several authors, and finding that none have as yet attempted to compile and amass those scattered notions into one heap, I did believe it a task, not unworthy the expence of time, or my labour, to contract those divided discourses into some few sheets: And having brought them into *shape and order, to offer them up to publick view; which is the subject matter of this ensuing treatise.*

First, it is indisputably true from the authority of the sacred records, the structure of the ark owed and intituled its original contexture to the industrious precaution of Noah, who, by the immediate designation of God himself, brought that wooden island into shape and order, to rescue some part of mankind from the angry baptism of a publick deluge.

And it is probable, that the posterity of Noah, having plantations which were contiguous to Mount Ararat, where the ark rested, and there viewing its skeleton, might, according to that original, form and build such ships, and other vessels (the art of navigation being not yet arrived to its solstice) as might make rivers and more spacious waters obvious to a passage, and maintain such a necessary intercourse, as might improve a commerce between nation and nation.

The heathen records, and monuments of pagan antiquity, which were ignorant of the structure of the ark, according to the variety of tradition, assign the invention of navigation to several persons. Diodorus Siculus attributes it to Neptune, who from thence contracted the appellation of God of the Sea. Strabo, to Minos king of Crete. And lastly, Tibullus consecrates it to the fame and memory of the city of Tyre.

Minos indeed expelled malefactors out of the islands, and in most of them planted colonies of his own, by which means, they who inhabited the sea-coasts, becoming more addicted to riches, grew more constant to their dwellings; of whom, some, grown now rich, circumscribed and encompassed their cities with walls, and others by the influence of Minos built a navy, and by an active and noble diligence so secured commerce, that they rendered navigation free.

But it is most probable, that, Tyre being, in elder times, a city as eminent for its wealth and traffick, as it was for its strength and magnificence, and enjoying with its bordering neighbours, the Phœnicians, a large extensive sea-coast, and many capacious havens, which had an aspect on the Mediterranean sea, found out at first the institution of shipping. From the Phœnicians and Tyrians, it was conducted down to the Egyptians, by whose industry and ingenuity, much was annexed to the advantage and perfection of it: For whereas the first vessels were framed out of the trunk of some large tree, made hollow by art, or else of divers boards, compacted into the fashion of a boat, and covered with the skins of beasts, the Phœnicians moulded them into a more elegant and convenient form, and secured them with greater additions of strength, whilst the Egyptians added, to the former structure, the supplement of decks. From the Egyptians, this art was transported to the Grecians; for when Danaus, king of Egypt, to decline the fury of his brother Rameses, made his approaches to Greece, he first instructed its inhabitants to sail in covered vessels, called Naves, who before perfected their voyages over those narrow seas, on beams and rafters fastened together, to whom they gave the appellation of Rates. Amongst the Grecians, those of Crete had the highest repute for the manage of navigation, which causeth Strabo to ascribe the invention of ships to Minos. In times subsequent to these, the Carthaginians, extracted from Tyre, grew most considerable in shipping, by the supply of which, they often disordered and distressed the affairs of the Romans: But the fury of a tempest, having separated a Quinqueremis, or galley of five banks of oars, from the residue of the Carthaginian navy, cast it on the coast of Italy; by a curious inspection into which, the Romans obtained the art of shipping; and, not long after, atchieved the dominion of the sea. That the Phœnicians and Greeks transmitted the knowledge of navigation to Spain and France, is without controversy, since Gades, in the first, was a colony of the Phœnicians, and Marseilles, in the last, a plantation of the Phocians. As for Belgium and Britain, they were, in ages of an elder inscription, very barren and indigent in shipping; for Cæsar, when he made his eruption on the last, found the *circumambient seas* so ill furnished, that he was forced, with the industrious assistance of his soldiery, to build and equip a navy of six-hundred and two and thirty vessels, to transport his army into Albion.

The Phœnicians having, as is above recited, invented open vessels, and the Egyptians ships with decks, the last of these inforced the art of navigation, by adding to it the invention of gallies, with two banks of oars upon a side; which sort of vessels, in process of time, did swell into that voluminous bulk, that Ptolemy Philopater is said to have framed a galley of fifty banks. Ships of burthen, stiled Ciræra, intitle their invention to the Cypriots; cockboats or skifts (scaphæ) owe their first structure to the Illyrians or Liburnians; Brigantines (Celoces) confess theirs to have been the artifice of the Rhodians; frigates, or light barks (lembi) acknowledge their original unto the industry of the Cyrenians; the Phaselus and Pamphyli, ships instructed for war, were the invention of the Pamphylians, and the inhabitants of Phaselis, a town of Lycia in Asia minor. Vessels for transporting of horse, stiled Hippagines, are indebted, for their first institution, to the Salaminians. Grappling-hooks, for theirs, to Anacharsis. Anchors confess their first knowledge to have been from the Tuscans. The rudder-helm, and art of steering, is ascribed to Typhis, principal pilot in Jason's eminent ship, called the Argoe, who, having observed that a kite, when she divided the air, steered her whole body and flight with her tail, perfected that in the designs of art, which he had discovered to have been effected by instinct in the works of nature. If we please to trace out the first inventors of tackle, we shall discover, that the primitive institution of the oar is attributed to the Bœotians, and the original discovery and use of masts and sails ennoble the memory of Dædalus, and his son Icarus; the last of which, confiding too much in the dexterity of this invention, giving too large and spreading a sail to the bark he was engaged in, over-set the vessel, and perished, and adopted the sea, in which he miscarried, into his own name.

But, though the supplement and addition of decks of ships intitles itself to the original artifice of the Egyptians, as is before recited; yet had they others of a more narrow dimension, both for use and transportation; for the Egyptians, anciently, (says Pliny, lib. xiii. Nat. Hist.) used to make boats of reeds and bulrushes; which assertion he again justifies in another place, *Papyraceis navibus* (says he) *armamentisque Nili navigamus;* and to these vessels Lucian alludes, lib. iv. Phars.

> ——— Sic cum tenet omnia Nilus,
> Conseritur bibula memphitica cymba papyro.

Which fashion of boat Moses was engaged in, when Pharaoh's daughter rescued him from the danger of the river. The Prophet Isaiah records such utensils in that periphrasis of Egypt, "Wo to the land shadowing with wings, that sends ambassadors by sea in bulrushes." Strabo sailed to Egypt in a small vessel made of wicker, as his own relation discovers to us, in the seventeenth of his Geography. Juvenal also makes mention of earthen boats in Egypt, used and employed also there to sail with; for, recording the deadly feud and superstitious conflicts, commenced between Ombos and Tentyra, in relation to their Gods, he speaks thus, Sat. xv.

> Hac sævit rabie imbelle & inutile vulgus,
> Parvula fictilibus solitum dare vela phaselis,
> Et brevibus pictæ remis incumbere testæ.

The Britons had anciently their *naves vitiles* in Pliny's stile; the natives of Ireland call them Corroghs, and some Corracles; they were little vessels covered with leather, in their dimensions scarce exceeding the bulk of a basket; and these kind of boats, or baskets, were used by Julius Cæsar, to transport his army over the river Sicoris against Petreius, and other rivers elsewhere; and he had learned the making of them, it seems, from the Britons, when he was in this island, as himself attests in his first book *De Bello Civili: Cujus generis*, says he, *cum superioribus usus Britanniæ docuerat.* And, in a subsequent discourse, he describes them thus: *Carinæ primum ac statumina ex levi materia fiebantur, reliquum corpus navium viminibus contextum integebatur.* They have the like vessels on the river Euphrates, to transport commodities to Babylon; and their proportion is so conformable to these British ones (according to the pattern discovered to us by Herodotus) that a man would judge, that either the Britons extracted the description of these vessels from the Babylonians, or the Babylonians from them. For Herodotus, in Clio, that is, the first book of his History, affirms, that they had boats, made of osier or willows, of an orbicular form, and in the fashion of a buckler, without prow or poop, and covered over on the outside with the head of a bullock tanned. In these, besides their native commodities, they used to conveigh palm-wines in tuns, to be sold or vended at Babylon; two men, with an oar a-piece in their hands, conducting and managing the vessel.

These vessels were so portable, that the owners were accustomed to transport them on their backs to and from the water; the master would carry his boat by land, and the boat would waft the master on the water; as the Arabian fisherman uses to do with his tortoise-shell, which is his shallop by sea, and his house on land; under which he sleeps, and in which he sails.

Proportionate in their dimension to these are those which the Egyptians use at this day upon the Nile, which they take upon their backs, when they approach the cataracts and steeper falls of that river.

Boterius calls them *Naves plicatiles*, and which they employ in some places of the West-Indies: For, in the year 1509, we read, that there were brought to Roan seven Indians, confined to one small vessel or boat, which was so portable, that one man could raise it up with his hand, as the same Boterius, in his Relations, seems to intimate.

In some places of the West-Indies they fish with faggots composed of bulrushes, in their dialect stiled Balsa's: Having sustained them upon their shoulders to the sea, they there cast them in; then leap upon them, and after row into the main, with small reeds on either side, themselves standing upright, like Tritons or Neptunes; and in these Balsa's they are accustomed to carry those cords and nets, they employ in fishing. The Indians likewise have long boats, called Canoo's, made hollow, and artificially framed out of one tree. In Greenland the fishermen's boats are composed into the shape of weavers shuttles, covered outwardly with skins of beals, and inwardly fashioned and fortified with the bones of the same fishes; which, being sewed together with many doubles and sutures, are so secure, that, in foul and stormy weather, they will shut themselves up in the same, being rescued, by the aid of these, from the fury and imminent prejudices of rocks, winds, and tempests: These are about twenty feet in length, and two feet and an half in their breadth, and so swift, that no ship is able to outvy them in speed; and so light of portage, that one man may support many; and they are furnished but with one oar.

Before I wind up this discourse, I shall winnow and discuss that question, Whether or not antiquity had any discovery or notice of the compass, which, in this latter age, hath contributed so much to the improvement of Navigation? Those, who do assert, that it had some imperfect glimmering, or rather some gloomy cognisance of it, do establish their opinion on the authority of Plautus, where they find mention of the Versoria: And, secondly, because the load-stone, which sways and manages the compass, was anciently, by the Greeks, stiled Magnes, and Lapis Heraclius; both which names remain instated upon it until this day. But to the first it s answered, that the Versoria of Plautus is no other, than that piece of tackle, which, in the modern dialect of our mariners, falls under the appellation of a Bolin, by which they used to turn their sails, and proportion them to the changeable vicissitude of every wind. And so much is manifest from Plautus himself, in the Comedy which he stiles Mercator, saying, *Hinc ventus nunc secundus est, cape modo versoriam;* so called from *verso*, to turn often; or else it may borrow its extraction and nativity from *versum*, the first supine of *verto;* whence *velum vertere* is a customary term amongst the Latins, used to express the shifting of the sail, as the wind does vary. As for the load-stone, it was, indeed, by the Greeks, called Lapis Heraclius, not because Hercules Tyrius, to whom the sea-faring Phœnicians, in storms and tempests, offered up their orisons for protection, first traced out the vertue and energetical effluviums of it, as some contend; but because it was discovered near Heraclea, a city of Lydia, called for the same reason, and upon the same account, Lapis Lydius also, and, by the ancients, known only under the notion of a touch-stone. Nor does the name of Magnes, used under that appellation promiscuously both by the Greeks and Latins, owe its original etymology to any other root or cradle, than that it was found near Magnesia, a city of Lydia, of which Heraclea, above-mentioned, was likewise a part; from whence it hath ever since purchased the constant denomination of Lapis Magnes; so Suidas asserts for the Greeks, and old Lucretius affirms the same for the Latins. Having evinced, from these demonstrations, the ignorance of antiquity, both in the notional knowledge, and practical application of the compass, it now remains my task to unwind, to whom, in times of a more recent inscription, this excellent instrument intitled its first discovery. And, if we will traverse and peruse records of a modern aspect, we shall find, that the invention of the Pyxis Nautica, or Compass, is generally ascribed to John Goia, or Flavio Goia, as others stile him, of Amalphi in Campania, in the kingdom of Naples. But all rare and curious artifices are, in their first productions, like the designs of chymistry, much in projection, but little in perfection; for his discovery reached but to eight winds only, which made up his compass, that is, the four principal, and four collateral; and left the improvement of this invention to be attempted by posterity, which indeed did add shape and just perfection to this ingenious design. For, in some few ages subsequent to this, the people of Antwerp and Bruges compleated this invention, by annexing to the compass twenty-four other subordinate winds, or points. Before this invention, pilots were directed in their right voyages by certain stars, they took notice of, especially the Pleiades, or Charles's Wain, and the two stars in the tail of the bear, called Helice and Cynosura, which are therefore called load-stars, or leading-stars. As travellers, in the desarts of Arabia, and those of Tartary, were always guided by some fixed stars, in the night-time, to steer their courses in those pathless, disordered, and inhospitable ways; so seamen were directed by the like heavenly guides, in the untractable wilderness of waters, before this excellent artifice was found out: But, if the sky happened to be sullied with mists, and the stars to be muffled with clouds, then the most experienced pilot was at a loss, and was obliged, by dropping an anchor, presently to take up his rest.

But the ingenious Amalphitan hath secured posterity, by a noble remedy, against this grand inconvenience, and discovered a method, by which men might steer a certain and infallible course, in the most gloomy nights, and most tumultuous seas; and this by the guide and conduct of a little stone, stiled, from its use and influence, the Load-stone. This load-stone is now our load-star, and the Mariner's Directory.

This stone treasures up two strange properties in its dusky entrails, the one of attraction, the other of direction: This property of direction (which chiefly hath an aspect on our present business) is, that, being set in a dish, and left to float freely upon the water, it will, with one end, point directly to the north, and, with the other, to the south; and will dispense this faculty, or property, to a needle, that is rubbed, or touched with it.

The Pyxis Nautica, or Mariner's Card, which carries a needle, touched with the load-stone, in the middle of it, with two-and-thirty rhombs or lines drawn round about it, according to the number of the cardinal and collateral winds, is no less useful by land, than it is by sea; so that they, who are engaged to travel through desarts, as the caravans do to Meccha and Medina, and other places, do now make good use of this artifice, whereas, in former ages, a star was their best pilot by night.

Ludovicus Bartema relates, that they, who travel over the Syrian and Arabian desarts, which are faced and covered with a film of light and shifting sand, so that no track can ever be discovered, do frame certain boxes of wood, which they place on camels backs; and, shutting themselves up in the said boxes, to rescue themselves from the sand, by the help of the load-stone, like the mariner's compass, they steer their course over the vast, uncouth, and untractable desarts. Some do intitle the invention of the compass to the people of China. Doctor Gilbert, in his book de Magnete, asserts, that Paulus Venetus transported it first into Italy, in the year 1260, having learned it from the Chinese: And Ludovicus Vertomannus affirms, that, when he was in the East-Indies, about the year 1500 (above an hundred and sixty years since) he saw the pilot of his ship direct his course by a compass, fashioned and framed according to the figure and proportion of those we use at this instant, when he was sailing towards Java. If you will consult Pliny, he will tell you, that the inhabitants of Taprobana (now called Sumatra) because they could not behold the pole-star to sail by, carried with them certain birds to sea, which they did often let fly; and, as these birds, by natural instinct, applied their flight always to the land, so the mariners directed their course after them. The mariner's compass is not arrived yet to that perfection, but that it requires some improvement and amendment;

for the magnetick needle does not exactly point to the north in all meridians, but varies and distorts itself (in some places more, in some less) from the direct posture, configuration, and aspect of the north and south, which multiplies and inforces the seaman's distractions, and inwraps him oftentimes in difficult and dangerous errors. Van Helmont, an eminent Paracelsian of Flanders, professes an expedite way to regulate this grand inconvenience, namely, how to make a needle that should never vary or alter from the right point, which may be performed by a vigorous imagination, as he affirms, thus: If a man, in framing the needle, shall stand with his back placed to the north, and place one point of the needle (which he intends for the north) directly towards himself; the needle, so made, shall always point regularly and infallibly toward the north, without variation. I wish, that some person of an exalted imagination would compose some needles, for experiment, after Helmont's direction, since it is an affair of noble and active concernment, to the publick interest of every nation, to have this invention of the compass either improved, or rectified.

But this artifice of Helmont is infirm and crazy in the whole frame and contexture of it, if the variation of the needle, from its meridional polarity, proceed from the attractive vigour and magnetical alliciency of the earth, which, by irrefragable demonstrations, may be evinced to be one continued magnet. Now a magnetical body is stiled, not only, that which hath a power attractive, but that which, being situated in a convenient medium, by an intrinsick natural propension, disposes itself to one invariable and fixed residence, so that, if it were violently removed, yet would it not abandon its primitive points, nor fix in the east and west, but return unto its polary situation again. And such a magnetical vertue is diffused through the whole body of the earth, whereby as unto its natural points, and proper terms, it still makes its addresses unto the poles, being so constituted in its whole frame, order, and aspect, unto these points, that those parts, which are now at the Poles, would not naturally reside under the equator, nor *Nova Zembla* continue in the place of *Java* or *Borneo*. Nor is the attractive vigour of this great body, the earth, cloistered up within its own inward cells and recesses, or circumscribed within the circumference of its own surface, but shed at indeterminate distances, through the air, water, and all other circumjacent bodies; exciting and transplanting its magnetical vertue into all bodies, either within its surface, or without it; and effecting that in an abstruse and indiscernible way, that we visibly behold performed by the load-stone. For these effluviums penetrate all bodies, and, being ever ready in the medium, attack all objects proportionate, or capable of their vigorous and active excitation: And this is manifest from steel wires thrust thorough little spheres, or globes of cork floating on the water, or in naked needles gently dropped thereon; for so disposed they will not rest, until they have traced out the meridian, and, as near as possibly they may, lie parallel to the axis of the earth. Now this direction does not originally result from themselves, but is derivative and contracted from the magnetical efflux of the earth. And these demonstrations may be improved by the observation of some subsequent experiments; as,

First, From a needled sphere of cork, equally contiguous unto the surface of the water; for, if the needle be not seated in an exact equilibration, that end which is too light, if touched, becomes even; that needle also, which will but just swim under water, if forcibly touched, will sink deeper, and sometimes unto the bottom; which proceeds from an union of those magnetical effluxions, which estreat from the earth, with those magnetick atoms which flow from the body of the load-stone, and make an impression on the needle.

Now those first, being of a congenerous nature with the last, but more numerous and powerful, by this their mutual entwining and complication, drag away the needle, as their captive, and sink it into the above recited position.

Secondly, From a wire or needle which, being denuded and devested of that meridional projection, the magnetick impression of the load-stone had formerly instated and imprinted upon it, by its great adversary the fire, by being some time entered in the earth, becomes new impregnated with the vertue of that great and vigorous magnet, and again contracts such a polarity, or meridional situation, as though it had never suffered under the persecution of its flaming enemy. Now whether these above-mentioned effluviums of the earth do fly by estreated atoms, or winding particles, as some assert, or glide by streams attracted from either pole or hemisphere of the earth, unto the equator, as others affirm; it signifies nothing to the diminution of the magnetick vertue of the earth, but rather more distinctly sets down the gests and progressive motion of its attractive alliciency and excitation.

Thirdly, If a load-stone be made red-hot, it loseth the magnetical vigour it had before in itself, and acquires another from the earth in its refrigeration; for that part, which cooleth towards the earth, will obtain the respect of the north, and attract the southern point or *cuspis* of the needle: And the reason hereof is, that, though the attractive vertue of the load-stone be in this fiery agony much impaired, exhausted, and diminished, yet is it not totally extinguished, so that when its sickly and impoverished vigour is re-inforced and recruited, by a supply or accession of effluviums, from the earth, by an union or combination with this new stock of magnetical atoms, it does not only revive, but is improved to its former attraction and verticity.

Fourthly, It is observed, that both bricks and irons contract a verticity, by long and continued position; that is, not only being placed from north and south, and lying in the meridian, but respecting the zenith and perpendicular, unto the center of the earth; as is evident in bars of windows, casements, hinges, and the like. The same condition also do bricks contract, by being long time placed in one continued situation in a wall; for, if the needle be presented unto their lower extreams, it wheeleth about, and turns its southern point unto them. And the reason of this is, that, that film or scurf, in which they lay originally wrapped up, and which did obstruct the magnetical impressions of the earth, being worn off by decursion of time, and the perpetual assaults of the elements, the magnetical atoms of the earth do with more vigour invade them, and by frequent onsets, having implanted their vertue in them, engage them to that verticity.

Fifthly, Iron in a particular sympathy moves to the load-stone, but yet, if it exceed a certain quantity, it abandons and quits those affections and interests; and, like an affectionate citizen, or faithful patriot, moves to the earth, which is the region and country of its connaturals.

From what hath thus been remarkably discovered, it is easy to unfold, from a foundation not only of probability, but almost of necessity, whence proceeds the cause of the variation of the compass, that is, an arch of the horizon, intercepted between the true and magnetical meridian. The true meridian is a greater circle, passing through the poles of the world, and the zenith or vertex of any place, exactly dividing the east from the west. Now on this line the needle exactly lieth not, but diverts and varies its point, that is, the north point on this side the equator, the south on the other, sometimes unto the east, sometimes unto the west, and, in some places, varies not at all. Now the cause of this variation may be the inequality of the earth, variously disposed, and differently mixed with the sea; with all the different emissions of its strength and magnetical vigour, from the more eminent and gibbous or knobby parts thereof; for the needle naturally endeavours to conform unto the meridian, but, being distracted, is driven and distorted that way, where the greater and more powerful parts of the earth are situated.

Now whereas on this side the meridian, or the Isles of Azores, where the first meridian is placed, the needle varies eastward, it may be occasioned by that vast tract of earth, that is, of Europe, Asia, and Africa, seated towards the east, and disposing the needle that way; on the other side some parts of the Azores, or Islands of St. Michael, which have a middle situation between these continents, and that vast tract of America, almost proportionate and answerable to these in its spacious bulk and dimension, it seems equally distracted by both, and diverting unto neither, doth parallel and place itself upon the true meridian. But, sailing farther, it veers its lilly towards the west, and regards that quarter wherein the land is nearer or greater; and in the same latitude, as it approaches its shore, augments its variation. Now because where the greater continents are united and combined, the action and efflux of magnetical atoms is also greater, therefore those needles do suffer the greatest variation, which are in countries, which do most feel that magnetick impression. And, therefore, hath Rome far less variation than London. For, on the west-side of Rome, are seated the great continents of France, Spain, and Germany, which seem to retrench the exuberant effluviums, and poise the vigour of the eastern parts. But unto England there is almost no earth west, for the whole extent of Asia and Europe lieth eastward, and therefore, at London, it varies eleven degrees, that is, almost one rhomb. Thus also, by reason of the great continent of Brasile, Peru, and Chisi, the needle declines towards the land twelve degrees. But at the Streights of Magellan, where the land is contracted into a narrow volume, and the sea on the other side of a vast diffusion and extent, it varies but five or six. And so likewise because the Cape de las Aguellas hath sea on both sides near it, and other land remote, and as it were of an equal distance from it, therefore at that point the needle conforms unto the true meridian, being not distracted with the attraction resulting from the vicinity of an adjacent continent. To this may be added, that this variation proceedeth not only from some eminent terrestrial knobs or excrescencies, which appear like so many wens upon the face of the world; as, also many magnetical veins of the earth, collaterally respecting the needle, but the different accumulation of the earth, disposed unto the Poles, lying under the sea and waters; which affect the needle with greater or lesser variation, according to the vigour or impotency of these subterraneous lines, or the intire or broken body of the magnetical fabrick under it. As it is observable, from several load-stones, placed at the bottom of any water; for a load-stone or needle, upon the surface, will variously conform itself, according to the vigour or imbecility of the load-stones under it.

Lastly, From what hath been premised, a reason may be alledged for the variation of the variation, and why, according to observation, the variation of the needle hath after some years been found to vary, either more, where it was discovered to vary but little before, or but little, where formerly it had a greater deflexion or variation. For this may proceed from the mutation of the earth, as it is dislocated or supplanted by earth-quakes, wasted and impaired by sulphureous, or other subterraneous fires; or else, as its magnetick vertue is arrested in its emanation, by being astonished and stupefied by mineral spirits, or those fumes and exhalations that have any mercurial or arsenical atoms implanted in them; all which, by a reiterated impression, may so alter the constitution of the magnetical parts of the earth, either by subtraction or addition, that, in decursion of time, they may vary the variation over the place.

Having thus discovered those, to whom, not only ships, but likewise the art of managing them, did intitle its original invention, I shall add something by way of supplement, touching the derivation of the name of that eminent officer, to whom, both in elder and more modern times, the care of publick navies hath been committed, vulgarly stiled the Admiral; and, if we shall disjoint or dissect the name, we shall find it confess itself to be both of Arabian and Greek extraction; for Emir, or Amir, in Arabian, imports as much as Lord, and ἁλὸς, in Greek, is of the sea; so that both these words cemented together, into the appellation of Admiral, signify a lord of the sea. Now the word Emir, or Amir, for they are coincident, was a denomination anciently used by the Arabian Caliphs, as a term of dignity and eminence; so many of them had the additional appellation of *Amir Elmumunin*, and *Emir Omimelin*; the first may be rendered *Rex Orthodoxorum*, or the king of persons orthodox; and the last may he translated *Rex Credentium*, prince or king of the believers; and, at this day, he that in Turky, by the command and designation of the Grand Signior, delivers the banners to the Sanzacks and Beglerbegs, by which they receive their investiture, is stiled *Emir Halem*, lord of the banner; or, if you will receive it in a more pompous epithet, the Turks chief standard-bearer; and this accords with what Leunclavius delivers in his Turkish pandects: "*Emir Halem* (says he) *significat Dominum Vexillorum et Flammeolorum, qui scilicet supremus est Sultani Vexillifer, ac omnibus Beglerbegis ac Sanzacbegis, quum creantur, vexilla sua porrigit.*" And hence we read in the history of the holy war, that Robert, duke of Normandy, slew an eminent *Saracenical Amir*, whose standard had *in summitate Argenteæ Hastæ Pomum Aureum*, which he offered at the sepulchre of our Saviour, having purchased it at twenty marks, of one who had taken it by right of war. Now this word Amir, or Emir, is deduced from the Arabick verb, Amara, which, rendered into Latin, is Dixit, or Edixit, or else extracted from the Hebrew verb, Amar, which, melted into Latin, signifies *præcepit seu imperavit*, and it is possible the Spanish word, Almirante, is contracted from El Amirante; and that again, by Moorish and Arabick channels from Alamir, which imports as much as the chief captain. Now, although vulgar use and custom, by apposition of this word 'Αλος, have restrained this great officer, only to the command of the sea, yet, in times of an elder aspect, it was of a more confused, or promiscuous signification; and was not alone confined to maritime authority, but was likewise attributed to those eminent Saracenical soldiers and governors, who were engaged in a command by land, which was proportionate, and answerable in its latitude and extent, to that which was exercised by the ancient tribunes of the Roman militia; and this I can easily collect, from the authority and testimony of very ancient authors. And, first, Sigebert, the monk, in his chronicle, relates, that Mahomet, or Muhammed, so he calls him, about the year 630, constituted four governors in the Saracenical kingdom, which were called admirals. And Theophanes, in his chronicle cited by Meursius, tells us, that Muhammed, being about to die, designed four admirals, who were to subdue those, who, being of Arabick extraction, did yet assert the christian religion. And a nameless author, quoted by Bedwell, seconds this relation, by informing us, that a certain Caliph constituted four tribunes of his soldiery, vulgarly called admirals (Admirantes they are called in his stile, though in the phrase of Theophanes, above cited, they are stiled Amiræi) to every one of which, he gave the command of many subordinate officers and captains, and which commanders he called, The sharp swords of god. And Junius, out of the notes of Cedrenus upon Curopalates, discovers to us, that Mahomet, upon his decease, appointed four admirals, whom he enjoined to crush and extirpate all those Arabians who had embraced the christian religion: And farther relates, that they, to perfect his commands, advanced against Theodorus, chamberlain and general to the Greek Emperor, between whom and themselves, a fatal field was commenced; in which, three of these admirals and a numerous heap of other soldiers perished.

The tyrant of Babylon, in the stile of Henry of Huntington, is named the admiral of Babylon; and the same author, in his chronicle, asserts twelve admirals of the Pagans, to have been slain at the siege of Antioch. And Rupert the monk, in the fourth book of his Saracenical history, affirms, that the son of Cassian, the great king of Antioch, and twelve admirals, which the Caliph of Babylon (king he calls him) had employed with succours to the king above-mentioned, all perished at the siege of Antioch; and these twelve which had the appellation of admiral, annexed to them, he makes to be rulers of twelve distinct territories or provinces. And the same author, in the beginning of his fifth book, relates, that the ambassadors of the Caliph of Babylon, in their addresses to the French chieftains, stile that monarch, the admiral of Babylon. *Dominus noster, Admirallus Babyloniæ, mandat vobis Francorum Principibus salutem;* so in his phrase runs their appellation. Monstrelet, an author of good estimate, mentions Arcubalistarum Admirallum, an admiral of the Arcubalists, or of those persons who were armed with cross-bows; and lastly, Matthew Paris, in his life of William Rufus, tells us, of one Corbaran, who, after he had marshalled his army, and brought his squadrons into form and order, put those troops under the command of twenty-nine kings and admirals.

But as this eminent maritime officer, in these latter times, hath by prescription constantly assumed the name of admiral; so, in the times of an elder inscription, he was not always stiled Admirallus, but very frequently *Magnus Drungarius Classis*, or the great Drungar of the navy, an office of eminency and high estimate under the Greek Emperors; yet this title was not so confined to the sea, but that it was attributed likewise to those noble persons, who managed the command of the land militia; and therefore the learned Meursius notes, that there was *Magnus Drungarius Biglæ*, that is, *Vigiliæ seu Excubiarum Præfectus*, the chief commander or prefect, to whose inspection, the care of the watch was solely intrusted; the ensign or monument of whose authority, as the same Meursius intimates, with a scepter or truncheon of a purple colour, richly gilded and adorned at the bottom. Now the etymology of this word Drungarius, as Leunclavius asserts, is derived from the modern Greek δϱȣιγὸς, and signifies the same with them, as Agla does with the Turks, and may be interpreted to be that scepter or truncheon, which is the symbol of their office and authority; hence the Drungarii amongst the Greeks, and the Aglarii amongst the Turks, are equivalent to our colonels in Christendom. But the more proper and genuine etymology of the word, as it is used by Vopiscus and Vegetius, is extracted from Drungus or Druncus, which in their sense imports as much as Globus Militum, and may, without distorting the phrase, be interpreted a squadron of soldiers. Vegetius, in his Discourse de Re Militari, lib. iii. cap. 16. observes, that *scire Dux debet contra quos Drungos, hoc est, globos hostium quos equites oporteat poni;* and Vopiscus, in the year 280, relating the victories of Probus the emperor, over the Blemii and the Germans, tells us, that he, to enhanse the pomp and magnificence of his conquests, *omnium gentium Drungos duxit*, he carried squadrons or heaps, of all those nations he had subdued, before his triumphant chariot.

I should now wind up this discourse, but finding so many eminent persons of the English nation, to have been invested and dignified with the title of admiral, I thought it a labour not unworthy consideration, to represent to the publick view a just scale or series of those worthy heroes, who have been in their several generations, by the favour of the prince, advanced to this office, whose catalogue is exactly registered in the learned and elaborate pages of Sir Henry Spelman's Glossary.

Marthusius the Arch-pirate in old Latin records, stiled Archi-Pirata, and Nautarum Princeps, was admiral under king Edgar, and had several subordinate commanders under his jurisdiction (*Præfecti* they are called in the record) who had the command under this Marthusius of almost a thousand ships; a report, if we consider the bulk and dimension of those maritime vessels, which were employed in those times, not altogether improbable; where note, that although, in these modern ages, the name of Pirate is still applied to one, who supports himself by pillage and depredation at sea, yet, in times of an elder inscription, the word Pirata or Pirate, was sometimes attributed to those persons to whose care the mole or peer of any haven (called in Latin Pyra) was intrusted, and by whose inspection it was provided, that those places should receive no prejudice, which were the occasion of so much advantage to the publick interest.

After the mention of Marthusius, there is a gap or interval in the Register of the Admirals, and none recorded until the eighth year of Henry the Third; and then Richard de Lucy, of Newington Lucies in Kent, begins the catalogue, from whom Richard Lucy of Charlecot in Warwickshire, Esq; is in a collateral or younger line originally descended. After whom the ensuing roll of admirals is without any intermission or interruption, in an even clew or series, conducted down to our times.

Tho. de Moleton had the custody of the narrow seas (Custos Maris the record stiles him) in the forty-eighth year of Henry the Third.

Will. de Leybourne, of Leybourne Castle, was in a convention held at Bruges, in the fifteenth year of Edward the First, stiled admiral. After his exit, the office of admiral being held of too vast concernment to be managed and wielded by one person, there were three admirals created, in the twenty-second of Edward the Second. One had the care of the parts towards the north, which was committed to John de Botetort; a second had the charge of the sea-coast southward, which was committed to William de Leybourne; and a third had the custody of the western shore, which was delegated to the inspection of an Irish knight. Afterwards this office was invested in two; the first whereof had the custody of the English shore, from the Thames Mouth northwards: The second of whom had the charge of the western shore, from the Mouth of the Thames south-west; a register of which here follows:

Admirals of the North.

34 Edw. 1. Edward Charles
8 Edw. II. Joseph Botetort
10 Edw. II. Joseph Perbrun, alias Perburne
15 Edw. II. John Perbrun
16 Edw. II. John Perbrun
18 Edw. II. John Sturmie

Admirals of the West.

Gervase Allard
Nicholas Crioll, 10 Edw. II.
Sir Robert Leybourne
John Athey, 12 Edw. II.
Sir Robert Leybourne
Robert Battaile, alias Battel
Robert Bendon

But I know not, upon what exigency or emergent occasion, this office in the year 1325, that is, in the nineteenth year of Edward the Second, was again intrusted to the custody of three, which were John Otervin, Nicholas Crioll, and John de Felton, which are stiled, in the record, Admirals of Yarmouth, Portsmouth, and of the West. But, about the latter part of this very year, this office was again reduced to the care and charge of, a catalogue of whom offers itself up to our present consideration:

Admirals of the North.	*Admirals of the West.*
John Sturmy	
John Sturmy	Nicholas Crioll, 19 Edw. II.
Joseph de Leybourne	Nicholas Crioll, 20 Edw. II.

Admirals of the North and West, in the Time of Edward the Third.

1 Edw. III. John Perbrun—Waretius de Valoigns
8 Edw. III. John de Norwich—William de Clinton
10 Edw. III. Thomas Oughtred—Robert de Hegham, alias Higham
10 Edw. III. John de Norwich—Geffrey de Say
10 Edw. III. Robert de Ufford, and John de Roos—William de Manston, alias Manton

11 Edw. III. Sir Walter Manney—Bartholomew Burgherst
12 Edw. III. Thomas de Drayton—Peter Dard, alias Bard
13 Edw. III. Robert de Morley, Baron of Hengham—Robert Trussell
14 Edw. III. Robert de Morley—Richard Fitz-Allen, Earl of Arundell
16 Edw. III. William Trussell—William Clinton, Earl of Huntington
17 Edw. III. William Trussell—Robert Beaupell
18 Edw. III. Robert Ufford—John de Montgomery
20 Edw. III. Robert Ufford—Reginald de Cobham
21 Edw. III. Sir John Howard—Richard Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundell
22 Edw. III. Walter, Lord Manney—Richard Fitz-Allan
22 Edw. III. Sir Robert de Morley—Sir John de Montgomery
24 Edw. III. Robert de Causton—Sir Reginald de Cobham
25 Edw. III. Robert de Morley—John de Beauchampe, Earl of Warwick
25 Edw. III. William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton—Henry, Duke of Lancaster
26 Edw. III. William de Bohun—Thomas de Beauchampe, Earl of Warwick
29 Edw. III. Robert de Morley, Baron of Hengham—John de Beauchampe
30 Edw. III. Robert de Morley—Guy de Brian
33 and 34 Edward III. Robert de Morley—Guy de Brian
Guy de Brian

34 Edw. III. John de Beauchampe
35 Edw. III. Robert Herle
38 Edw. III. Ralph Spigurnell

These three managed the office of admiral alone. But, in the forty-third year of Edward the Third, the custody of the narrow seas, extending north and west, was again intrusted to two, whose names are thus registered:

Admirals of the North.

43 Edw. III. Nicholas Tamworth
44 Edw. III. John Nevill
45 Edw. III. Ralph de Ferrars
46, 47, 48 Ed. III. William Nevill
50 Edw. III. William de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk
50 & 51 Edward III. Sir Michael de la Pole, Lord of Wingfield

Admirals of the West.

Robert Aston
Guy de Brian
Robert Aston
Sir Philip Courtney

William de Montacute
Richard Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundell

Admirals under Richard the Second.

Admirals of the North.

Thomas de Beauchampe, Earl of Warwick
Sir Thomas Percy
William de Elmham
Walter Fitz-Walter, Baron of Woodham
Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland
Thomas Percy, his brother
Philip, Lord Darcy

Admirals of the West.

Richard Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundell, 1 Rich. I.
Sir Hugh Calveley, 2 Rich. II.
Sir Philip Courtney
Walter de Hauley, 3, 4, & 5 Rich. II.
John de Roches, 6 Rich. II.
Edward Courtney, Earl of Devon, 7 Rich. II.
Edward Radington, Prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, 8 Rich. II.
Sir Thomas Trivet, 9 Rich. II.
Richard Fitz-Allan, Earl of Arundell and Surrey, was sole admiral of England, after whom the office returned to be managed by two. 10 Rich. II.

Admirals of the North.

John de Beaumont, Baron of Folkingham
Sir John Roches
Edward, Earl of Rutland

Admirals of the West.

John Holland, Earl of Huntington. 12 Rich. II.
John Holland. 12 Rich. II.
John Holland abovesaid again. 14 Rich. II.
Edward, Earl of Rutland and Cork, was sole admiral both of the eastern and western shores. 15 Rich. II.
John Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt, Marquis of Dorset, and Earl of Somerset, was sole admiral of England. 21 Rich. II.
Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, was sole admiral of England. 22 Rich. II.

Admirals under Henry the Fourth.

Admirals of the North.

Richard Grey, Baron of Codnar. 2 Henry IV.
Thomas Beaufort, Brother to the Marquis. 5 Henry IV.
Thomas of Lancaster, Vice-Roy of Ireland, Lord High-Steward of England. 6 Henry IV.

Admirals of the West.

Sir Thomas Reniston. 5 Henry IV.
Thomas Lord Barkley
Duke of Clarence, managed the office of admiral alone.

Admirals of the North.	*Admirals of the West.*
Nicholas Blackbourne, Esq;	Rich. Cliderow, Esq; 7 Hen. IV.

After these two were dislodged, I find the office of admiral no more assigned to two, but for the future circumscribed and concentered in one; a roll of whom ensues:

Admirals of England.

8 Henry IV. John Beaufort, Marquis of Dorset, abovesaid, brother to Henry the Fourth, was sole admiral of England.
8 Henry IV. Edmond Holland, Earl of Kent, was sole admiral.
9 Henry IV. Thomas Beaufort, brother to the Marquis aforesaid, was sole admiral of England.

Admirals of England under Henry the Sixth.

4 Henry VI. John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford, and Earl of Richmond, was Lord High Admiral of England.
14 Henry VI. John Holland, Duke of Exeter, and Earl of Huntington, was constituted admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitain, and his son Henry had the grant of this office in reversion.
25 Henry VI. William de la Pole, Marquis and Earl of Suffolk, was constituted admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitain, during the non-age of Henry, Duke of Exeter.
28 Henry VI. Henry Holland, abovesaid Duke of Exeter, was admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitain.

Admirals under Edward the Fourth.

1 Edw. IV. Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, was admiral of England.
2 Edw. IV. William Nevill, Earl of Kent, and Baron Falconbridge.
— Edw. IV. Richard, Duke of Gloucester.
9 Edw. IV. Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick.
11 Edw. IV. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, admiral again.

Admirals under Richard the Third.

1 Rich. III. John Howard, Duke of Norfolk.

Admirals of England under Henry the Seventh.

1 Henry VII. John Vere, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Chamberlain of England.

Admirals under Henry the Eighth.

4 Henry VIII. Sir Edward Howard, Knight.
5 Henry VIII. Thomas Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitain.

17 Henry VIII. Henry Fitz-Roy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset.

28 Henry VIII. William Fitz-William, Earl of Southampton.

32 Henry VIII. John, Lord Russel, Knight.

34 Henry VIII. John Dudley, Knight, Viscount Lisle, and Baron Malpas.

Admirals under Edward the Sixth.

Thomas Seymour, Knight, Baron Sudeley, Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, and Bologne. 1 Edw. VI.

John Dudley, Knight of the Garter, Earl of Warwick, Viscount Lisle, Master of the King's Houshold, Admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, Bologne, and their marches, as also of Normandy, Gascoigne, and Aquitain. 3 Edw. VI.

Edward Clinton, Knight, Baron Say and Seal. 4 Edw. VI.

Admirals created under Queen Mary.

William Howard, Knight, Baron of Effingham. 1 Mariæ.

Edward Clinton, Knight, Baron Say and Seal. 3 Mariæ.

Admirals created under Queen Elisabeth.

Charles Howard, Baron of Effingham, after created Earl of Nottingham, and Knight of the Garter, Lord High Admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, and the adjacent marches, as likewise of Normandy, Gascoigne, and Aquitain. 27 Elisabeth.

Admirals created under King James.

George Villiers, then only Marquis of Buckingham, Viscount Villiers, and Baron of Whaddon, was constituted Lord High Admiral of Eng'and. 16 Jacob.

Admirals created under King Charles the First.

Robert Bartue, Earl of Lindsey, Lord High Chamberlain of England. 4 Carol. I.

Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Knight of the Garter.

Admirals under King Charles the Second.

James, Duke of York and Albany, at this instant, Lord High Admiral of England.

A GENERAL BILL
OF THE
MORTALITY *of the* CLERGY *of* LONDON:
OR,

A brief Martyrology and Catalogue of the learned, grave, religious, and painful Ministers of the City of London, who have been imprisoned, plundered, and barbarously used, and deprived of all Livelihood for themselves and their Families, in the late Rebellion, for their Constancy in the Protestant Religion, established in this Kingdom, and their Loyalty to their King, under that grand Persecution.

London: Printed against St. Bartholomew-Day, 1661. Quarto, containing six pages.

THE cathedral church of St. Paul's, the dean, residentiaries, and other members of that church, sequestered, plundered, and turned out.

St. Allhallows, Wood-street, Dr. Watts, sequestered, plundered, his wife and children turned out of doors, and himself forced to fly.

St. Allhallows, Barking, Dr. Lafield, pursuivanted, imprisoned in Ely-house, and the ships; sequestered and plundered, afterwards forced to fly.

St. Allhallows, Lombard-street, Mr. Weston, sequestered.

St. Alphage's, Dr. Halsie, shamefully abused, his cap pulled off, to see if he were not a shaven priest, voted out, and dead with grief.

St. Andrew's, Hubbard, Dr. Chambers, sequestered.

St. Andrew's, Undershaft, 1. Mr. Mason, through vexation forced to resign. 2. Mr. Prichard, after that sequestered.

St. Andrew's, Wardrobe, Dr. Isaakson, sequestered.

St. Anne's, Aldersgate, Dr. Clewet, sequestered.

St. Austin's parish, Mr. Udall, sequestered, his bed-rid wife turned out of doors, and left in the streets.

St. Bartholomew's, Exchange, Dr. Grant, sequestered.

St. Bennet's, Finch, Mr. Warfield, sequestered.

St. Bennet's, Grace-church, Mr. Quelch, sequestered.

St. Bennet's, Paul's Wharf, Mr. Adams, sequestered.

St. Bennet's, Sherhog, Mr. Morgan, dead with grief.

St. Botolph's, Billingsgate, Mr. King, sequestered, and forced to fly.

Christ-church, Mr. Finch, turned out and dead.

St. Christopher's, Mr. Hauslow, forced to resign.

St. Clement's, East-cheap, Mr. Stone, shamefully abused, sequestered, sent prisoner to Plymouth, and plundered.

St. Dionis's, Back-church, Mr. Humes, sequestered and abused.

St. Dunstan's, East, Mr. Childerly, reviled, abused, and dead.

St. Edmond's, Lombard-street, Mr. Pagit, molested, silenced, and dead.

St. Ethelburga's, Mr. Clark, sequestered, and imprisoned.

St. Faith's, Dr. Browne, sequestered and dead.

St. Vedast's, Foster-lane, Mr. Batty, sequestered, plundered, forced to fly, and dead.

St. Gabriel's, Fenchurch, Mr. Cook, sequestered.

St. George's, Botolph-lane }
St. Gregory's, by St. Paul's } Dr. Styles, forced to resign.

St. Hellen's, Mr. Milward, turned out and dead.

St. James's, Duke's-place, Mr. ——, sequestered.

St. James's, Garlick-hith, 1. Mr. Freeman, plundered and sequestered. 2. Mr. Anthony, his curate, turned out.

St. John Baptist's, Mr. Weemsley, sequestered.

St. John Zachary's, Mr. Edlin, sequestered, forced to fly, and plundered.

St. Catharine's, Coleman-street, 1. Dr. Hill, forced to resign. 2. Mr. Kilbuts, sequestered.

St. Catharine's, Cree-church, Mr. Rush, turned out.

St. Laurence's, Jewry, Mr. Crane, sequestered.

St. Leonard's, East-cheap, Mr. Calf, forced to give up to Mr. Roborow, scribe to the assembly.

St. Leonard's, Foster-lane, Mr. Ward, forced to fly, plundered, sequestered, and dead for want of necessaries.

St. Margaret's, Lothbury, Mr. Tabor, plundered, imprisoned in the King's-Bench, his wife and children turned out of doors at midnight, and he sequestered.

St. Margaret's, New Fish-street, Mr. Porry, forced to fly, plundered, and sequestered.

St. Margaret's, Pattons, Mr. Meggs, plundered, imprisoned in Ely-house, and sequestered.

St. Mary's, Abchurch, Mr. Stone, plundered, sent prisoner by sea to Plymouth, and sequestered.

St. Mary's, Aldermary, Mr. Brown, forced to forsake it.

St. Mary le Bow's, Mr. Leech, sequestered, and dead with grief.

St. Mary's, Bothaw, Mr. Proctor, forced to fly, and sequestered.

St. Mary's Hill, 1. Dr. Baker, sequestered, pursuivanted, and imprisoned. 2. Mr. Woodcock, turned out and forced to fly.

St. Mary's, Mounthaw, Mr. Thrall, sequestered, and shamefully abused.

St. Mary's, Somerset, Mr. Cook, sequestered.

St. Mary's, Wool-church, Mr. Tireman, forced to forsake it.

St. Mary's, Woolnoth, Mr. Shuite, molested and vexed to death, and denied a funeral sermon to be preached by Dr. Holdsworth, as he desired.

St. Martin's, Ironmonger-lane, Mr. Sparke, sequestered and plundered.

St. Martin's, Ludgate, Dr. Jermin, sequestered.

St. Martin's, Orgar's, Dr. Walton, assaulted, sequestered, plundered, and forced to fly; Mr. Mosse, his curate, turned out.

St. Martin's, Outwich, Dr. Pierce, sequestered and dead.

St. Martin's, Vintry, Dr. Ryves, sequestered, plundered, and forced to fly.

St. Matthew's, Friday-street, Mr. Chestlin, violently assaulted in his house, imprisoned in the Compter, thence sent to Colchester jail, in Essex, sequestered and plundered.

St. Maudlin's, Milk-street, Mr. Jones, sequestered.

St. Maudlin's, Old Fish-street, Dr. Griffith, sequestered, plundered, and imprisoned in Newgate, whence being let out, he was forced to fly, and since imprisoned again in Peter-house.

St. Michael's, Bassishaw, Dr. Gifford, sequestered.

St. Michael's, Cornhill, 1. Dr. Brough, sequestered, plundered, wife and children turned out of doors, his wife dead with grief; 2. Mr. Weld, his curate, assaulted, beaten in the church, and turned out.

St. Michael's, Queen-hith, Mr. Hill, sequestered.

St. Michael's Quern, Mr. Launce, sequestered.

St. Michael's Royal, Mr. Proctor, sequestered, and forced to fly.

St. Mildred's, Bred-street, Mr. Bradshaw, sequestered.

St. Mildred's, Poultry, Mr. Maden, sequestered and gone beyond sea.

St. Nicholas's Acons, Mr. Bennet, sequestered,

St. Nicholas's Cole-Abby, Mr. Chibald, sequestered.

St Nicholas Olave's, Dr. Cheshire, molested, and forced to resign.

St. Olave's, Hart-street, Mr. Haines, sequestered.

St. Olave's, Jewry, Mr. Tuke, sequestered, plundered, and imprisoned.

St. Olave's, Silver-street, Dr. Boosie, abused and dead with grief.

St. Pancrass's, Soper-lane, Mr. Eccop, sequestered, plundered, forced to fly, his wife and children turned out of doors.

St. Peter's, Cheapside, Mr. Vocheir, sequestered and dead with grief.

St. Peter's, Cornhill, Dr. Fairfax, sequestered, plundered, imprisoned in Ely-house and the ships, his wife and children turned out of doors.

St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf, Mr. Marbury, sequestered.

St. Peter's Poor, Dr. Holdsworth, sequestered, plundered, imprisoned in Ely-house, then in the Tower.

St. Stephen's, Walbrook, Dr. Howell, through vexation forced to fly.

St. Swithin's, Mr. Owen, sequestered.

St. Thomas Apostle's, Mr. Cooper, sequestered, plundered, sent prisoner to Leeds-Castle, in Kent, is dead with grief.

Trinity parish, Mr. Harrison, sequestered.

N. B. In the ninety-seven parishes within the Walls, besides St. Paul's, outed eighty-five, and dead sixteen.

Parishes without the Walls.

St. Andrew's, Holborn, Dr. Hacket, sequestered.

St. Bartholomew's Great, Bishop Westfield, abused in the street, sequestered, forced to fly, and is dead.

St. Bartholomew's Less, 1. Mr. Henshaw, 2. Mr. Hall.

St. Bride's parish, Mr. Palmer, sequestered.

Bridewell Precinct, Mr. Browne, turned out.

St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, Mr. Booth, sequestered and plundered.

St. Botolph's, Aldgate, Dr. Swadlin, sequestered, plundered, imprisoned at Gresham Colledge and Newgate, his wife and children turned out of doors.

St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, Mr. Rogers, sequestered.

St. Dunstan's, West, Dr. Marsh, sequestered, and died in remote parts.

St. George's, Southwark, Dr. Hobson, sequestered.

St. Giles's, Cripplegate, 1. Dr. Fuller, sequestered, plundered, and imprisoned at Ely-house. 2. Mr. Hutton, his curate, assaulted in the church and imprisoned.

St. Olave's, Southwark, Dr. Turner, sequestered, plundered, fetched up prisoner with a troop of soldiers, and after forced to fly.

St. Sepulchre's parish, Mr. Pigot, the lecturer, turned out.

St. Thomas's, Southwark, Mr. Spencer, sequestered, and imprisoned.

N. B. In the sixteen parishes without the Walls, outed fourteen, dead two.

In the ten Out-Parishes.

St. Clement's Danes, Dr. Dukson, sequestered, plundered, and forced to fly.

Covent-garden, Mr. Hall, sequestered and forced to fly.

St. Giles's in the Fields, Dr. Heywood, sequestered, imprisoned in the Compter, Ely-house, and the ships, forced to fly, his wife and children turned out of doors.

St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, Mr. Squire, sequestered, imprisoned in Gresham College, Newgate, and the King's Bench, his wife and children plundered and turned out of doors.

St. Martin's in the Fields, Dr. Bray, sequestered, imprisoned, plundered, forced to fly, and dead in remote parts.

St. Mary's, White-chapel, Dr. Johnson, sequestered.

St. Magdalen's, Bermondsey, Dr. Paske. sequestered.

Savoy, 1. Dr. Balcanquell, sequestered, plundered, forced to fly, and dead in remote parts. 2. Mr. Fuller, forced to fly.

N. B. In the ten out-parishes, outed nine, dead two.

In the adjacent Towns.

The Dean and all the Prebends of the Abby-church, Westminster, (but only Mr. Lambert Obaston) sequestered.

St. Margaret's, Westminster, Dr. Wimberly, sequestered.

Lambeth, Dr. Featly, sequestered, plundered, imprisoned, and dead a prisoner.

Newington, Mr. Heath, sequestered.

Hackney, Mr. Moore, sequestered.

Islington, divers ministers turned out.

Stepney, Dr. Stamp, sequestered, plundered, and forced to fly.

N. B. In the adjacent towns, besides those of the Abby-Church and Islington, outed five, dead one.

The total of the ministers of London, within the bills of mortality (besides St. Paul's and Westminster) turned out of their livings by sequestration and otherwise, one-hundred and fifteen.

Whereof were doctors in divinity, above forty.

And the most of them plundered of their goods, and their wives and children turned out of doors.

Imprisoned in London, and in the ships, and in the several jails and castles in the country, twenty.

Fled to prevent imprisonment, twenty-five.

Dead in remote parts and in prisons, with grief, twenty-two.

About forty churches void, having no constant minister in them.

Usquequo, domine*, Rev. vi. 10.

A SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH REBELLION.

Compiled in Verse, by MARCHAMONT NEDHAM,

Author of Mercurius Pragmaticus.

London: Printed in 1661. Quarto, containing thirty-ſeven pages.

WHEN as we liv'd in peace (God wot)
A king would not content us;
But we, forsooth, must hire the Scot,
To *all-be-parliament* us.

Then down went king and bishops too;
On goes the holy wirk,
Betwixt them and the brethren blue,
T' advance the crown and kirk.

But when that these had reigned a time,
Robb'd kirk, and sold the crown;
A more religious sort up climb,
And crush the jockies down.

---

* How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood, &c.

But now we must have peace again,
Let none with fear be vext;
For, if without the king these reign,
Then high down they go next.

A peace, a peace, the country cries,
Or else we shall be undone;
For this brave war we thank the wise
Confiding men of London.

Sure now they may, as well as we,
Know how to value quiet,
When th' army comes their guests to be,
For a twelvemonth's cash and diet.

Free quarter is a tedious thing,
And so is the excise.
None can deliver us but the king,
From this damn'd Dutch device.

The parliament hath serv'd seven years;
True vengeance then we see,
Upon feign'd jealousies and fears;
For yet they are not free.

Long peace a plenty did beget,
And plenty brought forth pride;
Through pride to faction men were set
In parties to divide.

The new-formed priests first led the way,
And said it was no sin,
By force to drive the king away,
And draw the city in.

The lords and commons they consent
To what each Rabbi saith;
And so the catholick down went,
T' advance the publick faith.

This brought a war and taxes on,
T' inslave a free-born people:
And now the work is thus far gone,
Next have at Crown and Steeple.

Our wise reformers, brave and gay,
Have ta'en a goodly course,
To fight, to feast, to fast and pray,
And milk each honest purse.

The crown's revenue goes to wreck,
While they sing hymns and psalms;
And, rather than themselves will lack,
The king must live on alms.

We are, the learned Synod says,
  The Church of England's nurse,
Who make them bless the Sabbath-days,
  And all the week to curse.

The plough stands still, and trade is small;
  For goods, lands, towns, and cities;
Nay, I dare say, the Devil and all,
  Pays tribute to committees.

A Scot and Jesuit, join'd in hand,
  First taught the world to say,
That Subjects ought to have command,
  And Princes to obey.

These both agreed to have no King;
  The Scotchman he cries further,
No Bishop; 'tis a godly thing
  States to reform by murther.

Then th' Independent, meek and sly,
  Most lowly lies at lurch,
And so, to put poor Jocky by,
  Resolves to have no Church.

The King dethron'd, the Subjects bleed!
  The Church hath no abode;
Let us conclude they 're all agreed,
  That sure there is no God.

Our States-men (though no Lunaticks,
  No Wizards, nor Buffoons)
Have shewn a hundred changeling tricks,
  In less than three new-moons.

The devil's foot is cleft (men speak)
  And so (God knows) are they:
The factions rule by fits, then take
  Their turns, and run away.

They vote, unvote, and vote with noise
  What they cry'd down before,
As ready as if London boys*
  Were knocking at the door.

To-day an Independ outside;
  And then a Scotch to-morrow;
Thus shuffle and cut, they do divide
  Our wealth, whilst we know sorrow.

---

* This refers to the petition of the tumultuous rabble of the London apprentices against the king and bishops.

O happy treason! see how wealth
Is made their heaven! they swell
With pride; and live by blood and stealth,
As if there were no hell!

No Sadducees but must confess,
Those monsters, which are told,
In story, are risen now no less
Prodigious, than of old.

Both Cain and Judas back are come,
In wizards most divine;
God bless us from a pulpit-drum,
And a preaching Catiline.

They feed upon a kingdom's curse,
And prey upon a king!
The dev'l provide a second course,
And then a voider bring.

Now, Charles, thy conquest is compleat,
And all the world shall see,
That God, which guides the royal Scot,
Will thy avenger be.

O House of Commons, House of Lords,
Amend before September:
For 'tis decreed, your soldiers swords
Shall then you all dismember.

But like fair chapmen 'twas well done,
To give you time and day
To cast accompts; for, one by one,
They will you soundly pay.

The kingdom all in pieces torn!
Your time is fairly spent;
To make yourselves a very scorn,
Your king but Jack-a-Lent.

Now, now, we see 'twas for the crown
The houses both did fight:
For, since the cavaliers are down,
They put the king to flight.

The adjutators, stern and proud,
Said, he should have no quarter,
Because he is a king; and vow'd
To make the saint a martyr.*

---

* See the Dissenting Ministers vindication of themselves from the horrid and detestable murder of king Charles the First, in Vol. VI. p. 129.

Their officers cry'd, Hail, O king;
The rest made mocks and scorns;
The houses vinegar did bring,
And all did plat the thorns.

Thus crucify'd, great Charles did live
As dead, is gone away:
For resurrection, God will give
A new cor'nation-day.

Rouse up! king Charles hath miss'd the snare
Laid on his royal feet;
Let th' adjutators now take care
Each for his winding-sheet.

The army rendezvoused are,
And do they know not what;
The Scots and they are like to jar,
Let us thank God for that.

The houses know not what to think;
The cits horn-madded be:
They must be whipt, until they stink,
A joyful sight to see!

Thus, Cavaliers, cast up your caps,
And tell the rebels plain,
That Charles, in spight of all their traps,
Shall shortly rule again.

For liberty, and privilege,
Religion, and the king,
We fought; but O! the golden wedge!
That is the only thing.

There lies the cream of all the cause;
Religion is but whig;
Pure privilege eats up the laws,
And cries, For kings a fig.

The houses may a Christmas keep,
The countrymen a Lent;
The citizens (like silly sheep)
Must fast, and be content.

Then where is Liberty (I pray)
With Justice, Truth, and Right?
Sure they and Conscience fled away
With Charles, to th' Isle of Wight.

Gape, gape for peace, poor countrymen;
The members mean to treat:
And we shall see fair play agen,
When they no more can cheat.

The king shall come to Westminster,
  It may be to his grave;
Or, of a glorious prince, must there
  Be made a royal slave.

But 'twere more wise to let him reign
  Out of his people's sight,
For fear he should bring peace again,
  And put them in a fright.

Sure Martin lay in of a clap,
  And Say himself did dote;
The Devil too wore a sick cap,
  When th' houses past this vote.

Come, let us live, and laugh away
  The follies of this age;
Treason breeds care; we'll sing and play
  Like birds within a cage.

Fetters are th' only favours now
  The houses give (we see:)
And, since the king them wears, I vow,
  'Twere baseness to be free.

Then let us all our sorrows drown
  In sack and merry glee:
Ye citizens of London town,
  What jolly slaves are we!

For common-prayer, ye have excise,
  Free-quarter too is coming
To pay you for your mutinies,
  Feasts, covenants, and drumming.

No Puritan, no Popish priest,
  Nor Protestant now shall be;
Nor Law, but to live as we list,
  'Tis heaven thus to be free.

Could Babylon's great king now sit
  In council with our nation,
He were the only man to fit
  Us with a reformation.

The glorious golden idol then
  Might shine in each dominion;
Both factions and their brethren
  Would soon be one opinion.

Away, thou Pagan cavalier,
  This God must not be thine;
But, for the Saints at Westminster,
  Whose souls are more divine.

Live, drink, and laugh, our worthies may,
  And kindly take their fills;
The subjects must their reckonings pay,
  The king must pass their bills.

No princes now, but they; the crown
  Is vanish'd with our quiet;
Nor will they let us use our own
  Devotions and diet.

All plums the prophets sons defy,
  And spice-broths are too hot;
Treason's in a December-pye,
  And death within the pot.

Christmas, farewel; thy day (I fear)
  And merry days are done:
So they may keep feasts all the year,
  Our Saviour shall have none.

O happy nation heretofore,
  When seas our walls have been;
Unhappy now we see no shore,
  But are all sea within.

Factions, like billows, rage and toss,
  And death mounts ev'ry wave;
Yet in this storm we are so cross,
  We will no pilot have.

Just such a tempest seiz'd upon
  Bless'd Paul, the scripture says,
When he had seen no sun nor moon,
  Nor stars, for many days.

Our sun and moon no beams create,
  Our stars dispers'd we see:
Such as was his, will be our fate,
  We must all shipwreck'd be.

A glorious prince this parliament,
  The king should be, did swear;
But now we understand they meant
  In heaven, and not here.

Let them invade the throne, and part
  His crown, and vote his fate;
Yet know, in each true noble heart,
  He keeps his chair of state.

Princes may be, like other men,
  Imprison'd, and kept under
A while, as fire in clouds, but then
  At length appear in thunder.

And, as in hidden caves the wind
Sad tremblings doth create,
So monarchs, by their own confin'd,
Cause earthquakes in the state.

Farewel the glory of our land;
For, now, the free-born blades
Our lives and our estates command,
And ride us all like jades.

Faith and religion bleeding lie,
And liberty grows faint:
No gospel, but pure treachery
And treason make the saint.

Oh! 'tis a heavenly cause (I trow)
Which first baptiz'd the *Round-head*
In noble Strafford's blood! but now
Must on the king's be founded.

Yet know, that kings are gods on earth;
And those, that pull them down,
Shall find it is no less than death
To tamper with a Crown.

'Tis true, as Harry Martin said,
The Scots away must pack;
The cov'nant shall aside be laid,
Like an old almanack.

Come then, and buy my new, true, new,
New almanack most true,
Such accidents of state to shew,
The like no age e'er knew.

Since that we lost our king and laws,
Since jealousies and fears,
Since peace, pure truth, and this foul cause,
It is full seven years.

Poor Charles pursu'd in forty-one,
Unking'd in forty-seven;
The eighth will place him on his throne,
In earth, or else in heaven.

Three kingdoms brought to a fine pass,
Whilst that our Saviours rule,
The country is become an ass,
The city but a mule.

Each university now pines,
The church may hang and rot;
They banish all our true divines,
The lawyers too must trot.

Come, Sirs, more sacks unto the mill,
More taxes, more free-quarter;
'Tis fit our laws be your bare will,
And the excise our charter.

God speed the plough; plague rooks and crows,
And send us years more cheap:
For, I am sure, whoever sows,
The houses * mean to reap.

Money, the soul of man and wit,
But yet no saint of mine!
While th' houses vote, and Synod sit,
Thou ne'er shalt want a shrine.

Reforming is a dull device,
Dreads nought but strife and rage;
Thou putt'st us into Paradise,
And bring'st the golden age.

Thou art religion, God, and all
That we may call divine;
Thy temple is Westminster-hall,
And all our priests are thine.

Tush, tell not us the way to heav'n,
Thou juggling clergy-elf,
That sett'st the world at six and sevens;
Money is heav'n itself.

Betwixt those atheists feign'd of old,
And ours, there is no odds;
For both this one opinion hold,
That fear did first make Gods.

Hell now is thought an idle dream,
To fright men from their crimes;
Religion but a crafty theme,
Made to bug-bear the times.

The bible and great Babel's whore
May both together burn;
For the religious fit is o'er,
Now they have serv'd their turn.

Only one text may 'scape their hands,
Since they have ta'en such pains
To lay their lords in iron bands,
And bind their kings in chains.

Copernicus, thy learned skill
We praise, since we have found
The truth; for now doth heav'n stand still
Whilst that the earth runs round.

---

* Of parliament.

See how the wheel of providence
Back old confusion brings!
Cashiers us at once of a prince,
To plague's with petty kings.

They say, the saints all rule must take,
And others must have none;
Their privilege it is to make
A footstool of the throne.

The laws o' th' land say, Charles must reign;
And conscience pleads his cause;
But conscience is a thing most vain,
Their gospel eats up laws.

Never such rebels have been seen,
As since we led this dance;
So we may feast, let prince and queen
Beg, *a-la-mode de France*.

Let conscience pine, and cry, 'Tis strange,
We'll say, 'Tis bravely done;
To make the king take, in exchange,
A dungeon for a throne.

Away with justice, laws, and fear;
When men resolve to rise,
Brave souls must scorn all scruples, where
A kingdom is the prize.

Then let us what our labours gain
Enjoy, and bless our chance;
Like kings, let's domineer and reign,
Thus, *a-la-mode de France*.

King and no King was once a play,
Or fable on the stage;
But see! it is become this day
The moral of our age.

Newcastle was the first best scene;
Then Holmby, Hampton-Court;
Next, from a palace to a den
Translated, to make sport.

Each state-buffoon a part did take;
Some plaid the fool, some knave;
But still the plot was laid to make
Their king a royal slave.

Brave actors! we admire your skill;
Your play none understands;
Yet, make an exit when you will,
We all shall clap our hands.

At Westminster two wond'rous beasts
  This day,* are to be seen,
Call'd Liberty and Privilege;
  (God save the king and queen.)

Say, monsters strange, what kin are ye
  To tygers, or the lion?
For shame, boast not your pedigree
  From the sweet sons of Zion.

This liberty first whelp'd the cause;
  The cause then lay at lurch,
To gull the city, damn the laws,
  And quite cashier the church.

But Privilege (O monstrous thing!)
  Eats up poor Cavaliers;
Feeds on the gentry and the king;
  But next have at the peers.

Once more the kingdom lies at stake;
  No matter, then, who wins:
Two Schismaticks the wagers make,
  And now the game begins.

The Scots and sects, two godly cheats,
  Debar both ace and sice;
To rook each other with fine feats,
  They both bring in false dice.

The first throws for the covenant;
  Next, who shall rule and sway;
For Jocky now doth swear and rant,
  He'll have no more foul play.

The sectaries cry'd, 'Have at all,'
  When first the dice were thrown;
But, rather than the Scots shall brawl,
  They'll part stakes in the crown.

The Devil's reign is short, though fierce;
  Then let our musick sound;
The drawers all the hogsheads pierce,
  And make the healths go round.

Here's a health to the king in sack,
  To the houses in small beer;
In vinegar to th' crabbed pack †
  Of priests at Westminster.

Next, to revive our fainting states,
  Fill out some *aqua-vitæ*;
'Twere pity on the bridge such pates
  Should meet in a committee.

---

* March 14, 1648.

† Synod of Divines.

Let's water th' royal plants with tears
Of rich, divine canary;
Drink on, cav'liers, t' all loyal peers;
Then end with Charles and Mary.

Full forty thousand Scots, by vote,
Must visit us e're long;
Brave army, sure! when ev'ry Scot
Is forty thousand strong!

Though th' houses have deserv'd these plagues,
God keep our nation free;
Like Egypt, let not us by rags
And vermin conquer'd be.

For shame, for shame, call home your king,
With honour let him treat;
His nature is without a sting;
His motto, to forget.

Return, return, disloyal crew
Of men forsworn; if not,
Rather than thus we'll stoop to you,
We'll idolise the Scot.

Come, Mahomet, thy turn is next;
Now gospel's out of date,
The Alcoran may prove good text
In our new Turkish state.

Thou dost unto thy priests allow
The sin of full four wives;
Ours scarce will be content with, now,
Five livings and nine lives.

Thy saints and ours are all alike,
Their virtues flow from vice;
No bliss they do believe, and seek,
But an earthly paradise.

A heav'n on earth they hope to gain;
But, we do know full well,
Could they their glorious ends attain,
This kingdom must be hell.

From prison now return the king,
The queen and prince from France;
For chosen Charles the Welchmen sing,
And stoutly lead the dance.

The Scotch bag-pipes, the pulpit-drums,
And priests sound high and big;
Once more the cause and cov'nant comes,
To shew's a Scotish jig.

The Irish will a voyage take,
To join their force in one;
And, whilst they frisk a galliard, make
The houses sing, O Hone.

Three kingdoms thus must dance the hay;
But, e're the members run,
We'll see they shall the musick pay;
And then the dance is done,

Sev'n years, by phrentick votes and fits,
Our worthies bore command;
Then did they run out of their wits,
But now out of the land.

No more shall they the city ride,
Like a fine golden ass:
The navy's rigg'd with wind and tide,
They stay but for a pass.

But, if they linger long behind,
And keep their king in bands,
I'll undertake, it shall be sign'd
By a hundred-thousand hands.

For prosp'rous gales then, on the deep,
Let their priests prate and pray,
By order, and at Margaret's keep
An humiliation-day.

The factious now each other rout,
With jealousies and fear;
The Independents face-about;
The rest cry, As you were.

The Presbyters put forth their horns,
To guard their goods and homes;
The she-militia likewise scorns
Their cocks should lose their combs.

Then toll (I pray) the passing-bell
For our new state-committee;
These monstrous votes, which made them swell,
Are cow'd down by the city.

Sweet John-a-Nokes, and John-a-Styles,
And worshipful Jack-Straws,
Of both the Junto's, leave your wiles,
And give's our king and laws.

Betwixt two thieves our Saviour once
Suffer'd for us, and dy'd;
So 'twixt two thievish factions
Our king is crucify'd.

Cæsar, not Christ, the ancient Jews
Paid tribute of their treasure;
Our Jews no king but Christ will chuse,
And rob, and cry down Cæsar.

Now for the king the zealous kirk
'Gainst th' Independent bleats:
Whenas (alas!) their only wirk
Is to renew old cheats.

If they can sit, vote what they list,
And crush the new states down;
Then up go they; but neither Christ,
Nor king, shall have his own.

The pox, the plague, and each disease,
Are cur'd, though they invade us;
But never look for health and peace,
If once Presbyt'ry jade us.

When ev'ry priest becomes a pope,
Then tinkers and sow-gelders
May, if they can but 'scape the rope,
Be princes and lay-elders.

If once the Kirk-men pitch their tents
Without our assembly-asses,
Synods will eat up parliaments,
Courts be devour'd by classes.

Look to't, ye gentry, else be slaves
To slaves that can't abide you:
Though ye have been cow'd down by knaves,
Oh! let not fools now ride you.

But sev'n years (of a thousand 'tis)
Our saints must rulers be:
So they shall lose, in years of bliss,
Nine hundred ninety three.

No more then let these rabbies trust
Unto the Revelation;
For their interpreter is lust,
And pride makes application.

Religion but a pack-horse is,
To carry on designs;
The Bible like a juggler's box,
Us'd by our state-divines.

Texts are tormented one by one,
Like votes, now here, now there:
Thus hocus-pocus is out-done
By them at Westminster.

The banes are ask'd, the marriage next
Goes forward in the city :
For now the match is made betwixt
Them and the state-committee.

Thou, strumpet (London) tell not us
Of Babel any more,
If from thy king thou partest thus,
Thou art the greater whore,

Thy bags their portion now are meant,
As well as crown and church ;
But, when that all is gone and spent,
They'll leave thee in the lurch.

Thou bawd of treason, then, for all
Thy cursed fornication,
Thou and thy priestly panders shall
Be carted through the nation.

The market's made ; the king shall treat,
(They say) and buy his own :
But is not this a very cheat
To set the price, a crown ?

Alas ! the members run by rote,
And shew us many a feat :
Thus all the Year they'll vote, unvote,
For money, cloaths, and meat.

'Tis fit that they uphold their trades,
Whate'er malignants speak :
So they can thrive, the city-jades
Their backs and necks may break.

Poor What d' lack small gains can show,
With many an empty shelf ;
The house spoils shops, 'tis aye and no,
That brings in all the pelf.

Rebellion makes our nation bleed
With fresh alarms, we see ;
But yet it is not well agreed
Who must the rebel be.

The Round-head first the rebel was,
(If truth be in the laws)
'Till treason did for gospel pass,
To bolster up the cause.

The thriving cause with high disdain,
In fortune's full career,
Throws rebel in the face again
Of king and cavaleer.

Thus prosp'rous mischief makes it good
Against all law and reason;
Not to spill royal, loyal blood,
But, to be conquer'd's treason.

Five months ago,* our mighty states
Were pleas'd to vote, No king;
But two months since, to act new cheats,
Their votes the changes ring.

'Tis time the bells of Westminster
Chime backwards and retire,
To quench the flame, when, as we hear,
The kingdom's all on fire.

But yet, it seems, they make a stand,
And cry it is no matter:
What need they care for fire on land,
Whose journey lies by water?

God send them ships, fair winds and tide,
With passage quick and good;
Or else I fear (to scourge our pride)
They'll swim through seas of blood.

The holy war goes on a-pace,
Yet brings the saints no pay;
In triumph now they ne'er say grace,
But only fast and pray.

They many an hungry conquest get,
But not thanksgiving-dinners;
The city knows they scorn to eat
With publicans and sinners.

The members cannot spare one meal;
Their bags lie seal'd in town;
What, tho' they broke the king's great seal
They'll not undo their own?

The country bids them starve, or hang,
They'll be no more kept under;
The cavaliers will soundly bang
Them all, and spoil their plunder.

Reformation, thou stalking-horse
Of our hip-shotten state;
Th' appendix of the publick purse,
And midwife of our fate!

'Twas thou and Beldam conscience first,
That set the world a madding;
And you yourselves, like Cain accurs'd,
Have ever since been gadding.

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* June 20, 1648.

Pox take th' unlucky cause, for me,
  It is a wild vagary;
The bane or boon society;
  For that first rais'd Canary.

Poor sinners now must snap a crust;
  Ye deadly sev'n, farewel;
For, since you're all excis'd, we must
  Pay dear to purchase hell.

What, though the factions are agreed
  The kingdom still to cheat?
Do what they can, it is decreed
  The king shall come and treat.

Come from the dungeon to the throne,
  (Great Charles) and quell the rage
Of th' iron world; with thee alone
  Revives the golden age.

Those very saints, which joy'd thy fall,
  And said thy day was done,
Will now, like Persian Pagans, all
  Adore the rising sun.

No more wrapp'd up in clouds remain,
  Secluded from the nation;
May thou and thine shine bright, and reign
  A glorious constellation.

It is decreed, great prince, thy fate
  Should check their damned plots;
Though London jade it for the state,
  And bandies at the Scots.

The Presbyters now fain would ride,
  And shew us t'other feat;
Therefore, to quell the saint's high pride,
  They say the king shall treat.

Were he in their hands, the town's their own,
  The houses too must work,
To vote the Independents down,
  And mount the rascal Kirk.

Away, ye juggling paltry crew
  Of well-affected knaves;
Rather than free your sovereign, you
  Yourselves will live like slaves.

Stand to't, ye lords, we'll stand to you,
  And clip the commons wings;
Let not the lev'ling rascal crew
  Thus domineer like kings.

The lower is the upper house,
And hath been so seven years;
Your votes they value not a louse,
Ye anti-christian peers.

They give you many a rattling peal,
And bait you one by one;
For, should a treaty take, their zeal
And saintships are undone.

My lords, of Gotam, not of Greece,
Your wisdoms I shall sing;
And sell you all for pence a-piece,
If you reject your king.

No camel, like the London breed,
To drudge, pray, pay, and feast;
In body, and in purse, to bleed;
O 'tis a patient beast!

If you'll needs pray, pray stay at home;
Tell God your sad condition;
'Tis Popish to the saints to come
And put up your petition.

This wond'rous idol of the state
The stomach hath of Bell;
Like Moloch it mankind doth eat,
And quick devours like hell.

As th' horse-leech (give) it ever cries
And rages like the dragon;
As the old serpent it is wise;
But it must fall like Dagon.

Would you know why the plague has ceas'd,
These last sev'n years now spent?
Because God knows no greater pest
Than this same parliament.

How many thousands hath it swept
Of bodies, souls, and gold!
King, church, and people, none except,
Have all been bought and sold.

Our merry pipes, for trumpets shrill;
Our tabers chang'd to drums;
Princes are brav'd by Jack and Jill,
Wat Tilers and Tom Thumbs.

'Tis time those bags, which caus'd the war,
Should make the war to cease;
For the states musick is to jar,
But our best musick's peace.

Now shall the king enjoy his own;
And that new virtue, treason,
Whereby the saints do claim the crown,
Be baffled with high reason.

Great Charles, thy virtues I desire,
Not Solomon's, nor his stores;
For who can tell most to admire
His wisdom or his whores?

His vices so eclips'd his grace,
That wranglers cannot tell,
Whether as yet they may him place
In heaven, or in hell.

But all that was in him divine,
And more, to thee is giv'n;
That, where so many graces shine,
A prison must be heav'n.

Another blow! will not the Scot,
And loyal English do?
Sure, Jove himself is of the plot,
An Independent too.

Is he a king, and will he see
Rebels assault the crown?
Had they but hands to reach, 'tis he
Should next resign his own.

Is he a God? And shall this tribe
Go on, as they begin?
Atheists will say, they do him bribe
For privilege to sin.

If these be saints, 'tis vain indeed
To think there's good or evil;
The world will soon be of this creed,
No God, no king, no devil.

Of all those monsters which we read
In Africk, Inde, or Nile,
None like to those now lately bred
Within this wretched isle.

The canibal, the tyger fell,
Crocodile and sycophant;
The Turk, the Jew, and infidel,
Make up an English saint.

By these were Lisle and Lucas crown'd;
Two worlds, both great and good;
For men, arts, arms, were all here drown'd
I'th' deluge of their blood.

The trump of fame's too low and weak,
That of the general doom
Is only fit their praise to speak,
The world to be their tomb.

The treaty holds; and some men are
Convinc'd the wars will cease;
Fond folk! To think the men of war
Will e'er endure a peace.

Go bid the Scot quit English ground,
The Swede the German air;
Holland obey the Spanish crown,
The Pope leave Peter's chair.

Woo the great statesman to his grave,
Preach gospel to the Jews;
To Turks, that Mahomet's a knave,
Platonick love to stews.

Let citizens loath sacred things,
Presbyters pride and ease;
When these are done, make saints love kings,
And then we may have peace.

See in what glory Charles now sits,
With truth to conquer treason;
And prove he is the king of wits,
The world, himself, and reason.

Angels bear witness, GOD looks down,
The graces to attend;
Sure none but devils then will frown
Upon a blessed end.

Ten hundred thousand loyal hearts,
All bleeding at his fate;
As many wishes from all parts
Fly round his chair of state.

Come then, ye dirty sainted elves,
Worse than church-window paint;
By this fair glass abhor yourselves,
Learn here to be a saint.

The king the four great bills must pass,
And none but saints are free;
Th' Irish and Cavaliers, alas!
Must th' only rebels be.

New lords, new laws, new saints are we,
Religion's in a fine pickle;
When 'tis resolv'd the church shall be
A three-years conventicle.

Militia too, they needs must gain,
  Those pretty carnal tools:
For Paul's old weapons they disdain,
  As fit for none but fools.

Thus Royal Charles lets to lease,
  Lays sword and scepter down;
To shew he values us and peace
  Above a glorious crown.

Give me the dragon's gall for ink,
  His sting to be my pen;
To blast the Scot, and make him stink,
  Worse than the dregs of men.

See now the reformation-wirk,
  For which they made us bleed;
Is to cashier king, church, and kirk,
  On this and that side Tweed.

Let them with Egypt's plagues be crost,
  Yet still find new and worse;
And, since I have Job's patience lost,
  Give me his skill to curse.

At home and hell may they e'er dwell;
  And for quick passage thither,
As they have juggled all full well,
  So may they hang together.

Let me be Turk, or any thing,
  But a Scotch calvinist;
First he damn'd bishops; next his king;
  Now he cashiers his Christ.

Gode faith, sir, they the pulpit bang.
  But let their gospel down;
For the old saviour needs must gang,
  Now a new one's come to town.

The saints, whom once their mouths did curse,
  Dear brethren are and friends;
Which proves their zeal a stalking-horse
  For knavish-godly ends.

Then rail no more at antichrist,
  But learn ye to be civil;
And, since ye have king Cromwell kiss'd,
  Shake hands too with the devil.

Since they have damn'd all saints of old,
  No new shall be for me;
Like Jews, they worship Gods of gold,
  Their king they crucify.

Were he the king of kings, his crown
Could not be safe from foes;
Like Jesuits, they no gospel own,
But murther and depose.

Like Turks, their Heav'n lies all in sense,
In wenches, tarts, and jelly;
No hell they fear, when parted hence;
They serve no God but belly.

All this, and more, by Jove, is true,
If they the treaty cease,
To juggle with the lev'lling crew
That cry, No king, no peace.

No lord, no knight, no gentleman,
For honours now are crimes;
The saints will form us, if they can,
All to the prim'tive times.

Brave days, when Adam was a king
Without crown, lands, or riches!
So, stripp'd of royal robes, they'll bring
Great Charles to fig-leave breeches.

Princes with ploughmen rank shall pass;
Ladies, like the first woman,
Must spin, or else be turn'd to grass,
Now all things are in common.

Thus cov'nanting and levelling
Three kingdoms have o'erthrown,
And made all fellows, with their king,
A foot-ball of the crown.

Tell me, thou presbyterian ass,
Why thou at first didst jar?
Thy peevish plea, No bishops, was
The first ground of the war.

Next, to thy shame, thou didst combine
With the sectarian routs;
Our Charles should be no king of thine,
Or but a king of clouts.

Both king and bishops thus exil'd,
The saints, not yet content,
Now with fresh flames of zeal grow wild,
And cry, No parliament.

Well may we then this maxim prove,
Treason no end can know,
But levels at the Gods above,
As well as those below.

Hark, how for peace the kingdom groans,
That warr'd they knew not why!
Yield then, or else the very stones
Will out against you cry.

For shame, ye bastard-saints, give o'er,
Or else the world will think,
Your mother is great Babel's whore,
If blood you love to drink.

The state's grown fat with orphans tears,
Whilst widows pine and moan;
And tender conscience, in sev'n years,
Is turn'd t' a heart of stone.

Return, hard hearts, the treaty ends,
Our breasts with hope do swell;
Your bags are full, then let's be friends,
Or bid the world farewel.

Nor Gods above, nor Gods below,
Our Saints (I see) will own;
Allegiance is rebellion now,
Treason to wear a crown.

Nor king, nor parliament, will please,
'Tis gospel to rebel:
Nay, they'll remonstrate against peace,
Be it in heav'n or hell.

Pluto, beware, (to thee they come,
When here their work is done:)
For they'll break loose, and beat up drum,
And storm thee in thy throne.

Then John-a-Leyden, Nell, and all
Their goblin ghostly train,
(Brave rebel saints triumphant) shall
Begin their second reign.

Brave reformation! now I see,
London's a blessed place,
To find the saints chearful and free,
And nurse the babe of grace.

Let yellow boys ne'er tempt their sight
Of valour with the sources,
For the tame slaves will never fight,
Till they have empty purses.

Come then, ye lousy, wanton wags
Of sainted chivalry,
And free their poor condemned bags
That groan for liberty.

March on, boon blades, here's store of cash,
Their king they will not pity:
Then spur them on, and soundly lash
These dull-men of the city.

Dull cuckolds! we are dainty slaves,
And well may be content,
When thirty fools, and twenty knaves,
Make up a parliament.

They banish all men in their wits,
Vote king, lords, all offenders;
And authorise the phrentick fits
Of our long-sword state-menders.

'Tis Noll's own brew-house now, I swear;
The speaker's but his skinker:
Their members are, like th' council of war,
Car-men, pedlars, and tinkers.

Fine Journey Junto! pretty knack!
None such in all past ages!
Shut-shop; for, now the godly pack
Will next pay you your wages.

Gone are those golden days of yore,
When Christmas was an high-day,
Whose sports we now shall see no more;
'Tis turn'd into Good-Friday.

Now, when the king of kings was born,
And did salvation bring,
They strive to crucify in scorn
His viceroy, and their king.

Since th' ancient feast they have put down,
No new one will suffice;
But the choice dainties of a crown,
Princes in sacrifice.

No powers are safe, treason's a tilt,
And the mad sainted-elves
Boast, when the royal blood is spilt,
They'll all be kings themselves.

Like jolly slaves, ye goodly knaves,
We'll bid th' old year adieu:
Old sack and things must pass away,
And so shall all your new.

Now for a no-king, or a new;
For th' old, they say, shall pack;
The new may serve a year to view
Like an old almanack.

New houses, new; for th' old ones dote,
And have been thrice made plunder;
The saints do vote, and act by rote,
And are a nine-days wonder.

Then let us chear, this merry new-year;
For CHARLES shall wear the crown:
'Tis a damn'd cause, that damns the laws,
And turns all upside down.

A VISION,

CONCERNING HIS LATE PRETENDED HIGHNESS
CROMWELL, THE WICKED:

Containing a Discourse in Vindication of him, by a pretended Angel, and the
Confutation thereof,

BY THE AUTHOR, ABRAHAM COWLEY.

——— Sua cuique Deus ſit dira Libido. VIRGIL.

London: Printed for Henry Herringman, at the Anchor in the Lower-walk in the
New-exchange, 1661. Twelves, containing ninety Pages.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS discourse was written in the time of the late protector, Richard the Little; and was but the firſt book of three, that were designed by the author. The second was to be a discourse with the guardian angel of England, concerning all the late confusions and misfortunes of it. The third, to denounce heavy judgments againſt the three kingdoms, and several places and parties in them, unless they prevented them speedily by serious repentance, and that greatest and hardest work of it, restitution. There was to be upon this subject the burden of England, the burden of Scotland, the burden of Ireland, the burden of London, the burden of the army, the burden of the divines, the burden of the lawyers, and many others, after the manner of prophetical threatenings in the Old Testament: But, by the extraordinary mercy of God (for which we had no pretence of merit, nor the least glimpse of hope) in the sudden reſtoration of reason, and right, and happiness to us, it became not only unnecessary, but unseasonable and impertinent to prosecute the work. However, it ſeemed not so to the author to publish this first part, because, though no man can justify or approve the actions of Cromwell, without having all the seeds and principles of wickedness in his heart, yet many there are, even honeſt and and well-meaning people, who, without wading into any depth of conſideration in the matter, and purely deceived by splendid words, and the outward appearances of vanity, are apt to admire him as a great and eminent person; which is a fallacy, that extraordinary, and, especially, successful villainies impose upon the world. It is the corruption and depravation of human nature, that is the root of this opinion, though it lie sometimes so deep under ground, that we ourselves are not able to perceive it; and, when we account any man great, or brave, or wise, or of good parts, who advances himself and his family, by any other ways, but those of virtue, we are certainly biassed to that judgment by a secret impulse, or, at least, inclination of the viciousness of our own spirit. It is so necessary for the good and peace of mankind, that this error (which grows almost every where, and is spontaneously generated by the rankness of the soil, should be weeded out, and for ever extirpated, that the author was content not to ſuppress this discourse, because it may contribute somewhat to that end, though it be but a small piece of that which was his original design.

IT was the funeral-day of the late man who made himself to be called protector, and though I bore but little affection, either to the memory of him, or to the trouble and folly of all publick pageantry; yet I was forced, by the importunity of my company, to go along with them, and be a spectator of that solemnity, the expectation of which had been so great, that it was said to have brought some very curious persons, and no doubt singular virtuoso's, as far as from the Mount in Cornwall, and from the Orcades. I found there had been much more cost bestowed than either the dead man, or indeed death itself could deserve. There was a mighty train of black assistants, among which too divers princes in the persons of their ambassadors, being infinitely afflicted for the loss of their brother, were pleased to attend; the herse was magnificent, the idol crowned, and, not to mention all other ceremonies which are practised at royal interments, and therefore by no means could be omitted here, the vast multitude of spectators made up, as it uses to do, no small part of the spectacle itself. But yet, I know not how, the whole was so managed, that, methought, it somewhat represented the life of him for whom it was made; much noise, much tumult, much expence, much magnificence, much vain-glory; briefly, a great show, and yet, after all this, but an ill sight. At last, for it seemed long to me, and, like his short reign too, very tedious, the whole scene passed by, and I retired back to my chamber, weary, and, I think, more melancholy than any of the mourners. Where I began to reflect upon the whole life of this prodigious man; and sometimes I was filled with horror and detestation of his actions, and sometimes I inclined a little to reverence and admiration of his courage, conduct, and success; till, by these different motions and agitations of mind, rocked, as it were asleep, I fell at last into this vision, or, if you please to call it but a dream, I shall not take it ill, because the father of poets tells us, even dreams too are from God.

But sure it was no dream; for I was suddenly transported afar off, whether in the body, or out of the body, like St. Paul, I know not, and found myself upon the top of that famous hill in the Island Mona, which has the prospect of three great, and, not-long-since, most happy kingdoms: As soon as ever I looked upon them, the not-long-since struck upon my memory, and called forth the sad representation of all the sins, and all the miseries that had overwhelmed them these twenty years. And I wept bitterly for two or three hours; and, when my present stock of moisture was all wasted, I fell a sighing for an hour more; and as soon as I recovered, from my passion, the use of speech and reason, I broke forth, as I remember, looking upon England, into this complaint:

I.

Ah, happy isle, how art thou chang'd and curst,
    Since I was born, and knew thee first!
When peace, which had forsook the world around,
(Frighted with noise, and the shrill trumpet's sound)
    Thee for a private place of rest,
    And a secure retirement chose
    Wherein to build her Halcyon nest;
No wind durst stir abroad the air to discompose.

II.

When all the riches of the globe beside
    Flow'd in to thee with every tide;

When all that nature did thy soil deny,
The growth was of thy fruitful industry;
When all the proud and dreadful sea,
And all his tributary streams,
A constant tribute paid to thee;
When all the liquid world was one extended Thames.

III.

When plenty in each village did appear,
And bounty was its steward there;
When gold walk'd free about in open view,
'Ere it one conquering party's prisoner grew;
When the religion of our state
Had face and substance with her voice,
'Ere she by 'er foolish loves of late,
Like Eccho (once a nymph) turn'd only into noise.

IV.

When men to men respect and friendship bore,
And God with reverence did adore;
When upon earth no kingdom could have shown
A happier monarch to us than our own,
And yet his subjects by him were
(Which is a truth will hardly be
Receiv'd by any vulgar ear,
A secret known to few) made happier ev'n than he.

V.

Thou dost a chaos, and confusion now,
A Babel, and a Bedlam grow,
And, like a frantick person, thou dost tear
The ornaments and cloaths which thou should'st wear,
And cut thy limbs; and if we see
(Just as thy barbarous Britons did)
Thy body with hypocrisy
Painted all o'er, thou think'st, thy naked shame is hid.

VI.

The nations, which envied thee 'ere while,
Now laugh (too little 'tis to smile)
They laugh, and would have pity'd thee (alas!)
But that thy faults all pity do surpass.
Art thou the country which didst hate,
And mock the French inconstancy?
And have we, have we seen of late
Less change of habits there, than governments in thee?

VII.

Unhappy isle! no ship of thine at sea
Was ever toss'd and torn like thee.
Thy naked hulk loose on the waves does beat,
The rocks and banks around her ruin threat;

What did thy foolish pilots ail,
To lay the compass quite aside?
Without a law or rule to sail,
And rather take the winds, than heavens to be their guide?

VIII.

Yet, mighty God, yet, yet, we humbly crave,
This floating isle from shipwreck save;
And though to wash that blood which does it, stain,
It well deserves to sink into the main;
Yet, for the royal martyr's prayer,
(The royal martyr prays we know)
Hear but his soul above, and not his blood below.

I think I should have gone on, but that I was interrupted by a strange and terrible apparition, for there appeared to me (arising out of the earth, as I conceived) the Figure of a man taller than a giant, or indeed than the shadow of any giant in the evening. His body was naked, but that nakedness adorned, or rather deformed all over with several figures, after the manner of the Britons, painted upon it; and I perceived that most of them were the representations of the late battles in our civil wars, and, if I be not much mistaken, it was the battle of Naseby that was drawn upon his breast. His eyes were like burning brass, and there were three crowns of the same metal, as I guessed, and that looked as red-hot too, upon his head. He held in his right-hand a sword that was yet bloody, and nevertheless the motto of it was *Pax quæritur bello*, and in his left-hand a thick book, upon the back of which was written in letters of gold, acts, ordinances, protestations, covenants, engagements, declarations, remonstrances, &c. Though this sudden, unusual, and dreadful object might have quelled a greater courage than mine, yet so it pleased God, for there is nothing bolder than a man in a vision, that I was not at all daunted, but asked him resolutely and briefly, What art thou? And he said, I am called the north-west principality, his highness, the protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions belonging thereunto, for I am that angel to whom the Almighty has committed the government of those three kingdoms, which thou seest from this place. And I answered and said, If it be so, sir, it seems to me, that for almost these twenty years past your highness has been absent from your charge; for not only if any angel, but if any wise and honest men had, since that time, been our governor, we should not have wandered thus long in these laborious and endless labyrinths of confusion, but either not have entered at all into them, or at least have returned back, before we had absolutely lost our way; but, instead of your highness, we have had since such a protector as was his predecessor Richard the Third, to the king his nephew; for he presently slew the commonwealth, which he pretended to protect, and set up himself in the place of it; a little less guilty indeed in one respect, because the other slew the innocent, and this man did but murder a murtherer. Such a protector we have had, as we would have been glad to have changed for any enemy, and rather received a constant Turk, than this every month's apostate; such a protector as man is to his flocks, which he sheers, and sells, or devours himself; and I would fain know, what the wolf, which he protects him from, could do more. Such a protector——and, as I was proceeding, methought his highness began to put on a displeased and threatening countenance, as men use to do when their dearest friends happen to be traduced in their company, which gave me the first rise of jealousy against him; for I did not believe that Cromwell, amongst all his foreign correspondences, had ever held any with angels. However, I was not hardened enough yet to venture a quarrel with him then; and therefore, as I had spoken to the protector himself in Whitehall, I defired him that his highness would please to pardon me, if I had unwittingly spoken any thing to the disparagement of a person, whose relations to his highness I had not the honour to know. At which he told me, that he had no other concernment for his late highness, than as he took him to be the greatest man that ever was of the English nation, if not, said he, of the whole world; which gives me a just title to the defence of his reputation, since I now account myself, as it were, a naturalised English angel, by having had so long the management of the affairs of that country. And pray, countryman, said he, very kindly and very flatteringly, for I would not have you fall into the general error of the world, that detests and decries so extraordinary a virtue; What can be more extraordinary than that a person of mean birth, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have sometimes, or of mind, which have often raised men to the highest dignities, should have the courage to attempt, and the happiness to succeed in so improbable a design, as the destruction of one of the most ancient, and, in all appearance, most solidly founded monarchies upon earth? That he should have the power or boldness to put his prince and master to an open and infamous death? To banish that numerous and strongly allied family? To do all this under the name and wages of a parliament; to trample upon them too as he pleased, and spurn them out of doors when he grew weary of them; to raise up a new and unheard-of monster out of their ashes; to stifle that in the very infancy, and set up himself above all things that ever were called sovereign in England; to oppress all his enemies by arms, and all his friends afterwards by artifice; to serve all parties patiently for a while, and to command them victoriously at last; to over-run each corner of the three nations, and overcome with equal facility both the riches of the south, and the poverty of the north; to be feared and courted by all foreign princes, and adopted a brother to the gods of the earth; to call together parliaments with a word of his pen, and scatter them again with the breath of his mouth; to be humbly and daily petitioned to, that he would please to be hired, at the rate of two millions a year, to be the master of those who had hired him before to be their servant; to have the estates and lives of three kingdoms as much at his disposal, as was the little inheritance of his father, and to be as noble and liberal in the spending of them; and, lastly, for there is no end of all the particulars of his glory, to bequeath all this with one word to his posterity; to die with peace at home, and triumph abroad; to be buried among kings, and with more than regal solemnity; and to leave a name behind him, not to be extinguished, but with the whole world, which, as it is now too little for his praises, so might have been too for his conquests, if the short line of his human life could have been stretched out to the extent of his immortal designs?

By this speech I began to understand perfectly well what kind of angel his pretended highness was; and having fortified myself privately with a short mental prayer, and with the sign of the cross, not out of any superstition to the sign, but as a recognition of my baptism in Christ, I grew a little bolder, and replied in this manner: I should not venture to oppose what you are pleased to say in commendation of the late great, and, I confess, extraordinary person, but that I remember Christ forbids us to give assent to any other doctrine but what himself has taught us, even though it should be delivered by an angel; and if such you be, sir, it may be you have spoken all this rather to try than to tempt my frailty. For sure I am, that we must renounce or forget all the laws of the New and Old Testament, and those which are the foundation of both, even the laws of moral and natural honesty, if we approve of the actions of that man, whom, I suppose, you commend by irony. There would be no end to instance in the particulars of all his wickedness; but to sum up a part of it briefly: What can be more extraordinarily wicked, than for a person, such as yourself qualify him rightly, to endeavour not only to exalt himself above, but to trample upon all his equals and betters? To pretend freedom for all men, and, under the help of that pretence, to make all men his servants? To take arms against taxes of scarce two hundred thousand pounds a year, and to raise them himself to above two millions? To quarrel for the loss of three or four ears, and strike off three or four hundred heads? To fight against an imaginary suspicion of I know not what two thousand guards to be fetched for the king, I know not from whence, and to keep up for himself no less than forty thousand? To pretend the defence of parliaments, and violently to dissolve all, even of his own calling and almost chusing? To undertake the reformation of religion, to rob it even to the very skin, and then to expose it naked to the rage of all sects and heresies? To set up councils of rapine and courts of murder? To fight against the king under a commission for him; to take him forceably out of the hands of those for whom he had conquered him; to draw him into his net, with protestations and vows of fidelity, and when he had caught him in it, to butcher him, with as little shame as conscience or humanity, in the open face of the whole world? To receive a commission for king and parliament, to murder, as I said, the one, and destroy no less impudently the other? To fight against monarchy when he declared for it, and declare against it, when he contrived for it in his own person? To abase perfidiously and supplant ungratefully his own general first, and afterwards most of those officers, who with the loss of their honour, and hazard of their souls, had lifted him up to the top of his unreasonable ambitions? To break his faith with all enemies, and with all friends equally; and to make no less frequent use of the most solemn perjuries than the looser sort of people do of customary oaths? To usurp three kingdoms without any shadow of the least pretensions, and to govern them as unjustly as he got them? To set himself up as an idol (which we know, as St. Paul says, in itself is nothing) and make the very streets of London, like the valley of Hinnom, by burning the bowels of men as a sacrifice to his Moloch-ship? To seek to entail this usurpation upon his posterity, and with it an endless war upon the nation; and lastly, by the severest judgment of Almighty God, to die hardened, and mad, and unrepentant, with the curses of the present age, and the detestation of all to succeed?

Though I had much more to say (for the life of man is so short, that it allows not time enough to speak against a tyrant) yet because I had a mind to hear how my strange adversary would behave himself upon this subject, and to give even the devil, as they say, his right, and fair play in a disputation, I stopped here, and expected, not without the frailty of a little fear, that he should have broke into a violent passion in behalf of his favourite; but he on the contrary very calmly, and with the dove-like innocency of a serpent that was not yet warmed enough to sting, thus replied unto me:

It is not so much out of my affection to that person whom we discourse of, whose greatness is too solid to be shaken by the breath of any oratory, as for your own sake, honest countryman, whom I conceive to err, rather by mistake than out of malice, that I shall endeavour to reform your uncharitable and unjust opinion. And in the first place I must needs put you in mind of a sentence of the most ancient of the heathen divines, that you men are acquainted withall,

Οὐκ ὅσιον κταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἄνδρασιν εὐχεταᾶσθαι,

'Tis wicked with insulting feet to tread
  Upon the monuments of the dead.

And the intention of the reproof there is no less proper for this subject; for it is spoken to a person who was proud and insolent against those dead men, to whom he had been humble and obedient whilst they lived. Your highness may please, said I, to add the verse that follows, as no less proper for this subject:

> Whom God's just doom and their own sins have sent
> Already to their punishment.

But I take this to be the rule in the case, that, when we fix any infamy upon deceased persons, it should not be done out of hatred to the dead, but out of love and charity to the living, that the curses which only remain in men's thoughts, and dare not come forth against tyrants, because they are tyrants, whilst they are so, may at least be for ever settled and engraven upon their memories, to deter all others from the like wickedness, which else, in the time of their foolish posterity, the flattery of their own hearts, and other men's tongues, would not suffer them to perceive. Ambition is so subtle a temper, and the corruption of human nature so susceptible of the temptation, that a man can hardly resist it, be he never so much forwarned of the evil consequences: much less if he find not only the concurrence of the present, but the approbation too of following ages, which have the liberty to judge more freely. The mischief of tyranny is too great, even in the shortest time that it can continue; it is endless and insupportable, if the example be to reign too, and if a Lambert must be invited to follow the steps of a Cromwell, as well by the voice of honour, as by the sight of power and riches. Though it may seem to some fantastically, yet was it wisely done of the Syracusians, to implead with the forms of their ordinary justice, to condemn and destroy even the statutes of all their tyrants. If it were possible to cut them out of all history, and to extinguish their very names, I am of opinion that it ought to be done; but, since they have left behind them too deep wounds to be ever closed up without a scar, at least let us set such a mark upon their memory, that men of the same wicked inclinations may be no less affrighted with their lasting ignominy, than enticed by their momentary glories. And, that your highness may perceive that I speak not of this out of any private animosity against the person of the late protector, I assure you upon my faith, that I bear no more hatred to his name, than I do to that of Marius or Sylla, who never did me or any friend of mine the least injury; and with that, transported by a holy fury, I fell into this sudden rapture:

I.

Curs'd be the man (what do I wish? As though
 The wretch already were not so;
But curs'd on let him be) who thinks it brave
 And great his country to enslave.
 Who seeks to overpoise alone
 The balance of a nation;
 Against the whole but naked state,
Who in his own light scale makes up with arms the weight.

II.

Who of his nation loves to be the first,
Though at the rate of being worst.
Who would be rather a great monster, than
A well-proportion'd man.
The son of earth with hundred hands
Upon this three pil'd mountain stands,
Till thunder strikes him from the sky;
The son of earth again in his earth's womb does lie.

III.

What blood, confusion, ruin, to obtain
A short and miserable reign?
In what oblique and humble creeping wise
Does the mischievous serpent rise?
But even his forked tongue strikes dead,
When h'as rear'd up his wicked head;
He murders with his mortal frown,
A basilisk he grows, if once he get a crown.

IV.

But no guards can oppose assaulting ears,
Or undermining tears.
No more than doors, or close-drawn curtains keep
The swarming dreams out when we sleep.
That bloody conscience too of his
(For, oh, a rebel red-coat 'tis)
Does here his early hell begin,
He sees his slaves without, his tyrant feels within.

V.

Let, gracious God, let never more thine hand
Lift up this rod against our land.
A tyrant is a rod and serpent too,
And brings worse plagues than Egypt knew.
What rivers stain'd with blood have been?
What storm and hail-shot have we seen?
What sores deform'd the ulcerous state?
What darkness to be felt has buried us of late?

VI.

How has it snatch'd our flocks and herds away?
And made even of our sons a prey?
What croaking sects and vermin has it sent
The restless nation to torment?
What greedy troops, what armed power,
Of flies and locusts to devour
The land which every where they fill?
Nor fly they, Lord, away; no, they devour it still.

VII.

Come the eleventh plague, rather than this should be;
Come sink us rather in the sea.

Come rather pestilence, and reap us down;
Come God's sword rather than our own.
Let rather Roman come again,
Or Saxon, Norman, or the Dane;
In all the bonds we ever bore,
We griev'd, we sigh'd, we wept; we never blush'd before.

VIII.

If by our sins the divine justice be
Call'd to this last extremity,
Let some denouncing Jonas first be sent,
To try if England can repent.
Methinks at least some prodigy,
Some dreadful comet from on high,
Should terribly forewarn the earth,
As of good princes deaths, so of a tyrant's birth.

Here the spirit of verse beginning a little to fail, I stopped, and his highness smiling said, I was glad to see you engaged in the inclosures of meetre, for, if you had staid in the open plain of declaiming against the word tyrant, I must have had patience for half a dozen hours, till you had tired yourself as well as me. But pray countryman, to avoid this sciomachy, or imaginary combate with words, let me know first what you mean by the name tyrant; for I remember that, among your ancient authors, not only all kings, but even Jupiter himself (your Juvans Pater) is so termed, and perhaps as it was used formerly in a good sense, so we shall find it upon better consideration to be still a good thing for the benefit and peace of mankind; at least it will appear whether your interpretation of it may be justly applied to the person who is now the subject of our discourse. I call him, said I, a tyrant, who either intrudes himself forcibly into the government of his fellow citizens without any legal authority over them, or who, having a just title to the government of a people, abuses it to the destruction, or tormenting of them. So that all tyrants are at the same time usurpers, either of the whole or at least of a part of that power which they assume to themselves; and no less are they to be accounted rebels, since no man can usurp authority over others, but by rebelling against them who had it before, or at least against those laws which were his superiors: And in all these senses no history can afford us a more evident example of tyranny, or more out of all possibility of excuse, or palliation, than that of the person whom you are pleased to defend, whether we consider his reiterated rebellions against all his superiors, or his usurpation of the supreme power to himself, or his tyranny in the exercise of it; and if lawful princes have been esteemed tyrants, by not containing themselves within the bounds of those laws which have been left them as the sphere of their authority by their fore-fathers, what shall we say of that man, who, having by right no power at all in this nation, could not content himself with that which had satisfied the most ambitious of our princes; nay, not with those vastly extended limits of sovereignty, which he, disdaining all that had been prescribed and observed before, was pleased, but of great modesty, to set to himself; not abstaining from rebellion and usurpation even against his own laws as well as those of the nation.

Hold, friend, said his highness, pulling me by my arm (for I see your zeal is transporting you again) whether the protector were a tyrant in the exorbitant exercise of his power, we shall see anon; it is requisite to examine, first, whether he was so in the usurpation of it. And I say, that not only he, but no man else ever was, or can be so; and that for these reasons: First, because all power belongs only to God, who is the source and fountain of it, as kings are of all honours in their dominions. Princes are but his viceroys in the little provinces of this world, and to some he gives their places for a few years, to some for their lives, and to others (upon ends or deserts best known to himself, or merely for his indisputable good pleasure) he bestows, as it were, leases upon them, and their posterity, for such a date of time as is prefixed in that patent of their destiny, which is not legible to you men below. Neither is it more unlawful for Oliver to succeed Charles in the kingdom of England, when God so disposes of it, than it had been for him to have succeeded the Lord Strafford in the lieutenancy of Ireland, if he had been appointed to it by the king then reigning. Men are in both the cases obliged to obey him whom they see actually invested with the authority by that sovereign from whom he ought to derive it, without disputing or examining the causes, either of the removal of the one, or the preferment of the other. Secondly, because all power is attained either by the election and consent of the people, and that takes away your objection of forcible intrusion; or else by a conquest of them, and that gives such a legal authority as you mention to be wanting in the usurpation of a tyrant; so that either this title is right, and then there are no usurpers, or else it is a wrong one, and then there are none else but usurpers, if you examine the original pretences of the princes of the world. Thirdly (which, quitting the dispute in general, is a particular justification of his highness) The government of England was totally broken and dissolved, and extinguished by the confusions of a civil war, so that his highness could not be accused to have possessed himself violently of the ancient building of the commonwealth, but to have prudently and peaceably built up a new one out of the ruins and ashes of the former; and he, who, after a deplorable shipwreck, can, with extraordinary industry, gather together the dispersed and broken planks and pieces of it, and, with no less wonderful art and facility, so rejoin them, as to make a new vessel more tight and beautiful than the old one, deserves, no doubt, to have the command of her, even as his highness had, by the desire of the seamen and passengers themselves. And, do but consider, lastly, for I omit a multitude of weighty things that might be spoken on this noble argument, do but consider seriously and impartially with yourself, what admirable parts of wit and prudence, what indefatigable diligence and invincible courage must of necessity have concurred in the person of that man, who, from so contemptible beginnings, as I observed before, and through so many thousand difficulties, was able, not only to make himself the greatest and most absolute monarch of this nation, but to add to it the intire conquest of Ireland and Scotland, which the whole force of the world, joined with the Roman virtue, could never attain to, and to crown all this with illustrious and heroical undertakings, and successes upon all our foreign enemies; do but, I say again, consider this, and you will confess, that his prodigious merits were a better title to imperial dignity, than the blood of an hundred royal progenitors; and will rather lament, that he lived not to overcome more nations, than envy him the conquest and dominion of these. Whoever you are, said I, my indignation making me somewhat bolder, your discourse, methinks, becomes as little the person of a tutelar angel, as Cromwell's actions did that of a protector. It is upon these principles that all the great crimes of the world have been committed, and most particularly those which I have had the misfortune to see in my own time, and in my own country. If these be to be allowed, we must break up human society, retire into the woods, and equally there stand upon our guards against our brethren mankind, and our rebels the wild beasts. For, if there can be no usurpation upon the rights of a whole nation, there can be none, most certainly, upon those of a private person; and, if the robbers of countries be God's vicegerents, there is no doubt but the thieves, and banditti's, and murderers are his under-officers. It is true which you say, that God is the source and fountain of all power; and it is no less true, that he is the creator of serpents as well as angels, nor does his goodness fail of its ends, even in the malice of his own creatures. What power he suffers the devil to exercise in this world, is too apparent by our daily experience, and by nothing more than the late monstrous iniquities which you dispute for, and patronise in England; but would you infer from thence, that the power of the devil is a just and lawful one, and that all men ought, as well as most men do, obey him? God is the fountain of all powers; but some flow from the right-hand, as it were, of his goodness, and others from the left-hand of his justice; and the world, like an island between these two rivers, is sometimes refreshed and nourished by the one, and sometimes over-run and ruined by the other; and, to continue a little farther the allegory, we are never overwhelmed with the latter, till either by our malice or negligence we have stopped and dammed up the former. But to come a little closer to your argument, or rather the image of an argument, your similitude: If Cromwell had come to command Ireland in the place of the late Lord Strafford, I should have yielded obedience, not for the equipage, and the strength, and the guards which he brought with him, but for the commission which he should first have shewed me from our common sovereign that sent him; and, if he could have done that from God Almighty, I would have obeyed him too in England; but that he was so far from being able to do, that, on the contrary, I read nothing but commands, and even publick proclamations from God Almighty, not to admit him. Your second argument is, that he had the same right for his authority, that is the foundation of all others, even the right of conquest. Are we then so unhappy as to be conquered by the person, whom we hired at a daily rate, like a labourer, to conquer others for us? Did we furnish him with arms, only to draw and try upon our enemies, as we, it seems, falsly thought them, and keep them for ever sheathed in the bowels of his friends? Did we fight for liberty against our prince, that we might become slaves to our servant? This is such an impudent pretence, as neither he, nor any of his flatterers for him, had ever the face to mention. Though it can hardly be spoken or thought of without passion, yet I shall, if you please, argue it more calmly than the case deserves. The right, certainly, of conquest can only be exercised upon those, against whom the war is declared, and the victory obtained. So that no whole nation can be said to be conquered but by foreign force. In all civil wars, men are so far from stating the quarrel against their country, that they do it only against a person, or party, which they really believe, or at least pretend to be pernicious to it; neither can there be any just cause for the destruction of a part of the body, but when it is done for the preservation and safety of the whole. It is our country that raises men in the quarrel, our country that arms, our country that pays them, our country that authorises the undertaking, and by that distinguishes it from rapine and murder. Lastly, it is our country that directs and commands the army, and is, indeed, their general. So that to say in civil wars, that the prevailing party conquers their country, is to say, the country conquers itself. And, if the general only of that party be the conqueror, the army, by which he is made so, is no less conquered than the army which is beaten, and have as little reason to triumph in that victory, by which they lose both their honour and liberty. So that, if Cromwell conquered any party, it was only that against which he was sent, and what that was, must appear by his commission. It was, says that, against a company of evil counsellors, and disaffected persons, who kept the king from a good intelligence and conjunction with his people. It was not then against the people. It is so far from being so, that, even of that party which was beaten, the conquest did not belong to Cromwell, but to the parliament which employed him in their service, or rather indeed to the king and parliament, for whose service, if there had been any faith in men's vows and protestations, the wars were undertaken. Merciful God! did the right of this miserable conquest remain then in his majesty, and didst thou suffer him to be destroyed with more barbarity than if he had been conquered even by savages and cannibals? Was it for king and parliament that we fought, and has it fared with them just as with the army which we fought against, the one part being slain, and the other fled? It appears therefore plainly, that Cromwell was not a conqueror, but a thief and robber of the rights of the king and parliament, and an usurper upon those of the people. I do not here deny conquest to be sometimes, though it be very rarely, a true title, but I deny this to be a true conquest. Sure I am, that the race of our princes came not in by such a one One nation may conquer another sometimes justly; and, if it be unjustly. yet still it is a true conquest, and they are to answer for the injustice only to God Almighty, having nothing else in authority above them, and not as particular rebels to their country, which is, and ought always to be their superior and their lord. If perhaps we find usurpation instead of conquest in the original titles of some royal families abroad, as no doubt there have been many usurpers before ours, though none in so impudent and execrable a manner, all I can say for them is, that their title was very weak, till by length of time, and the death of all juster pretenders, it became to be the true, because it was the only one. Your third defence of his highness, as your highness pleases to call him, enters in most seasonably after his pretence of conquest, for then a man may say any thing. The government was broken; who broke it? It was dissolved; who dissolved it? It was extinguished; who was it but Cromwell. who not only put out the light, but cast away even the very snuff of it? As if a man should murder a whole family, and then possess himself of the house, because it is better that he than that only rats should live there. Jesus God! (said I, and at that word I perceived my pretended angel to give a start and trembled, but I took no notice of it, and went on) this were a wicked pretension, even though the whole family were destroyed; but the heirs, blessed be God, are yet surviving, and likely to outlive all heirs of their dispossessors, besides their infamy. *Rode caper vitem, &c.* There will be yet wine enough left for the sacrifice of those wild beasts that have made so much spoil in the vineyard. But, did Cromwell think, like Nero, to set the city on fire, only that he might have the honour of being founder of a new and a more beautiful one? He could not have such a shadow of virtue in his wickedness; he meant only to rob more securely and more richly in the midst of the combustion; he little thought then that he should ever have been able to make himself master of the palace as well as plunder the goods of the commonwealth. He was glad to see the publick vessel, the sovereign of the seas, in as desperate a condition as his own little canoe; and thought only, with some scattered planks of that great shipwreck, to make a better fisher-boat for himself. But, when he saw that by the drowning of the master, whom he himself treacherously knocked on the head as he was swimming for his life, by the flight and dispersion of others, and cowardly patience of the remaining company, that all was abandoned to his pleasure, with the old hulk and new mis-shapen and disagreeing pieces of his own, he made up with much ado that piratical vessel which we have seen him command; and, which how tight indeed it was, may best be judged by its perpetual leaking. First then (much more wicked than those foolish daughters in the fable, who cut their old father into pieces, in hope by charms and witchcraft to make him young and lusty again) this man endeavoured to destroy the building, before he could imagine in what manner, with what materials, by what workmen, or what architect it was to be rebuilt. Secondly, if he had dreamed himself to be able to revive that body which he had killed, yet it had been but the insupportable insolence of an ignorant mountebank; and thirdly (which concerns us nearest) that very new thing, which he made out of the ruins of the old, is no more like the original, either for beauty, use, or duration, than an artificial plant raised by the fire of a chymist is comparable to the true and natural one which he first burnt, that out of the ashes of it he might produce an imperfect similitude of his own making. Your last argument is such, when reduced to syllogism, that the major proposition of it would make strange work in the world, if it were received for truth; to wit, that he, who has the best parts in a nation, has the right of being king over it. We had enough to do here of old with the contention between two branches of the same family, what would become of us when every man in England should lay his claim to the government? And truly, if Cromwell should have commenced his plea, when he seems to have begun his ambition, there were few persons besides that might not at the same time have put in theirs too. But his deserts, I suppose, you will date from the same term that I do his great demerits, that is, from the beginning of our late calamities; (for, as for his private faults before, I can only wish, and that with as much charity to him as to the publick, that he had continued in them till his death, rather than changed them for those of his latter days) and therefore we must begin the consideration of his greatness from the unlucky æra of our own misfortunes, which puts me in mind of what was said less truly of Pompey the Great, *Nostra Miseria Magnus es*. But, because the general ground of your argumentation consists in this, that all men, who are the effecters of extraordinary mutations in the world, must needs have extraordinary forces of nature by which they are enabled to turn about, as they please, so great a wheel; I shall speak first a few words upon this universal proposition, which seems so reasonable, and is so popular, before I descend to the particular examination of the eminencies of that person which is in question.

I have often observed, with all submission and resignation of spirit to the inscrutable mysteries of eternal providence, that, when the fulness and maturity of time is come that produces the great confusions and changes in the world, it usually pleases God to make it appear by the manner of them, that they are not the effects of human force or policy, but of the divine justice and predestination; and, though we see a man, like that which we call Jack of the Clock-house, striking, as it were, the hour of that fulness of time, yet our reason must needs be convinced, that his hand is moved by some secret, and, to us who stand without, invisible direction. And the stream of the current is then so violent, that the strongest men in the world cannot draw up against it, and none are so weak, but they may sail down with it. These are the spring-tides of publick affairs which we see often happen, but seek in vain to discover any certain causes,

' ——————Omnia Fluminis
' Ritu feruntur, nunc medio alveo
' Cum pace delabentis Etruscum
' In mare, nunc lapides adesos,
' Stirpesque raptas, & pecus & domos
' Volventis una, non sine montium
' Clamore, vicinæque silvæ;
' Cum fera diluvies quietos
' Irritat amnes,——
HOR. CARM. iii. 29.

and one man then, by maliciously opening all the sluices that he can come at, can never be the sole author of all this, though he may be as guilty as if really he were, by intending and imagining to be so; but it is God that breaks up the flood-gates of so general a deluge, and all the art then and industry of mankind is not sufficient to raise up dikes and ramparts against it. In such a time it was as this, that not all the wisdom and power of the Roman senate, nor the wit and eloquence of Cicero, nor the courage and virtue of Brutus, was able to defend their country or themselves against the unexperienced rashness of a beardless boy, and the loose rage of a voluptuous madman. The valour and prudent counsels on the one side are made fruitless, and the errors and cowardice on the other harmless, by unexpected accidents. The one general saves his life, and gains the whole world, by a very dream; and the other loses both at once by a little mistake of the shortness of his sight. And though this be not always so, for we see that, in the translation of the great monarchies from one to another, it pleased God to make choice of the most eminent men in nature, as Cyrus, Alexander, Scipio, and his contemporaries, for his chief instruments and actors in so admirable a work (the end of this being not only to destroy or punish one nation, which may be done by the worst of mankind, but to exalt and bless another, which is only to be effected by great and virtuous persons) yet, when God only intends the temporary chastisement of a people, he does not raise up his servant Cyrus (as he himself is pleased to call him) or an Alexander (who had as many virtues to do good, as vices to do harm) but he makes the Massanello's, and the John's of Leyden, the instruments of his vengeance, that the power of the Almighty might be more evident by the weakness of the means which he chooses to demonstrate it. He did not assemble the serpents and the monsters of Africa to correct the pride of the Egyptians, but called for his armies of locusts out of Æthiopia, and formed new ones of vermin out of the very dust; and, because you see a whole country destroyed by these, will you argue from thence that they must needs have had both the craft of foxes, and the courage of lions? It is easy to apply this general observation to the particular case of our troubles in England, and that they seem only to be meant for a temporary chastisement of our sins, and not for a total abolishment of the old, and introduction of a new government, appears probable to me from these considerations, as far as we may be bold to make a judgment of the will of God in future events: First, because he has suffered nothing to settle or take root in the place of that which hath been so unwisely and unjustly removed; that none of these untempered mortars can hold out against the next blast of wind, nor any stone stick to a stone, till that which these foolish builders have refused be made again the head of the corner. For, when the indisposed and long tormented commonwealth has wearied and spent itself almost to nothing, with the chargeable, various, and dangerous experiments of several mountebanks, it is to be supposed it will have the wit at last to send for a true physician; especially when it sees (which is the second consideration) most evidently (as it now begins to do, and will do every day more and more, and might have done perfectly long since) that no usurpation, under what name or pretext soever, can be kept up without open force, nor force without the continuance of those oppressions upon the people, which will at last tire out their patience, though it be great, even to stupidity. They cannot be so dull, when poverty and hunger begin to whet their understanding, as not to find out this no extraordinary mystery, that it is madness in a nation to pay three millions a year for the maintaining of their servitude under tyrants, when they might live free for nothing under their princes. This, I say, will not always lie hid even to the slowest capacities; and the next truth they will discover afterwards, is, that a whole people can never have the will, without having at the same time the power to redeem themselves. Thirdly, it does not look, methinks, as if God had forsaken the family of that man, from whom he has raised up five children, of as eminent virtue, and all other commendable qualities, as ever lived, perhaps, for so many together, and so young, in any other family in the whole world. Especially if we add hereto this consideration, that by protecting and preserving some of them already through as great dangers as ever were passed with safety, either by prince or private person, he has given them already, as we may reasonably hope it to be meant, a promise and earnest of his future favours. And, lastly, (to return closely to the discourse from which I have a little digressed) because I see nothing of those excellent parts of nature, and mixture of merit with their vices in the late disturbers of our peace and happiness, that uses to be found in the persons of those who are born for the erection of new empires. And, I confess, I find nothing of that kind, no not any shadow (taking away the false light of some prosperity) in the man whom you extol for the first example of it. And certainly, all virtues being rightly divided into moral and intellectual, I know not how we can better judge of the former than by men's actions, or of the latter than by their writings or speeches. As for these latter (which are least in merit, or rather which are only the instruments of mischief, where the other are wanting) I think you can hardly pick out the name of a man who ever was called great, besides him we are now speaking of, who never left the memory behind him of one wise or witty apophthegm, even amongst his domestick servants or greatest flatterers. That little in print, which remains upon a sad record for him, is such, as a satire against him would not have made him say, for fear of transgressing too much the rules of probability. I know not what you can produce for the justification of his parts in this kind, but his having been able to deceive so many particular persons, and so many whole parties; which, if you please to take notice of for the advantage of his intellectuals, I desire you to allow me the liberty to do so too, when I am to speak of his morals. The truth of the thing is this, that if craft be wisdom, and dissimulation wit, assisted both and improved with hypocrisies and perjuries, I must not deny him to have been singular in both; but so gross was the manner in which he made use of them, that, as wise men ought not to have believed him at first, so no man was fool enough to believe him at last; neither did any man seem to do it, but those who thought he gained as much by that dissembling, as he did by his. His very actings of godliness grew at last as ridiculous, as if a player, by putting on a gown, should think he represented excellently a woman, tho' his beard, at the same time, were seen by all the spectators. If you ask me, why they did not hiss and explode him off of the stage? I can only answer, that they durst not do so, because the actors and the door-keepers were too strong for the company. I must confess, that by these arts, how grosly soever managed, as by hypocritical praying, and silly preaching, by unmanly tears and whinings, by falshoods and perjuries, even diabolical, he had, at first, the good fortune, as men call it, that is, the ill fortune, to attain his ends; but it was, because his ends were so unreasonable, that no human reason could foresee them; which made them who had to do with him believe, that he was rather a well meaning and deluded bigot, than a crafty and malicious impostor; that these arts were helped by an indefatigable industry, as you term it, I am so far from doubting, that I intended to object that diligence as the worst of his crimes. It makes me almost mad, when I hear a man commended for his diligence in wickedness. If I were his son, I should wish to God he had been a more lazy person, and that we might have found him sleeping at the hours when other men are ordinarily waking, rather than waking for those ends of his when other men were ordinarily asleep. How diligent the wicked are the Scripture often tells us: 'Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood,' Isa. lix. 7. 'He travels with iniquity,' Psal. vii. 14 'He deviseth mischief upon his bed,' Psal. xxxiv. 4. 'They search out iniquity, they accomplish a diligent search,' Psal. lxiv. 6. and in a multitude of other places. And would it not seem ridiculous to praise a wolf for his watchfulness, and for his indefatigable industry, in ranging all night about the country, whilst the sheep, and perhaps the shepherd, and perhaps the very dogs too, are all asleep?

The Chartreux wants the warning of a bell
To call him to the duties of his cell;
There needs no noise at all t'awaken sin,
Th' adulterer and the thief his larum has within.

And, if the diligence of wicked persons be so much to be blamed, as that it is only an emphasis and exaggeration of their wickedness, I see not how their courage can avoid the same censure. If the undertaking bold, and vast, and unreasonable designs can deserve that honourable name, I am sure Faux, and his fellow gun-powder fiends, will have cause to pretend, though not an equal, yet at least the next place of honour; neither can I doubt, but, if they too had succeeded, they would have found their applauders and admirers. It was bold unquestionably for a man, in defiance of all human and divine laws, and with so little probability of a long impunity, so publickly and so outrageously to murder his master: It was bold, with so much insolence and affront, to expel and disperse all the chief partners of his guilt, and creators of his power: It was bold to violate so openly and so scornfully all acts and constitutions of a nation, and afterwards even of his own making; it was bold to assume the authority of calling, and bolder yet of breaking so many parliaments; it was bold to trample upon the patience of his own, and provoke that of all neighbouring countries; it was bold, I say, above all boldnesses, to usurp this tyranny to himself, and impudent above all impudences, to endeavour to transmit it to his posterity. But all this boldness is so far from being a sign of manly courage (which dares not transgress the rules of any other virtue) that it is only a demonstration of brutish madness, or diabolical possession. In both which last cases there use frequent examples to appear of such extraordinary force, as may justly seem more wonderful and astonishing than the actions of Cromwell; neither is it stranger to believe that a whole nation should not be able to govern him and a mad army, than that five or six men should not be strong enough to bind a distracted girl. There is no man ever succeeds in one wickedness, but it gives him the boldness to attempt a greater. It was boldly done of Nero to kill his mother, and all the chief nobility of the empire; it was boldly done to set the metropolis of the whole world on fire, and undauntedly play upon his harp, whilst he saw it burning. I could reckon up five-hundred boldnesses of that great person, for why should not he too be called so? who wanted, when he was to die, that courage which could hardly have failed any woman in the like necessity. It would look, I must confess, like envy or too much partiality, if I should say that personal kind of courage had been deficient in the man we speak of; I am confident it was not; and yet I may venture, I think, to affirm, that no man ever bore the honour of so many victories, at the rate of fewer wounds or dangers of his own body; and, though his valour might perhaps have given him a just pretension to one of the first charges in an army, it could not certainly be a sufficient ground for a title to the command of three nations. What then shall we say, that he did all this by witchcraft? He did so indeed in a great measure, by a sin that is called like it in the Scriptures. But truly and unpassionately reflecting upon the advantages of his person, which might be thought to have produced those of his fortune, I can espy no other but extraordinary diligence and infinite dissimulation; and believe he was exalted above his nation, partly by his own faults, but chiefly for ours. We have brought him thus briefly, not through all his labyrinths, to the supreme usurped authority; and because, you say, it was great pity he did not live to command more kingdoms, be pleased to let me represent to you in a few words, how well I conceive he governed these. And we will divide the consideration into that of his foreign and domestick actions. The first of his foreign was a peace with our brethren of Holland, who were the first of our neighbours that God chastised for having had so great a hand in the encouraging and abetting our troubles at home. Who would not imagine, at first glympse, that this had been the most virtuous and laudable deed that his whole life could make any parade of? But no man can look upon all the circumstances without perceiving, that it was the sale and sacrificing of the greatest advantages that this country could ever hope, and was ready to reap, from a foreign war, to the private interests of his covetousness and ambition, and the security of his new and unsettled usurpation. No sooner is that danger past, but this Beatus Pacificus is kindling a fire in the northern world, and carrying a war two-thousand miles off westward. Two millions a year, besides all the vales of his protectorship, is as little capable to suffice now either his avarice or prodigality, as the two-hundred pounds were that he was born to. He must have his prey of the whole Indies, both by sea and land, this great alligator. To satisfy our Anti-Solomon, who has made silver almost as rare as gold, and gold as precious stones in his New Jerusalem, we must go, ten-thousand of his slaves, to fetch him riches from his fantastical Ophir. And, because his flatterers brag of him as the most fortunate prince, the Faustus as well as Sylla of our nation, whom God never forsook in any of his undertakings, I desire them to consider, how, since the English name was ever heard of, it never received so great and so infamous a blow, as under the imprudent conduct of this unlucky Faustus. And herein let me admire the justice of God in this circumstance, that they who had enslaved their country, though a great army, which, I wish, may be observed by ours with trembling, should be so shamefully defeated by the hands of forty slaves. It was very ridiculous to see, how prettily they endeavoured to hide this ignominy under the great name of the conquest of Jamaica, as if a defeated army should have the impudence to brag afterwards of the victory, because, though they had fled out of the field of battle, yet they quartered that night in a village of the enemies. The war with Spain was a necessary consequence of this folly, and how much we have gotten by it, let the Custom-house and Exchange inform you; and if he please to boast of the taking a part of the silver fleet (which indeed no body else but he, who was the sole gainer, has cause to do) at least let him give leave to the rest of the nation, which is the only loser, to complain of the loss of twelve-hundred ships. But because it may here perhaps be answered, that his successes nearer home have extinguished the disgrace of so remote miscarriages, and that Dunkirk ought more to be remembered for his glory, than St. Domingo for his disadvantage; I must confess, as to the honour of the English courage, that they were not wanting upon that occasion, excepting only the fault of serving at least indirectly against their master, to the upholding of the renown of their warlike ancestors. But for his particular share of it, who sat still at home, and exposed them so frankly abroad, I can only say, that, for less money than he in the short time of his reign exacted from his fellow subjects, some of our former princes (with the daily hazard of their own persons) have added to the dominion of England not only one town, but even a greater kingdom than itself. And, this being all considerable as concerning his enterprises abroad, let us examine in the next place, how much we owe him for justice and good government at home. And first he found the commonwealth, as they then called, it in a ready stock of about eight-hundred thousand pounds; he left the commonwealth, as he had the impudent raillery still to call it, some two-millions and an half in debt. He found our trade very much decayed indeed, in comparison of the golden times of our late princes; he left it as much again more decayed than he found it; and yet not only no prince in England, but no tyrant in the world ever sought out more base or infamous means to raise money. I shall only instance in one that he put in practice, and another that he attempted, but was frighted from the execution, even he, by the infamy of it. That which he put in practice was decimation; which was the most impudent breach of all publick faith that the whole nation had given, and all private capitulations which himself had made, as the nation's general and servant, that can be found out, I believe, in all history from any of the most barbarous generals of the most barbarous people.

Which because it has been most excellently and most largely laid open by a whole book written upon that subject, I shall only desire you here to remember the thing in general, and to be pleased to look upon that author, when you would recollect all the particulars and circumstances of the iniquity. The other design of raising a present sum of money, which he violently pursued, but durst not put in execution, was by the calling in and establishment of the Jews at London; from which he was rebutted by the universal outcry of the divines, and even of the citizens too, who took it ill that a considerable number at least amongst themselves were not thought Jews enough by their own Herod. And for this design, they say, he invented (Oh antichrist! ϖονηρὸν and ὁ ϖονηρὸς!) to sell St. Paul's to them for a synagogue, if their purses and devotions could have reached to the purchase. And this indeed if he had done only to reward that nation which had given the first noble example of crucifying their king, it might have had some appearance of gratitude, but he did it only for love of their mammon; and would have sold afterwards for as much more St. Peter's (even at his own Westminster) to the Turks for a mosquetto. Such was his extraordinary piety to God, that he desired he might be worshipped in all manners, excepting only that heathenish way of the Common-Prayer Book. But what do I speak of his wicked inventions for getting of money? When every penny, that for almost five years he took every day from every man living in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was as much robbery as if it had been taken by a thief upon the highways. Was it not so? Or, can any man think that Cromwell, with the assistance of his forces and moss troopers, had more right to the command of all men's purses, than he might have had to any one's whom he had met and been too strong for upon a road? And yet when this came, in the case of Mr. Coney, to be disputed by a legal trial, he, which was the highest act of tyranny that ever was seen in England, not only discouraged and threatened, but violently imprisoned the council of the plaintiff; that is, he shut up the law itself close prisoner, that no man might have relief from, or access to it. And it ought to be remembered, that this was done by those men, who a few years before had so bitterly decried, and openly opposed the king's regular and formal way of proceeding in the trial of a little ship money. But, though we lost the benefit of our old courts of justice, it cannot be denied that he set up new ones; and such they were, that, as no virtuous prince before would, so no ill one durst erect. What, have we lived so many hundred years under such a form of justice as has been able regularly to punish all men that offended against it? and is it so deficient just now, that we must seek out new ways how to proceed against offenders? The reason, which can only be given in nature for a necessity of this, is, because those things are now made crimes, which were never esteemed so in former ages; and there must needs be a new court set up to punish that, which all the old ones were bound to protect and reward. But I am so far from declaiming, as you call it, against these wickednesses (which if I should undertake to do, I should never get to the peroration) that you see I only give a hint of some few, and pass over the rest as things that are too many to be numbered, and must only be weighed in gross. Let any man shew me, for, though I pretend not to much reading, I will defy him in all history; let any man shew me, I say, an example of any nation in the world, though much greater than ours, where there have in the space of four years been made so many prisoners only out of the endless jealousies of one tyrant's guilty imagination. I grant you that Marius and Sylla, and the accursed triumvirate after them, put more people to death; but the reason I think partly was, because, in those times that had a mixture of some honour with their madness, they thought it a more civil revenge against a Roman to take away his life, than to take away his liberty. But truly, in the point of murder too, we have little reason to think that our late tyranny has been deficient to the examples that have ever been set it in other countries. Our judges and our courts of justice have not been idle; and to omit the whole reign of our late king, till the beginning of the war, in which no drop of blood was ever drawn but from two or three ears, I think the longest time of our worst princes scarce saw many more executions than the short one of our blessed reformer. And we saw, and smelt in our open streets, as I marked to you at first, the broiling of human bowels as a burnt-offering of a sweet savour to our idol; but all murdering, and all torturing, though after the subtlest invention of his predecessors of Sicily, is more human and more supportable, than his selling of Christians, Englishmen, Gentlemen; his selling of them, oh monstrous! oh incredible! to be slaves in America. If his whole life could be reproached with no other action, yet this alone would weigh down all the multiplicity of crimes in any of our tyrants; and I dare only touch, without stopping or insisting upon so insolent and so execrable a cruelty, for fear of falling into so violent, though a just passion, as would make me exceed that temper and moderation which I resolve to observe in this discourse with you. These are great calamities; but even these are not the most insupportable that we have endured; for so it is, that the scorn and mockery, and insultings of an enemy, are more painful than the deepest wounds of his serious fury. This man was wanton and merry, unwittily and ungracefully merry, with our sufferings; he loved to say and do senseless and fantastical things, only to shew his power of doing or saying any thing. It would ill befit mine, or any civil mouth, to repeat those words which he spoke concerning the most sacred of our English laws, the petition of right, and Magna Charta. To-day you should see him ranting so wildly, that no body durst come near him; the morrow flinging of cushions, and playing at snow-balls, with his servants. This month he assembles a parliament, and professes himself with humble tears to be only their servant and their minister; the next month he swears by the living God, that he will turn them out of doors, and he does so, in his princely way of threatening, bidding them turn the buckles of their girdles behind them. The representative of a whole, nay of three whole nations, was in his esteem so contemptible a meeting, that he thought the affronting and expelling of them to be a thing of so little consequence, as not to deserve that he should advise with any mortal man about it. What shall we call this? Boldness, or brutishness; rashness, or phrensy; there is no name can come up to it, and therefore we must leave it without one. Now a parliament must be chosen in the new manner, next time in the old form, but all cashiered still after the newest mode. Now he will govern by major-generals, now by one house, now by another house, now by no house; now the freak takes him, and he makes seventy peers of the land at one clap (extempore, and stans pede in uno) and, to manifest the absolute power of the potter, he chose not only the worst clay he could find, but picks up even the dirt and mire, to form out of it his vessels of honour. It was said anciently of fortune, that, when she had a mind to be merry and to divert herself, she was wont to raise up such kind of people to the highest dignities. This son of fortune, Cromwell, who was himself one of the primest of her jests, found out the true haut-goust of this pleasure, and rejoiced in the extravagance of his ways as the fullest demonstration of his uncontroulable sovereignty. Good God! what have we seen? And what have we suffered? What do all these actions signify, what do they say aloud to the whole nation, but this, even as plainly as if it were proclaimed by heralds through the streets of London, You are slaves and fools, and so I will use you? These are briefly a part of those merits which you lament to have wanted the reward of more kingdoms, and suppose that, if he had lived longer, he might have had them; which I am so far from concurring to, that I believe his seasonable dying to have been a greater good fortune to him than all the victories and prosperities of his life. For he seemed evidently, methinks, to be near the end of his deceitful glories; his own army grew at least as weary of him as the rest of the people; and I never passed of late before his palace. His, do I call it? (I ask God and the king pardon) but I never passed of late before Whitehall without reading upon the gate of it, Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin. But it pleased God to take him from the ordinary courts of men, and juries of his peers, to his own high court of justice, which being more merciful than ours below, there is a little room yet left for the hope of his friends, if he have any; though the outward unrepentance of his death afford but small materials for the work of charity, especially if he designed even then to entail his own injustice upon his children, and by it inextricable confusions and civil wars upon the nation. But here's at last an end of him; and where's now the fruit of all that blood and calamity which his ambition has cost the world? Where is it? Why, his son (you'll say) has the whole crop; I doubt he will find it quickly blasted. I have nothing to say against the gentleman, or any living of his family; on the contrary I wish him better fortune than to have a long and unquiet possession of his master's inheritance. Whatsoever I have spoken against his father, is that which I should have thought, though decency perhaps might have hindered me from saying it, even against mine own, if I had been so unhappy, as that mine by the same ways should have left me three kingdoms.

Here I stopped, and my pretended protector, who, I expected, should have been very angry, fell a laughing; it seems at the simplicity of my discourse, for thus he replied: You seem to pretend extremely to the old obsolete rules of virtue and conscience, which makes me doubt very much whether from this vast prospect of three kingdoms you can shew me any acres of your own. But these are so far from making you a prince, that I am afraid your friends will never have the contentment to see you so much as a justice of peace in your own country. For this I perceive, which you call virtue, is nothing else but either the frowardness of a Cynick, or the laziness of an Epicurean. I am glad you allow me at least artful dissimulation, and unwearied diligence in my hero; and I assure you that he, whose life is constantly drawn by those two, shall never be misled out of the way of greatness. But I see you are a pedant, and platonical statesman, a theoretical commonwealth's-man, an utopial dreamer. Was ever riches gotten by your golden mediocrities, or the supreme place attained to by virtues that must not stir out of the middle? Do you study Aristotle's politicks, and write, if you please, comments upon them, and let another but practise Machiavel, and let us see, then, which of you two will come to the greatest preferments. If the desire of rule and superiority be a virtue, as sure I am it is more imprinted in human nature than any of your lethargical morals; and what is the virtue of any creature but the exercise of those powers and inclinations which God has infused into it? If that, I say, be virtue, we ought not to esteem any thing vice, which is the most proper, if not the only means of attaining of it.

It is a truth so certain, and so clear,
That to the first-born man it did appear;
Did not the mighty heir, the noble Cain,
By the fresh laws of nature taught, disdain
That (though a brother) any one should be
A greater favourite to God than he?
He struck him down; and, so (said he) so fell
The sheep which thou did'st sacrifice so well.
Since all the fullest sheaves which I could bring,
Since all were blasted in the offering,
Lest God should my next victim too despise,
The acceptable priest I'll sacrifice.
Hence coward fears; for the first blood so spilt,
As a reward, he the first city built.

'Twas a beginning generous and high,
Fit for a grand-child of the deity.
So well advanc'd, 'twas pity there he staid;
One step of glory more he should have made,
And to the utmost bounds of greatness gone;
Had Adam too been kill'd, he might have reign'd alone.
One brother's death what do I mean to name?
A small oblation to revenge and fame.
The mighty-soul'd Abimelech, to shew
What, for high place, a higher spirit can do,
An hecatomb almost of brethren slew;
And seventy times in nearest blood he dy'd,
To make it hold, his royal purple pride.
Why do I name the lordly creature, man?
The weak, the mild, the coward, woman, can,
When to a crown she cuts her sacred way,
All, that oppose, with manlike courage slay:
So Athaliah, when she saw her son,
And, with his life, her dearer greatness gone,
With a majestick fury slaughter'd all,
Whom high birth might to high pretences call;
Since he was dead, who all her power sustain'd,
Resolv'd to reign alone; resolv'd, and reign'd.
In vain her sex, in vain the laws withstood,
In vain the sacred plea of David's blood;
A noble and a bold contention! she,
One woman, undertook with destiny;
She to pluck down, destiny to uphold
(Oblig'd by holy oracles of old)
The great Jessæan race on Judah's throne,
Till 'twas at last an equal wager grown;
Scarce fate, with much ado, the better got by one.
Tell me not she herself at last was slain;
Did she not first seven years, a life-time, reign?
Seven royal years, t' a publick spirit, will seem
More than the private life of a Methusalem.
'Tis godlike to be great; and as, they say,
A thousand years, to God, are but a day;
So, to a man, when once a crown he wears,
The coronation-day's more than a thousand years.

He would have gone on, I perceived, in his blasphemies, but that, by God's grace, I became so bold as thus to interrupt him: I understand now perfectly, which I guessed at long before, what kind of angel and protector you are; and, though your stile in verse be very much mended, since you were wont to deliver oracles, yet your doctrine is much worse, than ever you had formerly (that I heard of) the face to publish; whether your long practice with mankind has increased and improved your malice, or whether you think us in this age to be grown so impudently wicked, that there needs no more art or disguises to draw us to your party. My dominion, said he hastily, and with a dreadful furious look, is so great in this world, and I am so powerful a monarch of it, that I need not be ashamed that you should know me; and, that you may see I know you too, I know you to be an obstinate and inveterate malignant, and for that reason I shall take you along with me to the next garison of ours; from whence you shall go to the Tower, and from thence to the court of justice, and from thence you know whither. I was almost in the very pounces of the great bird of prey,

When, lo! e'er the last words were fully spoke,
From a fair cloud, which rather ope'd, than broke,
A flash of light, rather than lightning, came;
So swift, and yet so gentle was the flame.
Upon it rode, and, in his full career,
Seem'd, to my eyes, no sooner there than here,
The comeliest youth of all th' angelick race;
Lovely his shape, ineffable his face;
The frowns, with which he struck the trembling fiend,
All smiles of human beauty did transcend.
His beams of locks fell, part dishevell'd down,
Part upwards curl'd, and form'd a nat'ral crown,
Such as the British monarchs us'd to wear;
If gold might be compar'd with angels hair;
His coat and flowing mantle were so bright,
They seem'd both made of woven silver light;
A-cross his breast an azure ruban went,
At which a medal hung, that did present,
In wond'rous, living figures, to the sight
The mystick champion's, and old dragon's fight;
And, from his mantle's side, there shone afar
A fix'd and, I believe, a real star.
In his fair hand (what need was there of more?)
No arms, but th' English bloody cross he bore;
Which when he tow'rds th' affrighted tyrant bent,
And some few words pronounc'd (but what they meant,
Or were, could not, alas! by me be known;
Only, I well perceiv'd, Jesus was one)
He trembled, and he roar'd, and fled away,
Mad to quit thus his more than hop'd-for prey.
Such rage inflames the wolf's wild heart and eyes
Robb'd, as he thinks, unjustly of his prize)
Whom unawares the shepherd spies, and draws
The bleating lamb from out his ravenous jaws;
The shepherd fain himself would he assail,
But fear above his hunger does prevail;
He knows his foe too strong, and must be gone;
He grins as he looks back, and howls as he goes on.

A RELATION

OF THE

True Funerals of the great Lord Marquis of Montrose,

HIS MAJESTY'S LORD HIGH COMMISSIONER, AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF HIS FORCES IN SCOTLAND;

With that of the renowned Knight, Sir William Hay of Delgity.

Printed in the Year 1661. *Quarto, containing twenty-four Pages.*

GOD Almighty's justice, and revenge of murder, is so frequently recorded by many famous Historians, that nothing shall be said here on that theme in general, lest I should grate on some, who, though subtle, have been surprised in their subtlety, while they devested themselves of christian maxims, to raise themselves, through human policy, by the ruin of the most eminent; and yet that their promised stability hath been over-turned, and their cut-out ways damped and overclouded with abysses and darkness. The briquals and returns of providence of this nature, discovered in our late unnatural civil war, are testimonies sufficient to convince and confound the most peremptory atheist of the eternal and immortal deity, that will suffer no wickedness, under what specious pretences soever of reformation or good causes to pass unpunished. I shall not mention those ambitious spirits, who grounded their proper advancement by overthrowing religion and law; how, I say, some of those vagabonds are exposed to shame and deserved obloquy. But the divine providence teacheth us to make this difference, that, when virtue and loyalty have groaned and suffered under tyranny and oppression, in the end they have been crowned with fame and admiration, as our dread sovereign and noble parliament would have it witnessed in the celebration of the great Marquis of Montrose's funerals, in the highest and most magnificent grandeur, to counterbalance the height of malicious invention exercised on him to the full. The particulars of the honourable ceremonies will, in true and exquisite heraldry, display the several dignities he had, either as a peer of the land, or charged with his majesty's service; so, in a proportionable manner, we shall shew the honour done to the memory of that renowned colonel, Sir William Hay of Delgity, who, suffering martyrdom with him in the same cause, ambitioned his funeral under the same infamous gibbet; prophetically, certainly, that he might participate with him the same honour at his first bodily resurrection. This his request was easily assented to by these monstrous leeches, whose greatest glory was to be drunk and riot in the blood of the most faithful subjects; nay, even some of those, whose profession should have preached mercy, belched out, that the good work went bonnily on, when the scaffold, or rather shambles, at the cross of Edinburgh, for the space of six weeks, was daily smoaking with the blood of the most valiant and loyal subjects. But we proceed to the funeral pomp, hoping that these glorious martyrs are praising and glorifying God, while we are amusing ourselves in this scantling transitory following description: From the abbey-church of Holy-rood House, to that of St. Giles in the High town, the funeral pomp was as followeth:

Two conductors in mourning, with black staves.

Twenty-five poor in gowns and hoods; the first of which went alone next to the conductors, carrying a gumpheon; the other twenty-four following two and two, carrying the arms of the house on long staves.

An open Trumpet, cloathed in a rich livery of the marquis's colours, carrying his arms on his banner.

Sir Harry Grahame, in compleat armour on horseback, carrying on the point of a lance the colours of the house; this noble gentleman accompanied his Excellency in all his good and bad fortunes, both at home and abroad.

Servants of friends in mourning, two and two.

The great Pincel, with his arms, carried by John Grahame of Douchrie, a renowned highland hector, and one who stuck peremptorily to the present Marquis of Montrose, in the last expedition under his Grace the Lord Commissioner; he is best known by the title of Tetrarch of Aberfoyl.

The great standard in colours, with his arms, carried by Thomas Grahame of Potento, a hopeful cadet, of the ancient family of Clarrisse.

An horse of war, with a great saddle and pistols, led by two lacquies in livery.

The Defunct's servants, two and two, in mourning.

An horse in state, with a rich foot-mantle, two lacquies in rich livery, and his parliament badges.

Four close Trumpets in mourning, carrying the Defunct's arms on their banners.

The great gumpheon of black taffety, carried on the point of a lance, by William Grahame the younger, of Duntrum, another sprightful cadet of the house of Clarrisse.

The great Pincel of mourning, carried by George Grahame the younger, of Cairnie, who, from his first entry to manhood, accompanied his chief in the wars.

The Defunct's friends, two and two, in mourning.

The great mourning banner, carried by George Grahame, of Inchbraky, the younger, whose youth-head only excused him from running the risques of his father.

The spurs, carried on the point of a lance, by Walter Grahame the elder, of Duntrum, a most honest royalist, and highly commended for his hospitality.

The gauntlets, carried by George Grahame, of Drums, on the point of a lance; a worthy person, well becoming his name.

The head-piece, by Mungo Grahame, of Gorthy, on the point of a lance; whose father had some time the honour to carry his Majesty's standard under his excellency: His great sufferings and forfeiture are enough to speak his actions and honesty.

The corslet, by George Grahame of Monzy, on the point of a lance; a brave young gentleman, whose father fell in his Majesty's service under the Defunct.

A banner all in mourning, by John Grahame of Balgown, who likewise hazarded both life and fortune with his chief.

The Lord Provost, bailiffs, and burgesses of Edinburgh, two and two, all in deep mourning.

The burgesses, members of parliament, in mourning, two and two.

The barons, members of parliament, two and two, in mourning.

The nobles in mourning, two and two.

Next followed the eight branches first of the mother's side.

Halyburton, Lord Dirleton, carried by William Halyburton of Bittergask.

Douglas, Earl of Angus, by Sir Robert Douglas of Blackerstoun, a most worthy person, and great sufferer for his constant adherence to his Majesty's interest.

Stuart, Lord Methuen, by Stuart, sheriff of Bute: It is to no purpose to commend their loyalty, for there can be no doubt of it, when the relation of their predecessors to his Majesty's progenitors is considered.

Ruthven of Gowrie, by William Ruthven, Baron of Gairnes, a gentleman of clear repute and honesty, suitable to his noble and valiant cousin the Earl of Forth and Brandford.

Next, on the father's side.

Keith Earl of Marshal, by Colonel George Keith, brother to the said earl, a noble gentleman, whose behaviour in his Majesty's service discovered him a worthy inheritor of his illustrious progenitors.

Fleming, Earl of Wigtoun, by Sir Robert Fleming, son to the said earl, a gallant soul, carved out for his king and country's service, as are all his family; witness his noble uncle Sir William Fleming.

Drummond Earl of Perth, by Sir James Drummond of Machiny, one whose fidelity to his king and country was never brought in question.

Grahame, Marquis of Montrose, by James Grahame, Baron of Orchel, whose life and fortune never caused him to scruple to advance the royal interest.

The arms of the Defunct in mourning by James Grahame of Bucklevy, son to the Baron of Fentry, a gentleman which nothing could ever startle from his Majesty's service; and that he was a favourite of the deceased, and accompanied his son in the late highland war, is sufficient to speak his praises.

An horse in close mourning, led by two lacquies in mourning.

Four close Trumpets in mourning, with the Defunct's arms on their banners.

Six pursuivants in mourning, with their coats displayed, two and two.

Six heralds with their coats, as followeth:

The first carrying an antick shield with the Defunct's arms on it.

The second carrying his crest.

The third his sword.

The fourth the target.

The fifth the scroll and motto.

The sixth his helmet.

Two secretaries, Mr. William Ord and Mr. Thomas Saintserf.

Then Dr. Middleton and his chaplain.

His parliament robes carried by James Grahame of Killern, a gentleman whose merit, as well as his birth, procured this noble employment.

The Generals batton, by Robert Grahame elder of Cairnie, a brave and bold gentleman, who, from the beginning of his chief's enterprises, never abandoned him, and one whose fortune endured all the mischiefs of fire and devastation.

The Order of the Garter by Patrick Grahame, Baron of Inchbraiky, elder, a person most eminent for his services upon all occasions, and the only companion of the Defunct when he went first to Athole, and published his Majesty's commission.

The Marquis's crown carried by Sir Robert Grahame of Morphy younger, a noble person, no less renowned for his affection to royalty than for his kindness and hospitality amongst his neighbour gentry.

The Purse carried by David Grahame, Baron of Fentry; This noble gentleman's predecessor was the son of the Lord Grahame, then head of the house of Montrose, who, upon a second marriage of king James the First's sister, begot the first Baron of Fentry, which in a male line hath continued to this baron; and, as their births were high, so their qualifications have, in every respect, been great; for, in all ages, since their rise, nothing unbecoming loyal subjects or persons of honour could be laid to their charge, and he who possesseth it now can claim as large a share as any of his ancestors.

Next before the corpse went Sir Alexander Durham, lion king of arms, with his Majesty's coat displayed, carrying in his hand the Defunct's coat of honour.

The corpse was carried by fourteen earls, viz.

The Earls of Mar, Morton, Eglington, Caithnes, Winton, Linlithgow, Hume, Tullibardine, Roxburgh, Seaforth, Kallender, Annandale, Dundee, and Aboyne.

The pale above the corpse was likewise sustained by twelve noblemen, viz. The Viscount of Stormont, Arburthnot, Kingstone, the Lords Stranaver, Kilmaurs, Montgomery, Coldinghame, Fleming, Gask, Drumlanerick, Sinclair and Macdonald.

Gentlemen appointed for relieving of those who carried the coffin under the pale.

Earls sons, sir John Keith, knight marshal, Robert Gordon, Alexander Livingston, Sir David Ogilvie, the Barons of Pitcur, Powrie, Fotheringhame, Cromlis, Abercairny, Ludwharne, Denholm, Mackintosh, Balmedie, Glorat, Cahoun, Braco, Craigie, Morphy, Bandoch elder and younger, and the ingenious Baron of Minorgan, and John Grahame of Creeky, who likewise accompanied the lord Marquis in his travels in France and Italy.

Next to the corpse went the Marquis of Montrose and his brother, as chief mourners, in hoods and long robes, carried up by two pages, with a gentleman bare-headed on every side.

Next to him followed nine of the nearest in blood, three and three, in hoods and long robes, carried up by pages, viz.

The Marquis of Douglas, the Earls of Marshal, Wigtoun, Southask, Lords of Drummond, Matherti, Naper, Rollo, and Baron of Luz, nephew to the Defunct.

Next to the deep mourners went my lord commissioner, his grace, in an open coach and six horses, all in deep mourning; six gentlemen of quality on every side of the coach, in deep mourning, bare-headed.

The corpse of Sir William Hay of Delgity followed in this order.

Captain George Hay, son to Sir John Hay, late clerk-register, carried the standard of honour.

William Ferguson of Badyfarrow, the Gumpheon.

Mr. John Hay, the Pinsel of honour.

Alexander Hay, the spurs and sword of honour.

Mr. Henry Hay, the croslet.

Mr. Andrew Hay, the gauntlets.

Next followed his four branches.

Hay, house of Arrol, carried by Alexander Hay.

Lesly, house of Balquhine, by George Lesly of Chapleton.

Forbes, of the house of Forbes, by Forbes of Lesly.

Hay of Delgity, by Robert Hay of Park.

Two close Trumpets in mourning.

Then the corpse garnished with escutcheons and epitaphs, attended by the Earl of Arrol, lord high constable of Scotland, the Earls of Buchan, Tweedale, Dumfrees, Kinghorn, the Viscount of Frendraught, the Lords Ray, Fraser, Foster, Mr. Robert Hay of Dronlaw, George Hay of Kinuinmouth, with a multitude of the name of Hay, and other relations.

As the good town of Edinburgh was never wanting to the celebration of loyal solemnities, so they appeared highly magnificent in this; for their trained bands, in gallant order ranged both sides of the streets betwixt the two churches; and, as the corpse of the great Montrose was laying in the grave of his grandfather, who was viceroy, they did nothing but fire excellent vollies of shot, which were answered with thundering of cannon from the castle; the same was done to the Baron of Delgity, as he was interring by his general's side. There were two things remarkable; the one, that, before the begining of the solemnity, there was nothing but stormy rains; but the corpse no sooner came out, but fair weather, with the countenance of the sun, appeared, and continued till all was finished, and then the clouds returned to their frowns, and the storm begun a-fresh. The other, it was observed, that the friends of both the deceased had wedding countenances, and their enemies were howling in dark corners, like owls. Some say, that there was then a kind of collective body, or sort of spiritual judicatory in town, that would not be present at the funeral, lest the bones of both should bleed.

Never funeral pomp was celebrated with so great jollity, neither was it any wonder, since we now enjoy a king, laws, liberty, and religion, which was the only cause that the deceased did so bravely fight for; and who would not be good subjects, since there is so great honour paid to their memories, when we see traitors, for their villainy, have their carcasses raised and hung upon gibbets, as was the late Cromwel and others? All that belonged to the body of this great hero was carefully recollected, only his heart, which, two days after the murder, in spite of the traitors, was, by the conveyance of some adventurous spirits appointed by that noble and honourable lady the Lady Napier, taken out and embalmed in the most costly manner, by that skilful surgeon and apothecary Mr. James Callender; then put in a rich box of gold, and sent by the same noble lady to the now lord marquis, who was then in Flanders.

The solemnities being ended, the lord commissioner, with the nobility and barons, had a most sumptuous supper and banquet at the Marquis of Montrose's house, with concerts of all sorts of musick.

Nothing here was wanting for compleating the solemnities, but the good old custom of a sermon, which (in regard of the true and excellent character of the great Montrose, given by that learned and ever loyal Dr. George Wishart, in his book *De Rebus Montis-ros.* &c.) was the more easily dispensed with, and indeed it is a sufficient monument to perpetuate his memory to eternity: However, because the book is in the language of the beast, which perhaps some will scruple at, and many not understand, for their satisfaction, I have glanced at the characters of these two noble and crowned martyrs. And, first, it is known, that he is head and chief of that most ancient and famous family of Grahame, called, in our old Scots language, the great Græm. The rise of the race is from that Græm so famous in history, father-in-law to Fergus the second, king of Scotland, from whom he received lands for his signal service, in demolishing the *Vallum Severi*, which, to this day, is known by the name of Græm's Dike, and is still in possession of the noble Marquis of Montrose. If the heroick actions of this late martyr could be more splendid by these of his ancestors, we could mention the valiant Grahame, who so often baffled the Danes, then masters of England, and Sir John the Grahame, who gave so much trouble to Edward King of England, who took occasion of the difference betwixt Bruce and Baliol, to invade our country's liberties. But these, and many other of that ancient race, I pass to hasten to our martyr; only this, his grandfather's memory is yet fresh for his great services to king and country, both as Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and viceroy of this kingdom; his father likewise, for his singular eminencies, both of body and mind, inferior to none, who, after he had acquitted himself most honourably of several royal ambassages, was, to the great loss of his country, taken away by untimely death. But, to pass much which might be said of the fame of his progenitors, I shall acquaint you with what I know myself (having followed him several years in his expeditions) and what I have learned from others of good name and credit. He was of a middle stature, and most exquisitely proportioned limbs; his hair of a light chesnut, his complexion betwixt pale and ruddy, his eye most penetrating, though inclining to grey; his nose rather aquiline than otherwise: As he was strong of body and limbs, so was he most agile, which made him excel most others in those exercises where these two are required: In riding the great horse, and making use of his arms, he came short of none; I never heard much of his delight in dancing, though his countenance, and other his bodily endowments, were equally fitting the court as the camp: In his younger days he travelled France and Italy, where he made it his work to pick up the best of their qualities necessary for a person of honour, having rendered himself perfect in the academies. His next delight was to improve his intellectuals, which he did, by allotting a proportionable time to reading, and conversing with learned men; yet still so, that he used his exercise as he might not forget it: He studied as much of the mathematicks as is required for a soldier; but his great study was to read men, and the actions of great men; thus he spent three years in France and Italy, and had surveyed the rarities of the east, if his domestick affairs had not obliged his return home, which chanced at the time the late rebellion began to peep out; the conspirators, knowing his great abilities, and the great esteem he had amongst the people, sought by all means to ensnare him with themselves, and so wrought in him a discontent, that, notwithstanding his grandfather's, his father's eminent services, together with his own merit so highly deserving, yet he had not the honour of being a counsellor: Besides, they knowing how good a patriot he was, they left not that string untouched, by persuading that his majesty intended to provinciate us, and to introduce popery; with which, and the like cunning forgeries borne in upon him by some setting &cs. kept on purpose for that use, they got him to associate in the cabal; but his generous soul, soon after his engagement, smoaked out their hypocrisies and rotten enterprises, and from that time, which was in the latter end of the year 1639, he abandoned them, and faced about to his allegiance, resolving to sacrifice all that was precious to him in his majesty's service; and accordingly discovered all the engines of the plot, the many circumstances of which must be left to the historians of the time. In the end of the year 1613, when a great party of our nation had been involved against the king of England, he, with the help of a thousand Irish, gave opportunity to the royal party to bestir themselves and join with him, with whom he established an army, more consisting in the valour, than number of the persons, as was seen in a year's space, in which he clearly gained six battles, where there fell 20,000 of the rebels. In the management of this service, though he had never been bred a soldier, yet he shewed admirable knowledge in the art of war; and, though he never confined himself to the practice of other nations, yet he never did any thing but with strong reason, his stratagems seldom missing of being successful; his vigilance and toil were so wonderful, that the enemy knew not where he was, till he was on them, and he again never ignorant of their place, strength, and condition. His fight was still on the plains, though the hills were advantageous to him, his cavalry not being the fourth part of the enemies, but all of gentlemen, particularly of the noble families of Gordon and Ogilvy. He shewed greatest chearfulness in his greatest extremities: If his infantry at any time scrupled the wading of little rivers, he was the first who dismounted to shew others the way, and this banished all repining: He accustomed himself to coarse feeding, and constant drinking of water; he knew they were still to be found, so that the want of delicacies should be no temptation to him to be weary of the service. He had many opportunities of large sums of money, but shunned the making use of them, knowing he could never enjoy both their hearts and purses, ever intimating to them that his majesty demanded nothing but the performance of their duty in point of allegiance. Indeed, the propagators of the good cause had a religious way to inrich themselves, by flaying to the very skin the royal party, whom they termed Egyptians. It was wonderful with what dexterity he kept his army intire, without pay or plunder; which behaviour of his did strangely undeceive the people, that neither his majesty nor his followers were such heathens, as they were held out to them by their black-mouthed juries: Nay, he was most happy in restoring fanatical enemies to their wits, either by convincing them of their erroneous course, or persuading them to join with him; and this was according to one of his own principles, viz. That a person in publick employment should rather court the people for his prince's interest, than his prince for his own. If this rule were exactly followed by all favourites, it would smother all dangerous heart-burnings, and contribute highly to secure the people's affections to their king. His vast knowledge in military and state affairs was admirable: He was pleasant and witty in conversation, with an affability in private becoming a comrade; scandalous and obscene wit durst not appear before him. In this sort he made war in Scotland against his majesty's enemies, for the space of eighteen months, bearing the trophies of six battles, with the defeat of six armies: And, no doubt, he had continued victorious, if the art of trepanning had not been prevalent: However, the slur he received at Philipshaugh was not the cut-throat of his majesty's army; for, through his enemy, he made way to his friends in the north, though far off, where his presence gave life to drooping spirits, and in a short time made up so considerable forces, as could give check to the insulting enemy: But his majesty, coming to Newcastle, put a period to that war. Here our hero was as conspicuous for his passive obedience, as either he or his noble ancestors were for their most deserving actions. His army he had so endeared to him, that they would have followed him upon any account; but, according to the commands received from his majesty, he capitulated nobly for these gentlemen who had accompanied him in the service; which capitulation was most sacredly and inviolably kept by that noble person who treated with him. The marquis, in obedience to his majesty's orders, went to attend the queen's commands at Paris, where he stayed for some time, casting about and designing in several nations, what was conducible for his majesty's recovery. At length, weary of delays, and impatient of action, he came to be surprised, as he was enterprising to come to his ancient friends, whose gallant behaviour in the former war had made both him and them so famous. I shall not speak of his barbarous usage, whilst he was prisoner, because they were countrymen, and pretended to be christians; but, as to himself, never martyr for the cause of Christ went with greater chearfulness to the fire, than he did embrace all the indignities put on him, and all without vanity or pageantry, as many are used to do on such occasions: His composedness and gravity can scarce be mentioned without Hyperbole's: When he was reviled, and the lye put upon him (by him whom Caledonius called the Athenian Hocus) he returned no other answer, than that he had heard him speak to better purpose at other times. He was frequent in his devotions and heavenly meditations; and, having reconciled himself with a true contrition to his gracious God, he advanced to finish his course with a courageous gravity, and pious modesty, as his glorious martyred master had done before; which carriage turned the hearts of his enemies, who came to insult at the butchery, and generally the barbarity of his usage was condemned by all; and truly it is to be regretted to think how some on the scaffold (especially a little Levite) laboured to discompose his soul by their horrid upbraidings and reproaches; but his unspeakable christian and mild behaviour shew, how firmly it was fixed in the state of grace. I shall say little more of this great martyr, than what was said of the reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, martyred on the same account, when a worthy knight was, in a contemptible, jeering way, demanded, what his epitaph should be, he answered, that, so long as St. Paul's church stood, and his book was preserved, he could neither want monument nor epitaph; so, I say, so long as his history is in being, and the heaps of stones which covered his enemies carcasses in Tipper-moor, Aberdeen, Ennerlochy, Aldern, Alford, and Kilsyth, are lasting, he can neither want the one nor the other; and that is so long as there is a summer to succeed the spring, and the celestial bodies to terminate their usual course.

A word now to the noble cavalier that accompanied him in the same fortunes, and with the same genius, though in a lesser sphere. He is descended of that ancient and noble family of the Earls of Arrol, chief of the name of Hay, lord high constable of Scotland hereditably. The establishment of this family is most famous in our old records and histories, their honours and estate were conferred by king Kenneth the third, on this occasion: The Danes, at a battle, had put to a disorderly retreat the Scots army, which one named Hay, with his three sons, being, as the story goes, at the plough, perceiving, stopped them at a narrow pass, and, what with threats, and what with other persuasive notions, animated them to rally, and to turn face, they going on with the foremost, with such arms as their plough, with its accoutrements, did furnish them, where they shewed such eminence of valour, in a most furious charge, that immediately victory attended them, with the total overthrow of the enemy: For which great action, the king gave to them a falcon's flight of the choicest land, ennobling them, and giving for their arms, in a field argent, three bloody shields, a falcon in crest, and two savages for supporters; the motto, *Servo Jugum.* This noble rise, being eight-hundred years ago, may well place them amongst the most honourable families in Europe, and thus for his extraction. Being the first cadet of this family, his youth-hood he spent in Germany, under the command of his uncle, the renowned Count Lesly, great chamberlain to the Emperor; but, hearing that his majesty was in war with his rebels, he shook off all expectations of preferment there, and came home with the tender of his service to his majesty, where first with the great Marquis of Montrose, and the valiant Lord Ogilvy, he gave many and singular proofs of his prowess in his majesty's service in England, till the affairs of Scotland drew him thither, in which service with his general, how eminent he was, his sufferings shew; he never disputed the command put on, though carrying never so many difficulties and dangers, which he always judiciously and hardily put in execution. His stature was much of the Marquis of Montrose's, but more square, of great bones, his limbs equally proportioned, of a very flaxen and bushy hair, his complexion rarely delicate, red and white well mixed, such as a lady would have, who would vie for beauty; of disposition affable, a stock of courage and liberality, becoming both a soldier and gentleman; his constancy, at his death, shews well he repented nothing he did, in order to his allegiance, and his majesty's service, to the great shame of those who threatened him with their apocryphal excommunications, to which he gave no more place, than our saviour to the devil's temptations. He was murdered the next day after his general, the lord marquis. Many other noble gentlemen's murders, in the same nature, I will not name at this time; yet I cannot pass that of John Spotswood, grandchild to the archbishop of St. Andrews, who died in exile, and nephew to the great Sir Robert Spotswood, butchered in the like manner. This young gentleman, on his knees, ready to lay his head on the block, had these self-same following words, 'O Lord, who hast been graciously pleased to bring me through the wilderness of this world, I trust at this time, thou wilt waft me over this sea of blood to thy heavenly Canaan.' To which heavenly ejaculation, a minister, standing by, replied, 'Take tent, take tent, sir, that you drown not by the gate;' an expression sufficient to have distracted an ordinary soul, but our christian martyr answered, 'He hoped he was no Egyptian;' which he delivered with such christian modesty, that the lout stole away in the crowd, being confounded. His uncle, Sir Robert, was no otherwise dealt with by another of the brethren, being on the scaffold at St. Andrews, for the same just cause: In his speech to the people, while he was recommending to them their duty and obedience to the king, especially so good a king, one interrupted him, and forbade the people to believe him, being the son of a false prophet, meaning that great light in the church, his father, the archbishop of the place. Hence may the people learn, if they ought to trust the doctrine of their allegiance to such ones, who drench themselves in the blood of the best subjects, whose fame and acts shall serve as examples of future loyalty, gallantry, and piety. And it is hoped that none will be so mad again, as to worship meteors, when God Almighty hath provided a shining sun, our lawful and dread sovereign, whom God long preserve. Amen, Amen.

Immortali veræ Nobilitatis, inæquandæ Magnanimitatis, incontaminati Honoris, and intemeratæ Fidelitatis, Magni Grami memoriæ Sacrum.

SI quis hic jacet quæris, Viator, Magnus hic est ille Montis-rosarum Marchio, generosi Genii suæ familiæ generosus hæres; qui virescentibus adhuc (licet annosis) Majorum suorum palmis, tot victrices contexuit lauros, ut si omnes Illi huic Uni an Unus hic Illis omnibus plus gloriæ contulerit scire sit nefas. Hic est Nobilis Ille Montis-rosarum Marchio; qui si prosapiâ an virtute illustrior, consilio an dexterâ promptior, aulæ an castris charior, principibus suis an exteris gratior, perduellionis malleus durior, an monarchiæ assertor acrior, fama an fortunâ clarior, in vitâ denique insignior, an in morte constantior exstiterit dictu difficile: Hic est, Viator, Magnus Ille Dux, ducum sui sæculi facilè princeps: Dux, qui cum peditum manipula (ne dicam excercitulo) penè inermi, victus et amictus inopè, causæ æquitati, ducis magnanimitati, et gladiis confiso suis, ingentes hostium acies armatas duodecim mensium (plus minus) spatio septies Vidit, Vicit, Delevit. Majora hæc Cæsaris Oculatâ victoriâ. Sed proh instabilem lubrici fati rotam! Qui arma, castra, oppida, turres, propugnacula, qui frigus, famem, sitim, inaccessa montium juga, immo omnia superare consueverat, tandem maligno fortunæ errore victus, nequissimè hostibus traditus, quid non passus! Protomartyris regis sui martyr pedissequus, plus quam barbaro inimicorum furori (nisi tam generoso sanguine implacabili) et effrænæ præstigiatorum Druidum insolentiæ victima oblatus, invictam malis exspiravit animam. Sic concidit Nobile illud diadematis fulcrum, sic occidit resplendens ille Caledoniæ

Phosphorus, sic occubuit Magnus ille Martis Alumnus, et cum illo mascula quæque superfœtantis Virtutis soboles, per obstetrices indigenas, ipsis Ægyptiis crudeliores, trucidata. Post undecennium ossa effodi, membra recolligi, et per Proceres et regni Comitia à Cœnobio regio S. Crucis per Metropolim summo cum splendore ad Ædes D. Ægidio sacris comitata, impensis suis regiis sub hoc Monumento magnifico cum Avo suo Nobili quondam Scotiæ pro rege sepeliri mandavit Augustissimus Regum CAROLUS II. imperio suo divinitus restitutus. Vale, Viator, et quisquis es, immensam serenissimi Principis erga suos pietatem, et Posthumum hunc Magni Grami pristinæ suæ gloriæ redivivi cole Triumphum.

J. E. Miles Philo-Gramus Po.

At the Funerals of the Lord Marquis of Montrose, 1661.

HERE reinterr'd Montrose lies, though not all,
As if too narrow were one funeral.
So Orpheus' corpse, discerp'd by wicked fury,
His friends Apollo and the muses bury.
That head, his enemies trophy, and their shame,
Which oft had been a Gorgon unto them;
The badge of their foul perfidy and pride,
When to their sovereign's view they own'd the dead;
Had scarce been three months mounted, whenas all
Like Cæsar under Pompey's statue fall:
Brought down by their own Alcis, and that sin,
Which like the sin of Nebat's son had been.
Ten years the land's debauch, religion's mock,
Drew on for ten years more a foreign yoke;
Till, by the revolution of heaven's face,
Montrose gets glory, and the land gets grace.
When after ages shall recount his worth,
And read his victories on Dee, Tay, Forth;
Atchievements noble of a loyal band
Upon a brainsick faction of the land:
His conduct, his submission to the crown,
T'advance arm'd or unarm'd, and lay arms down:
His scorn of lucre, care of keeping faith,
His matchless constancy in meeting death.
They'll doubt what epithets, great, generous
Suit best, or loyal, or magnanimous.
Whether more splendor to his name do bring,
His actings, or his suff'rings for his king.

W. D.

COME here and read varieties,
A man of contrarieties
Most loyal to his king, although
A traitor to the kingdom: So
His country-men he still oppress'd:

Yet still his Prince's wrongs redress'd.
He did invade his native land,
Yet wanted ne'er his king's command:
His country-men he fought, he kill'd,
Yet ne'er but traitors blood he spill'd,
He scourg'd the land, did tyrannise,
Yet only rebels did chastise.
He caus'd the subjects liberties,
Advanc'd the king's prerogatives;
Our edicts he did still neglect,
Th' ancient laws he did respect;
An apostate he branded was,
Yet still maintain'd the good old cause:
He lik'd not well our church's form,
Yet to the scriptures did conform.
He's excommunicate, and why?
He sinn'd too much in loyalty.
He dies a rebel to the crown,
Yet for the king his life lays down:
He's punish'd as a murtherer,
Yet's hang'd a valiant martyr:
His courage here was sole Roman,
His imitation's Christian.
Our wits consult him how to shame
And yet our wits procure his fame:
Alive and dead thus he doth prove
The equal but of hate and love.
Expect not here, in things complext,
That mid-mouth'd distinction 'twixt
True and false: And such like moe,
'Twixt really and deemed so:
To reconcile thy doubts. Attend
Till our posterity shall lend
Their sense upon the matter; so
The mother then shall let thee know
The daughter, polish'd fair and clear
From errors. Then perhaps you'll hear
Them say, His life's his country's fame,
His usage and his death their shame.

$$\textit{Hunc}\left\{\begin{matrix}\textit{fur}\\ \textit{am}\end{matrix}\right\}\textit{or immanis reg-}\left\{\begin{matrix}\textit{ni jugula}\\ \textit{is sepeli}\end{matrix}\right\}\textit{vit aperte.}$$

$$\textit{Huic}\left\{\begin{matrix}\textit{fur}\\ \textit{am}\end{matrix}\right\}\textit{or immanis reg-}\left\{\begin{matrix}\textit{ni}\\ \textit{is}\end{matrix}\right\}\textit{dat}\left\{\begin{matrix}\textit{Golgotha Furcam.}\\ \textit{Funera Tumbam.}\end{matrix}\right.$$

φιλώρανθος.

IN vain thou looks that I should show,
Whose ashes here doth sleep below:
For, if thou wouldst acquainted be
With his great parts and virtues high,

Consult with after-times, they'll tell
What we delight not to reveal.
Our off-spring will the truth discover,
Where we took pains the truth to smother:
Advise with times-recorder: Come,
He'll give you reasons why we're dumb;
My prince bids me but only say,
Montrose's bones we here did lay;
The pious dust forbids me breath
Aught of his usage or his death,
Lest sober infidels should spy
Our church's weakness, and deny
The gospel for our sakes, and cry,
'His death's his country's obloquy.'

On the great Montrose.

SERAPHIC Soul, what heavenly powers combine
To re-inter these sacred bones of thine?
Thy glorious relicts, by malice bonds detain'd
In silent grave, will no more be restrain'd,
But must appear in triumph, glad to see
The blessed year of Britons jubilee:
Should there a Phœnix from thy ashes rise,
Would not all nations it idolatrise?
Thy noble stem and high extraction
Was beautified with such perfection,
As makes thee still to be thy nation's glory,
Europe's great wonder, stately theme of story:
Thy valorous actings far transcend the praise
Of tongues or pens, or these my rural lays;
Therefore I must so high a subject leave,
And what I cannot speak, or write, conceive.

Mr. John Chalmers.

A Reflection on the first and second Funerals of the great Montrose.

AMAZED with these glorious shews, I find
A crowd of fancies struggling in my mind;
Staggering me in a doubt, which will be chief,
A grievous joy or a rejoicing grief.
While I behold the trophies of thy worth,
With all this joy and splendor now set forth;
And hear thy name, perfumed by the state,
With titles of so loyal and so great;
And see pure honour in so lofty strains,
Hov'ring above thy late disdain'd remains.
Thy parboil'd parched head, and thy dry bones,
Courted by Mars and Pallas both at once.

Thy conquering palm with loading higher rise,
And, in the treasury of thy growing praise,
Each cast his mite: And here thy en'mies cry
Hosanna now for their late Crucify.
To see thy friends their honour yet retain,
Rearing thy trophies with triumphant train:
This over treason adds a victory more,
A seventh conquest to the six before.
To see thy torments travelling with thy praise,
And thy herse crowned with thy conquering bays:
To see thy pains, thy infamy, thy death,
Give life to loyalty, to honour breath;
That after thee these virtues may revive,
And in thy glorious issue ever live.
These do commence our joys, these expiate
Our former crimes, although they came too late.
And yet our griefs from that same fountain spring,
He's dead, for whom our jovial ecchoes ring.
He's dead, the shame of all our British story.
He's dead, the grace of all our Scottish glory.
Valour's great Mimon, the true antidote
Of all disgrace that e'er defam'd a Scot.
The flower and Phœnix of a loyal stem,
In Charles's crown the most illustrious gem.
And yet this gem is broke, this Phœnix dead,
This glory buried, Mimon murdered.
A sight would made, had he been there to see't,
Argus with all his eyes turn Heraclit:
Would metamorphos'd Mars to Niobe,
And turn'd the world all but to one great eye,
To have delug'd that ghastly rueful place
Where Albion's faith, and honour, buried was:
A place which ever wise posterity
Shall stile, hereafter, second Calvary.
It was no dint of steel, nor force of arms,
Nor traitors plots that did procure his harms.
To encounter and to conquer, all did see,
Was one to him; at his nativity,
He had Mars in the ascendant, whose bright flame
Made mighty nations tremble at his name.
Valour with valour, force with force controul
He then, he only could: But's loyal soul
To be a willing victim thought it meet,
While monarchy lay bleeding at his feet;
For, seeing Charles first run that sad disaster,
In that same cup he pledg'd his royal master.
And now, and not till now, that loyal spirit
Hath got the honour due unto his merit.
But since a schedule will not quit the score,
Fit for great volumes; here I'll give it o'er.

Too mean a tribute of a slow-pac'd verse
Is the affectory to so great a herse.
Or he or heav'n must make the epitaph,
That will be fit for such a noble grave.
He did; and, after the solemnity,
Ev'n heav'n itself did weep his elegy.

Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori.

IN patriam, regem, legis ceu perfidus hostis
  Pro patriâ, rege, & legibus occubui;
Legibus antiquis patriæ regique fidelis,
  A patriâ, rege, & legibus intumulor.

Go, passenger, persuade the world to trust,
Thou saw intomb'd the great Montrose's dust:
But tell not that he dy'd, nor how, nor why?
Dissuade them in the truth of this to pry:
Befriend us more, and let them ne'er proclaim
Our nobles weakness, and our country's shame.

The noble ashes here shall only tell
That they were buried, not how they fell;
For faithful patriots should ne'er proclaim
Such acts as do procure their country's shame.

Let it content thee, passenger, that I
Can tell thee here intomb'd my bones do lie.
Do not enquire if e'er I died, or why?
Speak nought of cruel rage, hate, or envy,
Learn only this, 'tis malice to reveal
Our country's shame, but duty to conceal.

SEMPER IIDEM:

OR,

A PARALLEL BETWIXT THE ANCIENT AND MODERN FANATICKS.

1 Tim. iv. 1.

In the latter Times, some shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits, and Doctrines of Devils.

London: Printed for Richard Lownds, at the White Lion, in St. Paul's Church
Yard, over-against the little North-Door, 1661.

Quarto, containing twenty-four Pages.

TO THE READER.

After the great disturbance, which the Fanaticks gave the City of London, and other parts of this Kingdom, in January, 1660, and the reading their pernicious pamphlet, intitled, 'A Door of Hope; or, A Call and Declaration for the Gathering together of the first ripe Fruits unto the Standard of our Lord King Jesus:' I began to reflect upon what I had many years since read, touching their predecessors, in our histories and chronicles; and, upon a re-perusal of them, I found much of what the worst of our modern Fanaticks have, in these late days, acted and attempted, to be strangely copied out to their hand, by their brethren in the former age; and this, for the most part, in so exact a parallel of particulars, persons and circumstances, that I thought the publication of some of those histories in brief, with the tragical ends, which those sectaries received, as a just reward of their impiety and treason, might, if not deter the remnant of them, from holding such blasphemous opinions towards God, or ever attempting such treasons against the king, yet, at least, confirm good Christians, in a settled religion towards the one, and encourage good subjects in a perfect loyalty to the other.

IN the year 1414, Henry the Fifth, king of England, keeping his Christmas, saith Stow, at his mannor of Eltham, seven miles from London, received notice, that certain persons had conspired to have taken, or suddenly slain him, and his brethren, on the twelfth-day at night; to wit, Sir John Oldcastle, Sir Roger Acton, and others; whereupon he sent to the mayor of London to arrest all such suspicious persons, &c. and removed himself privately to Westminster, went into St. Giles's-fields at midnight, where divers were taken, &c. and, on the twelfth of January, sixty-nine of them were condemned of treason at Westminster; of which, on the morrow, thirty-seven of them were hanged in St. Giles's-fields, &c. And, shortly after, Sir Roger Acton was apprehended, and, on the tenth of February, drawn, hanged, and buried under the gallows.

Sir John Oldcastle, some three years after, was taken by chance in the territory of the Lord Powis, in the borders of Wales, not without danger and hurt to some that took him; nor could he himself be laid hold on before he was wounded, and was so brought up to London in a litter during the parliament, and there examined, indicted, &c. To which, he having made a resolute answer, was, for the aforesaid treason and other conspiracies, condemned to be drawn, and hanged upon a gallows, as a traitor, and to be burnt, as an heretick, hanging upon the same; which judgment was executed upon him on the fourteenth of December, in St. Giles's-fields; where many honourable persons being present, the last words he spoke were to Sir Thomas Copingham, adjuring him, That, if he saw him rise from death to life again the third day, he would procure, that his sect might be in peace.

Tanta prædictus fuit dementia, says Walsingham, *ut putaret se post triduum a morte resurrecturum.* This Oldcastle was grown so great a Fanatick, that he persuaded himself, he should rise again the third day, as another saviour of his sectaries.

Now, if you would know of what particular sect these two rebel knights, and their adherents were, our chronologers will tell you, they were (according to the appellation of those times) Lollards, or Wickliffians, which may also be gathered from Mr. Fox's Acts and Monuments, where he says, his martyrs were, in some places, called, poor people of Lions; in other places, Lollards; in others, Turrelupins and Chagnards, but most commonly Waldois. And, in another place, he represents the picture of the burning and hanging of divers persons counted for Lollards in Henry the Fifth's time, which were of this gang, that is, all really Fanaticks, as plainly appears by their being all guided by the same fantastical spirit.

Mr. Fuller (arguing the case of this Sir John, whether innocent or nocent, a saint or a heretick) at last resolves thus: The records of the Tower and acts of parliament, wherein he was solemnly condemned for a traitor, as well as heretick, challenge belief.—Let Mr. Fox therefore be his compurgator, I dare not. Thus Mr. Fuller, a frank ingenious pen.

The Lollards were so called, from one Walter Lollard, a German, the first author of this sect, who lived about the year 1315, and was infected with divers errors and heresies, which yet did not get much footing in Christendom, till such time as John Wickliff, curate of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, about the year 1380, did espouse their tenets, and augment their number; of whom Dr. Heylin, in his learned Certamen Epistolare, says thus, Though he held many points against those of Rome, yet had his field more tares than wheat; and that, amongst many other errors, he maintained these:

1. That the sacrament of the altar is nothing else but a piece of bread.
2. That priests have no more authority to administer sacraments than laymen.
3. That all things ought to be in common.
4. That it is as lawful to christen a child in a tub of water at home, or in a ditch by the way, as in a font-stone in the church.
5. That it is as lawful at all times to confess unto a layman as to a priest.
6. That it is not necessary or profitable to have any church or chapel to pray, or perform divine service in.
7. That buryings in the churchyard are unprofitable and vain.
8. That holydays instituted by the church are not to be observed and kept in reverence, inasmuch as all days are alike.
9. That it is sufficient to believe, though a man do no good works at all.
10. That no human laws or constitutions do oblige a christian.
11. That God never gave grace or knowledge to a great person or rich man, and that they in no wise follow the same.

To these other authors add that he held:

12. That any layman may preach by his own authority, without license of the ordinary:
13. That the infant, though he die unbaptised, is saved, &c.
14. That all sins are not abolished by baptism.

Mr. Fuller, in his church-history, Lib. iv, P. 129, says in the margin, Wickliff guilty of many errors; and proceeds to enumerate, as well the abovementioned, as many more wherewith he stood charged, and was condemned by the council of Constance, in those times the supreme spiritual authority in the world.

Who sees not, amongst these, the principal tenets of our Anabaptists, Fifth-monarchymen, Levellers, and Quakers, now branched out from that seminary into particular sects? And that neither these Lollards nor Wickliffians were ever held for true protestants, appears by this, that the oath which every sheriff of England took at the entering into that office, as well in the time of Queen Elisabeth and King James, as of the late King Charles of blessed memory, had this express clause in it, That he should seek to suppress all errors and heresies, commonly called Lollaries, and should be assistant to the commissaries and ordinary in church matters.

In the year 1428, father Abraham, a poor old man of Colchester, with John Waddon and William White, apostate priests and Wickliffians, were condemned and burnt for their heresies under King Henry the Sixth.

In the year 1535, the twenty-seventh of Henry the Eighth, twenty-five Hereticks were examined in St. Paul's Church, London; whose opinions were, 1. That in Christ are not two natures. 2. That Christ neither took flesh nor blood of the Virgin Mary. 3. That children born of infidels shall be saved. 4. That baptism of children is to no effect. 5. That the sacrament of Christ's body is but bread only. 6. That whosoever sinneth wittingly, after baptism, sinneth deadly and cannot be saved. Fourteen of these were condemned of obstinate heresy; a man and a woman of them were burnt in Smithfield, the other twelve were sent to other towns to be burnt.

In the year 1538, the thirtieth of Henry the Eighth, four Anabaptists, three men and one woman, bore faggots at Paul's Cross, and soon after a man and a woman were burnt in Smithfield, for denying, That children ought to be baptised of necessity, or, if they were, then that they must be baptised again, when they come to age.

In the same year, John Lambert, alias Nicholson, a priest of Norfolk, fled out of England and became a Zwinglian, of whom thus Mr. Fox: Forasmuch as priests in those days could not be permitted to have wives, Lambert left his priesthood, and applied himself to the function of teaching, intending shortly after to be free of the grossers, and to marry, &c.

After his return into England, he was accused of Zwinglianism, by Dr. Taylor: A man, saith Fox, in those days not much disagreeing from the gospel. Lambert appealed to King Henry the Eighth, as head of the church, who favourably consented to hear him at a day appointed, in Westminster-Hall; where the king, Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Barnes, with divers other bishops, and many of the nobility and king's council, were present: The chief article against him, then insisted upon, was the real presence in the sacrament, though he held several other tenets of Wickliff, as, That all Christian men were priests, that lay-men might preach, &c. And, after much time spent in hearing what he could say, the king at last asked him positively, 'Dost thou say it is the body of Christ, or wilt thou deny it?' After some evasions, Lambert said at last, 'I deny it to be the body of Christ.' 'Mark well, said the king, for now thou shalt be condemned by Christ's own words; *Hoc est corpus meum;* This is my body.'

After this, the king offered him pardon, if he would renounce his opinions; but, Lambert refusing, the king said, 'Then thou must die, for I will not be a patron of Hereticks;' and so commanded the Lord Cromwell to read the sentence of condemnation against him, which he did out of a schedule, and Lambert was accordingly burnt in Smithfield, Anno 1538.

This Cromwell, says Mr. Fox, was at that time the chief friend of the gospellers; and here is much to be marvelled at, to see how unfortunately it came to pass in this matter, that Satan did here perform the condemnation of Lambert, by no other ministers than the gospellers themselves, Cranmer, Cromwell, Dr. Taylor, and Barnes.

In the year 1539, 31 Hen. VIII, one Mandevil, Collins, and another, all Anabaptists, were examined in St. Margaret's church, and, being condemned, were, on the third of May, burnt in the highway, between Southwark and Newington.

In the year 1549, and third of Edward the Sixth, Archbishop Cranmer, with other bishops and doctors his assistants, condemned certain Anabaptists, whereof some recanted, and bore faggots at Paul's cross, and Colchester, &c.

In the year 1555, 3 Philip and Mary, William Flower, of Snowhill in Cambridgeshire, a professed Monk and Priest in the Abbey of Ely, left his order, took a wife, and turned Wickliffian, and, on Christmas-day, in the same year, being possessed with an high fanatick spirit, went to Westminster, where finding a priest, called John Cheltham, administering the sacrament of the Lord's supper to the people in St. Margaret's church, and being moved by God's spirit, as he said, he pulled out his whiniard, or wood-knife, which he wore by his side, and grievously wounded the said priest in divers places, both of his head, arm, and hand; and, in all likelihood, would have slain him, if the people had not interposed and apprehended him.

This impious sectary did afterwards, as Mr. Fox relates, say in Newgate, I cannot express with my mouth the great mercies that God hath shewed on me in this thing, which I repent not; and that he was compelled to it by the spirit, &c. and sure of his salvation. For this most barbarous act, and most intolerable disturbance of the way then established, he was condemned and burnt: Yet Mr. Fox unwarily (to say no worse) concludeth, Thus endured this constant witness and faithful servant of God, William Flower, the extremity of the fire, &c.

In the same year 1555, Thomas Iveson, a carpenter, was condemned and burnt, for holding, among other Anabaptistical opinions, That the sacrament of baptism is a sign and token of Christ, as circumcision was, and no otherwise; and believed, that his sins were not washed away thereby, but his body only washed, for his sins are washed away only by Christ's blood. And, concerning the holy communion, he believed it to be a very idol, and detestable before God; and that all ceremonies used in the church, were superstitious and naught, &c.

Cornelius Bungay, a capper of Coventry, was also burnt in that city, for the same opinions, that Iveson held, saving, that for the most part each Fanatick held somewhat peculiar to his own fancy.

John Maundrel, of Kevel in Wiltshire cowherd, was, in the year 1556, and fourth of Queen Mary, condemned by the Bishop of Salisbury, and burnt for divers heretical opinions obstinately held by him, who also did frequently disturb his parish priest, whilst he was officiating in the church, as our modern Fanaticks now do, and just as they have a trick, to give nick-names to what they dislike, as steeple-house to the church, rag of popery to the surplice, grumbling pipes to the organs, &c. and think they have sufficiently confuted them; so was this malapert cowherd wont to call purgatory, the pope's pinfold, and never looked for any further confutation.

John Tankerfield the cook, the twenty-sixth of August, 1555, being in the Cross Keys Inn, at St. Albans, preparing himself to be burnt for obstinacy in heretical opinions, demanded of the winedrawer a pint of malmsey and a loaf, to celebrate the communion to himself, before he died, &c. and having drunk up the wine, and eaten the bread, went to the place of execution, courageously: Saying, 'I defy the whore of Babylon, I defy the whore of Babylon, fie on that abominable idol.' And with this (says Mr. Fox), he ended his martyrdom, and fell a-sleep in the Lord.

In the year 1557, William Bongiar, glasier, Thomas Bennold, tallow-chandler, and Robert Purchas, fuller, were burnt at Colchester in Essex, as well for affirming, that the sacrament of the Lord's supper was so far from being the holier, that it was rather the worse, for consecration; as for other fanatical opinions.

George Eagles, sirnamed, Trudge over the world, who, of a taylor, became a tub-preacher, was indicted of treason for assembling companies together, contrary to the laws of the land, &c. And for praying, that God would turn Queen Mary's heart, or take her away. For which treason, he was drawn, hanged, and quartered at Chelmsford in Essex, in the year 1557, and fifth of Queen Mary; this rebel Fanatick Mr. Fox is pleased, in one place, to call a blessed martyr of Christ; and in another, a most painful traveller in Christ's gospel.

Hugh Latimer, says Mr. Fox, was the son of Hugh Latimer, of Thringston, in the County of Leicester, a husbandman of right good estimation; at fourteen years old, he was sent to Cambridge, where, for a time, he was a zealous papist, &c. But, being affected with novelties, he began to seek occasions in his preachings, and other actions, to utter the same, scoffing at the rites and ceremonies of the church, and carping at clergymen's lives, wherein he had a singular talent. Wherefore, going up, says Mr. Fox, into the pulpit of St. Edward's church in Cambridge, upon the sunday before Christmas-day, Ann. 1529, he made a sermon of playing at cards, wherein he taught his audience, how to play at Triumph, how to deal the cards, and what every sort did signify, and that the heart was the Triumph, adding, moreover, such praises of that card, when it was Triumph, that, tho' it were never so small, yet would it take up the best court card besides, in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs himself, &c. which handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied by him, that it not only declared a singular towardness of wit, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of perfect religion. He took occasion, under this disguise in this sermon, to inveigh bitterly against the religion then established, and compared the bishops and prelates to the knaves of clubs.

He did so delight and bewitch the vulgar people, with jests and wantonness of speech, that the boys would follow him, and call him, Father Latimer, and apostle of England.

He would often, in the pulpit, play upon the words, Pascere and Massere, which rhyme as well as Oliver's Mumpsimus and Sumpsimus, complaining greatly, that Massere had driven out Pascere, and that Pascere could have no place for Massere, for that Massere was gainful, and Pascere was painful: And then he could cry out, and say, O good Pascere, who shall defend thee against Massere?—With other such like stuff, fitter for a stage, than a pulpit; yet this drew the people infinitely after him, as all buffoonry is wont to do.

This Hugh had been, several times, accused for preaching heresy and sedition, especially, after the coming forth of the statute of six articles, Ann. 1540, and did as often recant and abjure his opinions, but was, at last, deprived of his bishoprick of Worcester, by King Henry the Eighth, and sent prisoner to the Tower. But, after that king's death, he was released; and, in King Edward's days, at the instigation of the then protector, he publickly accused Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord High Admiral, of treason, in a sermon at Oxford, by means whereof, Sir Thomas was condemned in parliament, and executed the twentieth of March, 1549.

When Queen Mary came to the crown, it was thought fit, in respect of the great mischief Hugh had done, by his licentious tongue, in King Edward's days, and seditious behaviour against the queen's entrance, to call him, with Archbishop Cranmer, and Nicholas Ridley, to a more strict account; and, after many conferences and examinations had, before Dr. White, Bishop of Lincoln, Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, and other commissioners, and many arguments and exhortations made to them, to recant their errors, principally those of Wickliff, yet they remained obstinate, and were burnt together, at Oxford, the sixteenth of October, 1555, each of them making use of gunpowder, to dispatch himself quickly as Mr. Fox observes.

Alexander Gouch, a weaver of shredded coverlets, being in the year 1558, and last of Queen Mary, taken in a hay-loft at Grosborow in Suffolk, with Alice Driver, the wife of a neighbouring husbandman, where she was holding forth to him, for Gouch was her disciple, were carried prisoners to Ipswich; and afterwards, being brought to the assizes at Bury, Alice Driver, upon her examination, compared Queen Mary then reigning, to Jezabel, for which her ears were cut off. And, upon her examination by Doctor Spencer, chancellor to the Bishop of Norwich, and others, she told them, They were not able to resist the spirit of God, which was in her; and when they spoke of the blessed sacrament, and insisted upon the authority of the church, she demanded, Where they found the word church written in the scriptures, and said positively, she never read, nor heard, of any such sacrament there. For which, with other fanatical opinions, obstinately defended by her, and Gouch her mate, they were both burnt at Ipswich, in November, 1558.

John Tewksbury, a leather-seller of London, being infected with reading Tyndal's seditious books, especially, that intituled, the Wicked Mammon, which contained little else, but an odious invective against the bishops and prelates of the church, grew to be so obstinate in his opinions, that he was examined in open consistory, before Tunstal Bishop of London, upon divers articles: As,

1. That the devil holds our hearts so hard, that it is impossible to consent to God's law.
2. That every one is lord of whatsoever another man hath.
3. That the Jews, of good intent and zeal, put Christ to death.
4. That Christ, with all his works, did not deserve heaven.
5. We are damned by nature, as a toad is a toad by nature, &c.

Though he then maintained these with other errors, yet, the next session, he submitted himself; and in May, 1529, abjured his opinions; but, soon after, he returned to his vomit and was burnt in Smithfield, in December next following.

Thomas Hawks, serving-man of Essex, a notorious anabaptist, was convened before Bonner, Bishop of London, his ordinary, as for other errors, so chiefly, for not permitting his young child to be baptised; he obstinately defended his child to be in no danger, if it should die without baptism: I say, saith he, as St. Peter saith, 1 Pet. iii. 'Not the washing of water purgeth the filthiness of the flesh, but a good conscience consenting unto God.' For which obstinacy, he was burnt at Coxhall in Essex, in the year 1555, and second of queen Mary.

Richard Woodman, of Warbleton in Sussex, ironmonger, being examined by Dr. Christopherson, Bishop of Chichester, and other doctors, upon divers articles; Woodman affirmed positively, that he, forsooth, was sure, he had the Spirit of God, and can prove by places enough, saith he, that Paul had the Spirit of God, as I myself and all God's elect have. No arguments, nor reason, could reclaim him from his errors, so that he was burnt at Lewes, in June, 1557.

In the year 1575, and seventeenth of queen Elisabeth's reign, the third of April, twenty-seven heretricks were condemned by the

Bishop of London and his assistants, for holding with the old catharites, and new anabaptists.

1. That Christ took not flesh of the substance of the blessed Virgin Mary.
2. That infants of the faithful ought not to be baptised.
3. That it was not lawful for a christian to take an oath.
4. And that no christian may be a magistrate, or bear the sword, and the like.

Whereof four only did recant, and bore faggots at Paul's Cross, in sign of burning, if they had persevered obstinately in the same opinions.

The twelfth of June the same year, five persons were condemned in St. Paul's Church by the bishops and clergy, for being of the sect of the 'Family of Love,' who escaped death by recanting that heresy at Paul's Cross, and detesting the author thereof, Henry Nicholas, and all his errors.

The seventeenth of September, 1583, and in the twenty-sixth year of the said queen, John Lewis, who named himself Abdoit, an obstinate Arian heretick, for denying the Godhead of Christ, and holding other detestable heresies, was burnt at Norwich. And, in the year 1589, and thirty-first of the said queen, one Francis Kett, a Master of Arts, born at Wymondham in Norfolk, was condemned by Edmund, Bishop of Norwich, for holding divers detestable opinions against Christ our Saviour, and was burnt near the city of Norwich.

The sixteenth of July, 1591, and thirty-third of Elisabeth, Edmund Coppinger and Henry Arthington, says Stow, repaired to one Walker's house near Broken-wharf, London; where, conferring with one of their sect, called William Hacket, of Oundle, in Northamptonshire, they offered to anoint him King; but Hacket, taking Coppinger by the hand, said, 'You shall not need to anoint me, for I have been already anointed in heaven by the Holy Ghost himself.' Then Coppinger asked him, 'What his pleasure was to be done?' 'Go your way both,' said he, 'and tell them in the city, that Christ Jesus is come with his fan in his hand, to judge the earth; and, if any man ask where he is, tell him, he lies at Walker's house; and, if they will not believe it, let them come and kill me, if they can, for, as truly as Christ Jesus is in heaven, so truly is he come to judge the world.' Coppinger said it should be done forthwith, thereupon went forward, and Arthington followed: But, before he could get down stairs, they had begun below in the house to proclaim news from heaven of exceeding great mercy, that Christ Jesus was come, &c. They both cried, 'Repent, England, repent,' as they passed along the streets; and being arrived in Cheapside, with a great concourse of people following them, they got up into an empty cart, where they read out of a paper, 'How Hacket represented Christ by partaking a part of his glorified body by his principal Spirit, and by the office of severing the good from the bad with the fan in his hand, and of establishing the gospel in Europe; telling the people also where he remained, 'that they were two prophets, the one of mercy, the other of judgment, sent, and extraordinarily called by God to assist him in this great work, and were witnesses of these things,' &c.

But Hacket, being apprehended, was brought to the sessions'-house in the Old-Bailey, where, for his said mad pranks, for irreverent speeches against her majesty, and for maliciously thrusting an iron instrument into the queen's picture, he had judgment, and, on the twenty-eighth of July, he was drawn from Newgate to Cheapside, all the way crying out, sometimes Jehovah, Messias, Jehovah, Messias; at other times, saying, 'Look, look how the heavens open wide, and the Son of God comes down to deliver me.' When he came under the gibbet, near the Cross in Cheapside, he was exhorted to ask God and the queen forgiveness; but, instead thereof, he fell to cursing her, and began a most blasphemous and execrable prayer against the Divine Majesty of God. They had much ado to get him up the ladder, where he was hanged, and after bowelled and quartered.

The next day, being the twenty-ninth of July, Coppinger, having wilfully abstained from sustenance, as was said, died in Bridewell, and Arthington was long reserved in the Compter of Wood-street, in hope of his repentance.

This Arthington, during his imprisonment, wrote a book, intituled, 'The Seduction of Henry Arthington by Hacket, in the year 1592,' and dedicated it to the Lords of her Majesty's Council; in which he discourses of two Spirits that he had, the first from the time of his being a protestant, to the death of Hacket; the second from that time forward. His first Spirit he assured himself to be of the Holy Ghost, for that it was founded in the hatred of papists and papistry, whom he held for traitors; it moved him to follow sermons, and particular fasts and exercises; and, besides, he felt himself possessed, to use his own words, with a burning heat within him, and his love and affection greatly placed towards the preaching ministry, &c.

Thus he describeth his first Spirit, which induced him by little and little to join with Hacket and Coppinger, and at last, to believe the one to be Christ, the other a prophet, as you have heard.

Of his other Spirit he discourseth thus, I certainly knew myself to be reserved for salvation in Christ; yea, I did expostulate with God's merciful Majesty, after my fall with Hacket, whether I was a reprobate or no, and presently the Holy Ghost did assure my heart, that I was no reprobate, but that my case, in effect, was much like St. Paul's, &c. I was assured of my Spirit by these tokens following: 1. By experience of God's providence in still preserving me. 2. For that God hath sent his Spirit into my heart to cry, *Abba Father*. 3. For that God doth still increase my faith. 4. In that I knew my faith to be founded in the fruits of God's Spirit, &c.

This last Spirit he knew to be of God, the other of Satan;

which before he thought to be as much of God as this; and, in truth, he had as much assurance of the one as the other, but only by the mad persuasion of his own frantick brain. You may read more of these three grand Sectaries in an old book, intituled, *Conspiracy of pretended Reformation.*

Many other examples might be collected out of our historians of this fanatick spirit in former times, which never, till our late horrid rebellion, and anarchical confusion in government, was permitted to grow to so great a head. And from the consideration of these, which have, for the most part, been gathered out of Mr. Fox's Acts and Monuments, we may justly charge that author with a great double injury: The first and principal, in canonising a great number of apparent fanaticks and sectaries into the list of protestant saints and martyrs; it being evident to every impartial reader, even by Mr. Fox's own relations, that a very notable part of his sufferers were such; and, if the records of those times were extant, and the examinations of those ancienter fanaticks freely perused, without question a far greater number of such mad saints might be discovered amongst them: Which I am so much the more inclined to believe on the authority of a learned writer, who lived very near those days, and thus expresses their character: They were drunk, says he, with the pride of heresy, and put out of their right senses by the frenzy thereof. Which is just the periphrasis of a fanatick.

The other injury, which I find this author guilty of, is, his immoderate reviling, and sometimes falsly accusing both Queen Mary, and the papists of those days, of greater severities and persecutions than they were really guilty of, though in some cases they certainly were too cruel and rigorous; yet it was no more than what Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, her predecessors, did before her, and what Queen Elisabeth, her successor, did after her.

For proof of this, I find one Greenwood, or Grimwood, of Hitcham, in the county of Suffolk, accused by Mr. Fox to be a perjured papist, and a great persecutor of his martyrs, and therefore had great plagues inflicted on him, and, being in health, his bowels fell out of his body by the terrible judgment of God. Now, for an evident conviction of this falshood, one Parson Prick, not long after the first edition of Fox's Acts and Monuments, and in the twenty-seventh year of queen Elisabeth, took occasion to revile the papists in a sermon, as the custom was, and, in particular, told this story of Greenwood in the pulpit, and cited his author as infallible. But so it happened, that Mr. Greenwood, who was a good protestant, was present at that very sermon, and never was so plagued, but soon after brought his action on the case against Mr. Prick, for calling him perjured person, to which the defendant pleaded not guilty, and, this matter being disclosed upon the evidence, Wray, Chief Justice, delivered the law to the jury, in favour of Mr. Prick, 'that, it being delivered but as a story (such it seems are too many of Mr. Fox's), and not with any malice or intention to slander any, he was not guilty of the words maliciously, and so was not found guilty:' And Judge Popham affirmed it to be good in law.

The exact particulars of this case you may find amongst the records of Westminster-hall of that year; and, in a case of like nature betwixt Brook and Montague, 3 Jac. it was cited by Sir Edward Coke, then attorney-general, and is briefly printed in the second part of Judge Croke's Reports, published by the learned Sir Harbottle Grimston, Bart. Speaker of the late Parliament.

THE PARALLEL.

Ancient.	*Modern.*
Thomas Lord Cromwell, Earl of Essex, and Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal (son of a blacksmith of Putney, who was in his latter days a brewer) was first a servant to Cardinal Wolsey, and afterwards a principal Minister of State to king Henry the Eighth; and, among other great offices which he had, he was vicar-general over all the spirituality, though a layman, and sat divers times in the convocation among the bishops; by means whereof, and of his great power, and propension to schism and heresy, he ransacked, dissolved, and subverted many abbies and religious houses, and, if he had lived, had a heart inclined to act greater mischiefs, both in church and state; but, on the nineteenth of July, 1540, he was arraigned and condemned of heresy and treason, and, on the twenty-ninth of the same month, was beheaded at Tower-hill.	Oliver Cromwell had, indeed, some advantage over his namesake Lord in the quality of his birth, but none in that of his profession, he being a brother too of the jolly brewhouse, though he far surpassed the other in the mystery of iniquity. In the late rebellion, raised against king Charles the First, of blesssd memory, he began to set up a new trade, and was at first captain of a troop of sectaries; afterwards, by unheard of policy, became general, and, the better to serve his own ambitious ends, on the thirtieth of January, 1648, did most barbarously murder that good king at his own palace-gate; then made himself Protector of an Utopian Commonwealth, and, on the third of September, 1658, died full of murders, wickednesses, and treasons: His body lay inhumed at Westminster, till the thirtieth of January, 1660, when it was, by order of parliament, hanged at Tyburn, with Bradshaw and Ireton his accomplices; and, finally, buried under that gallows.
Hugh Latimer, son of a husbandman in Leicestershire, pretended to the office of the ministry, affected a drollish way of holding forth in the pulpit, was a great enemy to bishops and	Hugh Peters, of like mean extraction, usurped the office of the ministry; was used by Oliver, as a fit instrument in the pulpit, to encourage rebels in their evil ways; had a great

Ancient.	*Modern.*
clergy, and as great a patron of fanaticks; and, finally, was burnt at Oxford, the sixteenth of October, 1555.	hand in spilling the royal blood, was no better a friend to the hierarchy, than other sectaries are; was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Charing-Cross (the same sixteenth of October) 1660.
William Hacket, of Oundle in Northamptonshire, proclaimed himself in London to be Christ Jesus, come with his fan in his hand to judge the earth; and was attended by Edmund Coppinger and Henry Arthington, his two false prophets, the one of mercy, the other of judgment; for which, on the twenty-eighth of July 1590, he was hanged on a gibbet in Cheapside. Coppinger died a prisoner in Bridewell, and Arthington long after in Wood-street Compter.	James Naylor, of Anderslow in Yorkshire, declared himself, at Bristol, to be the Son of God, and King of Righteousness; where he rode about, pronouncing his blasphemies, attended by Martha Simons, Hannah Stranger, and Dorcas Erbury, representing the three Maries in the gospel, John xix. 25. For which (instead of a thousand deaths, which he deserved) he had only his tongue bored through with a hot iron, at the Old Exchange, London, the twenty-seventh of December, 1656.
John Lambert, of Norfolk, a Zuinglian (in our modern dialect, a fanatick) was accused of heresy, and had the honour to be tried by king Henry the Eighth, and many Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Westminster-hall; was found guilty and obstinate, and burnt in Smithfield, in the year 1538.	John Lambert, of Yorkshire, a great sectary, a partaker in Oliver's iniquities, had the honour to be judged by king Charles the Second, and his parliament, in the year 1660; was found guilty, but mercifully reprieved during their pleasure.
John Tewksbury, of London, leather-seller, obstinately held certain anabaptistical and heretical opinions; for which he was condemned and burnt in Smithfield, in December, 1529.	Praise-god Barebones, of London, leather-seller, was a great anabaptist Commonwealth's-man, a lay-preacher, and of a factious spirit, yet the mercy of the king and parliament has pardoned his errors, in hopes he may grow better.
John Maundrell, of Kevel in Wiltshire, cow-herd, was condemned by the Bishop of Salisbury, for obstinately holding divers heretical and fantastical opinions, and burnt in the year 1556.	Giles Prichard, of Islington in Middlesex, cow-herd, was, upon his trial at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bailey, found guilty of the rebellion, in January, 1660, and hanged in Cheapside.
William Tyndal, about the	William Prynne, in the year

Ancient.	*Modern.*
year 1527, wrote a seditious and invective book against the bishops and prelates of the church, and intituled it, *The Wicked Mammon.*	1636, wrote the like, intituling it, *The Unbishoping of Timothy and Titus;* the only person in this unhappy parallel, who has given large testimonies of his reconcilement to loyalty and reason.
John Lewis, an obstinate Arian heretick, for denying the Godhead of Christ, and holding other blasphemous and detestable heresies, was burnt at Norwich, the seventeenth of September, 1583.	John Fry, a member of the long-parliament, held the like opinions, and asserted them in print; for which he was only dismembered, escaping further punishment, through the liberty of those evil times.
In the year 1414, Sir John Oldcastle and Sir Roger Acton, with other fanaticks, plotted a desperate rebellion, in St. Giles's Fields, against king Henry the Fifth; for which thirty-seven of them were, in the same year, and in the same place, hanged.	In January, 1660, Thomas Venner, Roger Hodgkins, and other fanaticks, contrived a horrid insurrection in Wood-street, London, against king Charles the Second (whom God long preserve!) for which fourteen of them were hanged in the same month, and near the same place.
Sir Roger Acton soon after was hanged, drawn, and buried under the gallows, for his detestable rebellion.	On the thirtieth of January, 1660, Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, were drawn, hanged, and buried under Tyburn, for murder and rebellion.

The ancient and modern fanaticks agreed exactly in these particulars; First, They pretended the motion and impulse of the Spirit for what they did. Secondly, They declared against kings and magistrates. Thirdly, Against payment of tithes. Fourthly, Against the Whore of Babylon and popish clergy (only our moderns have gone farther, against even all kinds of clergy.) Fifthly, Against swearing in any case; and they alledged scripture for whatsoever they asserted, 'We will not,' says *The Door of Hope*, 'have any thing to do with the antichristian magistracy, ministry, tithes, &c. which are none of our Lord's appointment,—but false and Babylonish.' From such saints, and such martyrs, good Lord deliver our gracious king and all his kingdoms.

AN EPISTLE TO

CHARLES THE SECOND,

KING OF ENGLAND,

And to every Individual Member of his Council.

Presented to them in pure love and good-will, that they might consider of the things herein contained, before the King was crowned, or had taken his oath; forasmuch as a necessity from the Lord was laid upon the Penman of the said Epistle, in order thereto, who is known to divers people, by the name of Christopher Cheesman.

From the Town of Reading, in Berkshire, the 15th of the second Month, 1661.

GIVE ear, O king, and hearken to counsel; let thy heart be inclined to understanding, and diligently consider the things that concern thy everlasting peace, and the well-being of all people, under thy government. And oh, you counsellors of the king, know you this, that the God of Israel, who governs in the heavens, and in the earth, hath appeared in these nations, in the absence of the king, and since his father's days, to bring to pass his great work, in performance of his promises, and returning the captivity of his people, who have been, many ages past, most cruelly afflicted and oppressed, under Pharaoh's hard task-masters, who have exercised authority over their consciences. But, now, the Lord God is come to deliver his Israel, in the Spirit, by the hand of the great prophet, that Moses prophesied of, saying, 'The Lord your God shall raise up a prophet, like unto me; one from among your brethren; him shall you hear in all things: And whosoever shall withdraw his ear from hearing that prophet, shall be cut off from among the people.' This is the prophet, O king and council, that is worthy to reign, and, by the hand of this prophet, will the Lord bring to pass the purposes of his heart, and will set up justice and righteousness in the earth; and whoever they be, that will not bow down and hearken to this prophet, whether king, councils, parliaments, armies, synods, or others, shall assuredly be destroyed, and cut off from among the people. For this great prophet, of whom Moses spoke, is the only begotten of God, the Christ, the Saviour, the Light of the World, that enlighteneth every one that cometh into the world. This is he, O king and council, that the Lord God hath raised up in these nations, since thy father's days, and in thy absence, and he alone is worthy to reign, not synods, nor hireling ministers; and thousands there be within thy dominions, O king, that have received this great prophet and true light, and a good understanding thereby (glory, glory to the Lord God for evermore) and now are making war with the nations in righteousness, and in particular, with thee, O king, and with thy council; not with sword, nor spear, nor plottings, nor combinations, to hurt thee, O king, or any of thy family or people, nor any ways seeking to remove thee from thy crown and dignity, but, with the Spirit of God, striving to establish thy throne in righteousness, and to crown thee with everlasting honour and dignity. And know this, O king and council, that the people and servants of the Lord do not strive against flesh and blood, neither are their weapons carnal, but spiritual, and mighty, through God, to make war with the Man of Sin in all his appearances and forms of governments, whether presbytery, or episcopacy, or any other anti-christian form, which must all be thrown down in this day of the Lord's mighty power, wherein he hath made bare, and will, yet more and more, make bare his arm; and his power and authority shall be known against the hierarchy of antichrist, in the utter destruction thereof; the Lord will dash to pieces all the powers and authorities of the earth that stand in his way, or, any way, seek to uphold the kingdom and authority of the beast, and of the false prophet which is full of darkness. And the Lord God will bring in his kingdom of righteousness, which he hath begun to set up, and the same will finish, though it be to the everlasting destruction of all earthly potentates and people, that stand in opposition thereto.

Therefore, O king, take heed what thou dost, in this thy day, and power: And, O council of the king, take heed, lest you counsel the king, either to swear, or to go about to establish, or set up the kingdom of antichrist, under any form whatsoever, whether episcopacy, or presbytery, or any other; for assuredly, if you so do, it will be the utter destruction both of you, and your king. And again I say, O king and council, take heed; for your enemy, and the enemy of man's salvation, is very active in this day, and will not cease tempting of you, both within and without, to make you instruments to obstruct the work of the Lord, to whose temptations, if you yield, the Lord will dash you to pieces; and so you will become as miserable as those that are gone before you.

And, O king, in the fear and dread of the Lord, prize thy time, and the Lord's mercies towards thee, and thy family, for they have been very great, in this day of thy visitation, wherein the Lord hath not been wanting to thee, but hath sent his servants, time after time, to counsel thee, and to forewarn thee, of the sore judgments that are hastening upon these nations, for the wickedness thereof.

And the Lord God hath been striving with thee, not only by his Spirit, in his ministers and servants; but his witness, in thine own conscience also, since he hath set thee upon thy father's throne.

And myself (as one of the least, to whom the Lord hath shewed mercy, in bringing me into the good land, wherein every one, that is faithful, receives of the fruits and increase thereof, and drinks of the pleasant streams that therein run, which more refresh than all the increase of earthly treasure) do now, in obedience to the motions of God's Spirit, and in his fear and dread, give in my testimony before thee, O king, and before thy council, for the Lord God, though King of Kings, yet not obeyed by the people, out of his fear, and teachers of these nations, and for his truth, that is fallen in the gates; and, for his people, though harmless and just, yet more oppressed than any other people in the nations, by reason of the hireling ministry, which teach the people to err, and are enemies to God's truth and people.

Know this now, therefore, O king, that, if thou wilt not regard the Lord God's striving with thee, by his servants, nor hearken to, nor return at the reproofs of God's witness, in thy own conscience, then the Lord will withhold his servants from thee, and his Spirit from striving with thee, and give thee up to hardness of heart; and then thou wilt be ruled by blood-thirsty men, enemies to God's truth, and his people, who will cause thee to do such things, which, may be, was once far from thy heart to do; and then the Lord God, who respects no man's person, will smite thee and them, with a very terrible overthrow, and utter ruin and destruction, as he hath done to those that have gone before thee, who would not hearken to God's servants, nor return at his reproofs. For known be it to thee, O king, God did not remove those men from the throne of government, in these nations, for their well-doing, but for their evil; for their unrighteous and unjust actions, because they governed not for God; and therefore, as the kingdoms of the earth are the Lord's, so he disposeth of them, as he pleaseth: He plucks down the governors therein, whose actions proclaim them traytors to their lord and master, who intrusted them, and set up others to try them also, whether they will obey and do his commands, and the things that he delights in: Viz. mercy and justice, true judgment and righteousness; and the contrary he denies, with the workers thereof, from the highest to the lowest. And so, when that wicked and perfidious generation of men would, by no means, be reformed, then the wrath of the Lord was kindled, and his decree went forth against them; and so they were dashed in pieces, even like a potter's vessel; it was their wickedness caused them to fall, and nothing else; for they still obstructed the Lord's work, and yet he bore with them a long time, and would not that any should break them to pieces, but disappointed all plottings and combinations against them, from time to time; and also counselled them, by his ministers and servants, which he sent unto them, and did warn them of the evil that fell upon them long before it came, and reproved them of their evil deeds, and, divers times, suffered their own servants to take their power from them, and then they lay under shame and contempt for some time, and then restored to government again; but still they went on, in their evil practices, being covetous, self-seeking men, having a form of godliness, but denied the power thereof; they were great oppressors, and hard-hearted men; and imprisoned the ministers and servants of the Lord, and maintained an idle, dronish, idolatrous, hireling, tythetaking ministry in the nations; and suffered them to persecute, oppress, and afflict the most precious ministers and servants of God, whose estates they took away, and whose bodies they imprisoned, and some of them most cruelly abused in prison, even unto death. Mark, therefore, O king, had the Lord been pleased with such things, then, doubtless, thou and thy party had never returned to govern in these nations any more; if the Lord had seen good, that oppression, and grinding the faces of the poor, and maintaining a hireling ministry, and forcing the people of God to pay tythes, and persecuting and imprisoning of God's ministers and servants, should have continued in these nations, then those men, which he removed to bring thee in, might have been fit instruments for such a work, and no need for thee to have been brought in, in so eminent a manner, to do the work, with which the Spirit of the Lord was burdened and grieved, from day to day, and for which his wrath broke forth against those men, whose names now rot in perpetual infamy.

Therefore, doth it not concern thee, O king, and thy council, to consider what you are doing? For the Lord is the same now, as ever he was, and regards not king, councils, parliaments, armies, protectors, so called, or any one, more than another, otherwise than they are found in the path of righteousness, mercy, and true judgment.

Therefore, awake, awake, O king; with thy council stand up, and see whereon the basis of thy kingdom stands, lest thy crown and dignity fall in the dust in these great overturnings; for verily, verily, there is yet a greater overturning than has been, that will suddenly come upon these nations: In which overturning, O king, thou, and thy party, if you proceed, as you have begun, must be the very subject matter of the day, and must drink the very bottom and dregs of that cup, which all persons, that have miscarried in government for divers years past, have tasted of; for the Lord has tried you many years, by sore and grievous affliction, and now hath restored you, that all people and nations may see what you will do; and thou, O king, and thy party, hast begun to set up and maintain that false ministry and worship, and idolatrous practice, and vain sports (for which the wrath of God broke forth, about twenty years since, against thy family) that is to say, episcopacy, with all the abominations, both in worship and practice, which it brings along with it, notwithstanding the light that shines in this day of the Lord's mighty power, and this glorious day of visitation, wherein the Lord hath admitted you to stand for trial: And know this, O king, thy father and his party deceased, never saw such a day, nor received so much mercy (as thee, and thy party that now survives, have done) but were in the dark and cloudy day, folded up under the hireling ministers, and had not the ministers of Christ, the Light of the world, sent unto them, with message after message, as to thee, and thy party, hath been done, counselling thee, O king, and thy council, to fear God, and to work righteousness; and the ministers and servants of the Lord have been faithful unto thee, O king, in every thing, and in this thing in particular; that is, thou limit not the Spirit of God, in forcing all to worship God, after the manner of the nations and heathen, nor to maintain a hireling ministry; for, where there is such a thing done by authority, there must of necessity follow great ignorance, and gross darkness will soon cover the face of such a nation; for a forced uniformity in matters of God's worship, and the hireling ministry, are not of God, but of the devil; not of Christ, but antichrist; and such a ministry I do affirm, and shall maintain, was the cause of thy father's fall; for the hireling ministry, at that time, had their hearts full of war, and were divided, and so ministered death unto the people on both sides. And if thou, O king, shalt suffer religion to be established by a law, and shalt force people thereunto, it will be thy utter ruin, and thou wilt assuredly miscarry in government, as any that hath gone before thee.

And this I declare to thee in tender love and pity towards thee, and likewise exhort thee in the fear and dread of the Lord God, that thou swear not at all; for, if thou dost, thou breakest the command of Christ Jesus, the Light of the World, who is the wisdom of God (by whom princes rule, and the kings of the earth decree justice) who said, 'Swear not at all.' Consider, O king, what advantage is swearing to the just man? Will he be the more just for swearing? Or, is the command of Christ of none effect? Nay, O king, the just man need not swear, thereby to add to his integrity; nor doth the unjust man any ways abate or destroy the deceit or hypocrisy of his wicked heart, whereby he may become more just, by swearing. Therefore, O king, if thou canst not do justice and right, for the people over whom God hath made thee chief ruler and magistrate, without swearing, thou wilt never be able to do it by swearing. Nay, O king, but on the contrary, for thee to swear that thou wilt maintain such religion, or do such and such justice for the people, puts thee into an absolute incapability to do justice, forasmuch as that thou refusest that wisdom, by which kings decree justice, as aforesaid, that is, Christ Jesus, the Wisdom of God, who said, 'Swear not at all,' and so said his apostle James. And, under the old covenant, an oath was an end to all strife; but Christ the oath of God, and new covenant, said, 'Swear not at all;' and Christ the new covenant is the prophet, that Moses prophesied of, and said, 'Whosoever would not hear him, should be cut off from among the people.'

Therefore, O king and council, swear not at all, neither establish religion by a law, to force an uniformity thereunto, nor maintain a hireling ministry; for such a thing was the overthrow not only of thy father, but of all that have followed after, till thyself, by the mighty hand of God, were set in the place where now thou art. The parliaments, protectors, and armies were all swearers, and high pretenders to religion in the form, but nothing in the power, but persecuted all the upright in heart, who were in the power, but out of their form; so I say, those governors who have miscarried in government did busy themselves very much in matters of God, touching the consciences of other men, whereof they had nothing to do; but, in the mean time, neglected the witness of God in their own particulars, and so were mindless and careless of their duties, as civil magistrates, professing themselves wise, and exalting themselves into the temple of God, wherein they had not to do, save in their own particulars. They became fools even in the management of their civil affairs, and so laid a sandy foundation, and, like foolish builders, continued building their own, till such time as their building did fall, and great was the fall thereof. And all this did proceed from the hireling ministry, which hath in all ages brought forth the same fruits, being still fawning upon, and tampering with the great men of the earth, and kings and councils, and parliaments, and all men in authority, to establish religion, and to settle their maintenance; and then, as the prophet saith of them, 'He that will not put into their 'mouths, they presently make war against him'; and this hath been the state and condition of this nation and others.

And therefore, O king and council, be wise, and learn by other men's harms (who not contenting themselves in their places, to do the work set them about, but leaving their own work undone, did intermeddle and busy themselves about God's work, and the consciences of men, of which Christ alone is Lord; and for this hath the Lord dashed them to pieces, one after another, since thy father's days; first the parliament, then protector, so called, and protector again; then the parliament, then army and Committee of Safety, so called, then parliament again; against all which the Lord hath appeared in much severity, and hath removed all out of his way, and hath brought thee and thy party into their place and authority, to try you. Take heed, I say, therefore, O king and council, of running against this rock, for, if you do, you will assuredly be dashed to pieces, as they already are; for false worship and false ministers must down, and all that take part with them, and, till that time, there will never be peace on earth; for it is the false ministry, that divides the people, and causes them to run into factions and divisions, and that sets people at variance one with another.

The false ministry, O king, that is the evil tree which brings forth bad fruit; and, indeed, they can do no otherwise, for they are not of God, but of the evil one. It is clearly so, O king; for the tree was to be known by his fruit, and he is now grown so big, and his fruit so numerous, that one may run and read of what sort the tree is; and they, that see it not to be the evil tree, are very near the pit of everlasting destruction.

Thou wast a child, O king, in thy father's days, and knewest not to what perfection this evil tree was then grown; but withdraw thyself a little into thy private chamber, and there inquire of the ancient of days, and ask counsel at the oracle of God, the light in thine own conscience, and therewith compare the doctrine of Christ, who is the word of God, and is very near thee, even in thy heart, and in thy mouth, and thou wilt then see, hear, and understand what Christ and his apostles say, and the prophets before them, concerning the false prophets and the false ministers.

C. C.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BURIAL OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST, AND OF OLIVER CROMWELL:

In which it appears, how Oliver's friends contrived to secure his Body from future disgrace, and to expose the Corpse of King Charles to be substituted in the punishment and ignominy designed for the Usurper's Body. MS.

Amongst other Papers, the following MS. was carefully preserved by my Lord Oxford. It contains an Extract from the Journal of the House of Commons; which honourable House, resolving to disgrace the name of the late Usurper Oliver Cromwell, as far as lay in their power, ordered his Body to be taken up, and to be first hanged on the gallows at Tyburn, and then to be burnt.

This Order was pursued by the Serjeant of that honourable House so far, as to find a Coffin with Oliver's name, and usurped Titles, at the east-end of the middle isle of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, in Westminster-Abbey.

This, with an account where the said Inscription is, or was, within a few years ago, to be seen, is written in a very fair hand.

Then, in two different hands, there follows the most remarkable account of a Counter-Interment of the Arch-Traytor, as well as the reason and contrivance to secure his Body from that expected ignominy, and to continue the revenge of King Charles's enemies, even to the disgrace of substituting the Body of the beheaded King, in the punishment intended by a justly enraged People, upon the dead Body of the Usurper.

SOON after the restoration, the then serjeant of the house of commons was ordered, by the house, to go with his officers to St. Peter's, Westminster, and demand the body of Oliver Cromwell, buried there, to be taken up, in order to be disposed in the manner the house should adjudge fitting.

Whereupon the said serjeant went, and, in the middle isle of Henry the Seventh's chapel, at the east end, upon taking up the pavement, in a vault, was found his corpse; in the inside of whose coffin, and upon the breast of the corpse, was laid a copper-plate, finely gilt, inclosed in a thin case of lead, on the one side whereof, were engraved the arms of England, impaled with the arms of Oliver; and, on the reverse, the following legenda, viz.

Oliverius Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ, Natus 25.° April. 1599, Inauguratus 16.° Dec.^{ris} 1653, Mortuus 3.^{tio} Sept.^{ris}, Anno 1658, Hic situs est.

The said serjeant, believing the plate to be gold, took it pretendedly, as his fee; and Mr. Gifford, of Colchester, who married the serjeant's daughter, has now the plate, which, his father-in-law told him, he came by, in the manner above related.

A counter-interment of the aforesaid arch-traytor, as averred, and ready to be deposed (if occasion required) by Mr. —— Barkstead, who daily frequents Richard's Coffee-House, within Temple-Bar, being son to Barkstead, the regicide, that was executed as such, soon after the restoration, the son being, at the time of the said arch-traytor's death, about the age of fifteen years.

THAT the said regicide Barkstead, being lieutenant of the Tower of London, and a great confident of the usurper, did, among other such confidents, in the time of the usurper's sickness, desire to know where he would be buried: To which he answered, where he had obtained the greatest victory and glory, and as nigh the spot as could be guessed, where the heat of the action was, viz. in the field at Naseby, co. Northampton; which accordingly was thus performed: At midnight (soon after his death) being first embalmed, and wrapped in a leaden coffin, he was, in a hearse, conveyed to the said field, the said Mr. Barkstead, by order of his father, attending close to the hearse; and, being come to the field, there found, about the midst of it, a grave, dug about nine feet deep, with the green sod carefully laid on one side, and the mould on the other; in which, the coffin being soon put, the grave was instantly filled up, and the green sod laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken, that the surplus mould was clean taken away.

Soon after, like care was taken, that the said field was intirely ploughed up, and sown three or four years successively with wheat.

Several other material circumstances, relating to the said interment, the said Mr. Barkstead relates (too long to be here inserted) and, particularly, after the restoration, his conference with the late (witty) Duke of Buckingham, &c.

Talking over this account of Barkstead's, with the Reverend Mr. Sm——, of Q———, whose father had long resided in Florence, as a merchant, and afterwards as minister from king Charles the Second, and had been well acquainted with the fugitives after the restoration; he assured me, he had often heard the said account by other hands: Those miscreants always boasting, that they had wrecked their revenge against the father, as far as human foresight could carry it, by beheading him, whilst living, and making his best friends the executors of the utmost ignominies upon him, when dead. Asking him the particular meaning of the last sentence, he said, that Oliver, and his friends, apprehending the restoration of the Stuart family; and that all imaginable disgrace, on that turn, would be put upon his body, as well as memory; he contrived his own burial, as averred by Barkstead, having all the theatrical honours of a pompous funeral paid to an empty coffin, into which, afterwards, was removed the corpse of the martyr, (which, by Lord Clarendon's own account, had never truly, or certainly, been interred; and, after the restoration, when most diligently sought after, by the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, at the command of king Charles the Second, in order to a solemn removal, could no where, in the church where he was said to have been buried, be found) that, if any sentence should be pronounced, as upon his body, it might effectually fall upon that of the king. That, on that order of the commons, in king Charles the Second's time, the tomb was broken down, and the body taken out of a coffin so inscribed, as mentioned in the serjeant's report, was from thence conveyed to Tyburn, and, to the utmost joy and triumph of that crew of miscreants, hung publickly on the gallows, amidst an infinite crowd of spectators, almost infected with the noisomeness of the stench. The secret being only amongst that abandoned few, there was no doubt in the rest of the people, but the bodies, so exposed, were the bodies they were said to be; had not some, whose curiosity had brought them nearer to the tree, observed, with horror, the remains of a countenance they little had expected there; and that, on tying the cord, there was a strong seam about the neck, by which the head had been, as was supposed, immediately after the decollation, fastened again to the body. This being whispered about, and the numbers that came to the dismal sight hourly increasing, notice was immediately given of the suspicion to the attending officer, who dispatched a messenger to court, to acquaint them with the rumour, and the ill consequences the spreading or examining into it further, might have. On which the bodies were immediately ordered down, to be buried again, to prevent any infection. Certain is it, they were not burnt, as in prudence, for that pretended reason, might have been expected; as well as in justice, to have shewn the utmost detestation for their crimes, and the most lasting mark of infamy they could inflict upon them. This was the account he gave. What truth there is in it, is not so certain. Many circumstances make the surmise not altogether improbable: As all those enthusiasts, to the last moment of their lives, ever gloried in the truth of it.

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND DEATH OF
OLIVER CROMWELL,

THE LATE USURPER, AND PRETENDED PROTECTOR OF ENGLAND, &c.

Truly collected and published, for a Warning to all Tyrants and Usurpers.

By J. H. Gent.

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CHAP. I.

Shewing the Birth and Parentage, and Place of Nativity of the said Oliver Cromwell.

THE unparalleled actions of this man have made people more curious, than otherwise they would be, to know his rise and birth, which otherwise might better, to the advantage of his memory, have been yet obscured and concealed; for it will neither add praise nor commendation, either to his country or relations; both which have publickly protested their shame and their abhorrence of him. So that, without prejudice to his family, who have cleared themselves of any participation of his facts, and did, and do, detest both him and them: You may understand, he was the son of Henry Cromwell, alias Williams, the younger son of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchingbrook, in the county of Huntingdon, Knight, who so magnificently treated king James in that place, at his coming into England; who so loyally and affectionately loved king Charles the Martyr; and, who, lastly, so hated and abominated this Oliver, his nephew, god-son, and namesake.

He was born at Huntingdon, in the year 1599, where his father, being a cadet, or younger brother, as we have said, having no large estate, had intermarried with a brewer's widow, by whom he had some addition of fortune, and from her sprung that story of Oliver's being a brewer in Huntingdon. He was, from his infancy, a lusty, active child, and of a sturdy rough temper; which, to remedy, in his young years, his father prudently took this course:

CHAP. II.

How Oliver was educated and brought up in the University of Cambridge, and afterwards in Lincoln's-Inn, in the Study of the Law.

About the age, therefore, of thirteen or fourteen years, his father sent him to the University of Cambridge, to have him tempered and managed, by the severe tuition and discipline of the University; but his tutor quickly perceived the boisterous and untractable spirit of his pupil, who was more for action than speculation, and loved cudgels, foot-ball-playing, or any game and exercise, better than his book; so that there was no hopes of making him a scholar, or a learned man; and much ado there was to keep him so in compass, that he became not an open and publick dishonour to his friends; (here he was made an actor in the play of the five Senses, where he ominously stumbled at a Crown, which he had also dreamed he should once wear) whereupon he was presently removed, his tutor weary, and afraid of disgrace by him, to Lincoln's-Inn, where he might with less imputation and observance, if his bent were so given, roister it out, and yet, without much trouble, attain some knowledge in the laws, to qualify him for a country gentleman, and that little competency his father could leave him. But no such rudiments would sink into him; he was for rougher arguments and pleas, club-law; and, indeed, what occasion had he to know and be versed in the law, whose designs, and wicked practices afterwards, were directly opposite to all laws, both divine and human? So that he continued not long there, but was called home, his father dying soon after, and leaving him to his swing.

CHAP. III.

Of his Manner of Life and Conversation in the Country.

Oliver, being come down into the country, and growing sturdy, and of man's stature, frequented all manner of wild company. Who but he at any match or game whatsoever, where he would drink and roar with the rudest of his companions? And when his money, which he had sparingly from his mother, who yet kept the purse, failed him, he would make the victuallers trust him, to such a ruin of his credit and reputation, he being as famous for his ranting and his scores, as after, for his prayers and victories, that the ale-wives of Huntingdon, if they saw him coming, would set up a cry, 'Here comes young Cromwell, shut up the doors, and so keep him out.' But he had better success in the war, for then there was no shutting of him out, no garison or castle, or strength whatsoever, was sufficient to debar him. But that may be imputable to the luck of his former atchievements, fortune being tied at his girdle, and keeping a constant tenor with him; for, at this age, he would make nothing of beating of tinkers, and such masty fellows at quarter-staff, or any such weapon they would chuse; so that he was dreaded by all the ale-drinkers, as well as ale-wives of the country.

CHAP. IV.

How Oliver was reclaimed from these lewd courses, and how he joined himself to the preciser sort, and became an Hypocritical Convert.

By these debauched courses of life, and regardless thoughts how the world went, as long as drink and company could be had, no matter how nor where; he had so endangered his small estate and patrimony, and was so far in debt, that he was forced to retire himself, and get out of the way, and live privately, for fear of private arrests and judgments, which were brought against him. In this solitary condition, he had time to bethink himself of his condition; and having nothing else to do, having played a part at Cambridge, to personate another at home, seeming very pensive and melancholy, and much reserved in his talk and discourse; which, from vain, and frivolous, and wild speeches, was now altered into serious, and modest, and grave language, and sober expression; which, accommodated and set forth with a more staid and solemn aspect and gesture, made him appear to be another kind of person, having run from the one extreme to the other, from stark naught, to too good; and it will be a question whether, by the first he were more destructive to himself, or by the latter, more pernicious to his country.

This humour soured him at last into a precise puritanism, with whom his zealous design was to ingratiate himself; who increasing every day, and being grown to a headstrong faction, he doubted not, but if time should serve, which his daring spirit (if he had not a familiar) told him was a coming, to be principal person among them, and howsoever, to make up his decays on his fortunes, by the kind-hearted supplies and loans of the brotherhood, who were very proud of such a proselyte.

In a short time after, he had learned to pray, and attained a very ready faculty therein, which he made no nicety to manifest upon all occasions, both in their publick and private meetings; so that he was looked upon by those of his godly party, as their chiefest ornament, and by the rest of the world, as a strange wonder. This artificial devotion did not only then advantage him, but served him thereafter through the whole course of his life, and was the main ingredient of all his policies and successes. A friar was an ass to him for saying of prayers, he was able to give him two for one with his beads and by rote, and out-strip him extempore.

CHAP. V.

How Oliver, being noted for his pretended Sanctity, was chosen a Burgess of Cambridge for the Long-Parliament; and, the War breaking out, was made a Captain of Horse.

By this sanctimonious Vizor, and manifested zeal for reformation, which was then in every man's mouth, he was looked upon as the fittest instrument to promote it in the parliament, which the king had called in 1640, to redress the grievances of the state and church, and to supply his necessities; and, therefore, the puritan faction, and his relations by marriage, as Mr. Goodwin, and also Hambden of Buckingham, laboured, in election of burgesses for the town of Cambridge to have him chosen. The town was generally infected with the same disease, and therefore it was no hard matter to effect it. Sitting in parliament, as a member, he quickly saw which way the stream went, and therefore resolved to run one of the first with it; and therefore helped out the noise and cry for privilege, proving a great stickler against the prerogative, and, to that end, endeavouring to widen the breach; and made way, by male-pertness of tumults, against the king's person and court; insomuch that he became conspicuous and noted for his aversion to the government. The flame of those inward burnings now breaking out, and because of his influence in his country, and his bold, confident spirit, he was courted with a commission (which he accepted) under the Earl of Essex, the parliament's general, and was made a captain of a troop of horse.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Exploits Cromwell did, in the beginning of the War.

Having raised his troop, he marched not presently with the gross and main body of the army, but was ordered to continue about his own country, that so his own enterprises might be the better observed, and he taken notice of; so that he was a rising man from the very first beginning of our civil confusions. The first service that he appeared in, was the seizure of Sir Henry Conisby, the sheriff of Hertfordshire, when, in a gallant contempt of the parliament, he was proclaiming the commission of array at St. Alban's, and sending him, and other gentlemen, his assistance, to London; which sudden and meritorious exploit of his was well resented, and highly commended by the parliament. His next piece of diligence was the like seizure of Sir John Pettus, and forty gentlemen more, of the county of Suffolk, who were forming a party for the king, and securing them; by which means, he broke the neck of any future design in that, or the next county of Norfolk, for the royal interest; so that he had brought all the eastern part of England to the parliament's subjection, by a bloodless and easy conquest. But his other victories, which were principally ascribed to him, though they were joined with him, were very sanguineous, and fatally cruel.

As his last home employment, he was ordered to purge and to inspect the University, wherein he proceeded with so much rigour against that place of his own nurture, &c. it was conceived he would at last as mercilesly use his mother, then bleeding England. Which work being over, and unhappily effected, Cromwell was the only man; his prudence, fortune, and valour every where applauded and extolled, and he reputed for one of the most eminent and able commanders in the parliament's army.

It was time, therefore, now to shew him abroad, having armed, disciplined, and paid his men so carefully, that there was no doubt of their prevailing upon any equal enemy, and under the conduct of so vigilant and wary a leader, whose only aim it was to keep up his reputation to greater undertakings. Therefore, in order to a conjunction and assistance of the Scots, who were entered England, he was made lieutenant-general to the Earl of Manchester, who had raised his army out of the associated counties, as Cambridge, Huntingdon, Bedford, Suffolk, &c. Those armies being joined, and mastering the field (the Marquis of Newcastle, who opposed them, retreating into York) they resolved to besiege that city: To the relief whereof, Prince Rupert came, and forcing them to draw off from their league, he gave them battle on Marston-Moor, July 2, 1644. In the beginning of the fight, Prince Rupert had utterly discomfited the right wing of the army, where Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Scots horse stood, and disordered the main body of the foot, so that the day was given for lost, the Scots running and throwing down their arms; when Cromwell, with his Curassiers, and the rest of my Lord Manchester's horse, who were placed in the right wing, fell with such force and fury upon the Lord Goring's brigades on the right, that they presently broke them in pieces, and following their success, before the prince returned, obtained a compleat victory, killing no less than five-thousand men, gaining their camp, bag and baggage; and, as the price of all, the city of York. Hence he acquired that terrible name of Ironsides, his troops being reported unvulnerable and unconquerable. By this defeat, he lifted up himself to those great titles and places he went through afterwards.

CHAP. VII.

A Continuance of his Successes against his Sovereign and his Forces; his treucherous and disloyal dealing with his Majesty.

The next field we find him in, was that of the second Newberry, October 27, 1644, where, with the same felicy and valour, he had the better, on that part of the field, where he fought, and contributed mainly to that piece of a victory the parliament forces had there; when, to cloud and damp this rising martialist, he was articled against by his superior officers, for some miscarriages and practices in the army, to the hinderance of the service, which was indeed his ambitious insinuation into the affection of the soldiery; but this was never prosecuted, his friends, the grandees of the Independent party, interposing and justifying him, for a godly, expert, and valiant commander.

This Independent faction was now grown too crafty, and had supplanted their brother of Presbytery, by new modelling the army, turning out most of Essex's officers, and dismissing all members of parliament from their several commands therein; among which number, Cromwell should have been included, but his partisans wrought so, that he was continued for forty days, and, those expired, longer, and longer, even till the war ended. By this said model Sir Thomas Fairfax was made Lord General, and Cromwell, after some time, Lieutenant General, being the only man looked upon able to carry on the Independent interest. The first action he engaged in, in this quality, was his routing of the queen's regiment and some other troops (come from Worcester to fetch the king from Oxford, then designed to be besieged in the beginning of the year 1645) at Islip Bridge; then his immediate summoning and taking Blechindon House, April 24, where after, as he was designing a stratagem upon Faringdon House, he was set upon by as vigilant a commander as himself, the Lord Goring, and received a smart brush, and the only one throughout the war; which now hastening to an end, at the fatal Naseby, he was called from out of the Isle of Ely (whither he had been lately sent to secure it, it being thought the king would have turned his now successful arms thitherward) to assist the general, who, by his letters to the parliament, had desired it. That unfortunate day the 14th of June, 1646, owes its dismalness to the fortune of this rebel, whose troops alone could glory in that atchievment; for the left wing of that army, where Ireton, his son-in-law, commanded, was absolutely routed, and the main body sorely distressed; so that Cromwell alone assured that victory.

So ended the first war, with the praises and triumphs of this man of war, adored and worshiped by his party, who stuck not to blaspheme God and his Scriptures, attributing all those Hosanna's, and psalms, and songs of deliverance and victory to this their champion, in effect, making a meer idol of him; which phanatick religious veneration he missed not to improve, though, for the present, he covered his ambition with modesty and humility, ascribing all things, in a canting way of expression, to the goodness and omnipotence of God, which he frequently and impiously abused, intituling it to all his wicked and villainous designs and actions.

The war thus ended, and the king having escaped their swords, and so the main rub yet lay in the way to his projected sovereignty; he resolved by treachery to ruin him. To this purpose, that he might render the king indisposed to the terms and propositions of the parliament, which were hard and unreasonable enough besides, he pretended to the king, that the army should take his part, and declare for him; as on the other side (in the parliament house, and privately in the army, telling them that the king's design of peace and agreement was only to get them disbanded, and then hang them for their rebellion) he exasperated them against the king, adding that God had hardened his heart against any composure, and had rejected him; and when all this would not do, but that the people every day more and more were undeceived, and he conceived a fear, they might rescue the king from Hampton-court, and bring him to London, which the king and all good men desired; he contrived another wicked device to the king's final overthrow, by scaring him with the adjutators' (such were two selected, out of each company and troop) conspiracy to assassinate him, and so making him fly to the Isle of Wight, a distant and sure prison, from whence he never came but to his death. The king a while before was not ignorant of these treacherous arts of Cromwell, seeing nothing performed, as to substance, of whatever he promised, and, therefore, did roundly tax him with his faithlesness; who, at the upshot, told the king, that he did misconstrue his words, or else he remembered no such matter; and that, if it were so, yet it were no time to perform them, till the discipline of the army was recovered, and those adjutators in a capacity to be questioned, who were now most outrageously and uncontroulably violent against his person and government, with many more such flams and delays, and traiterous fallacies.

The king being in prison at Caresbroke Castle in the said isle, by the juggling of Cromwell with Hammond the governor (brother to one of the king's most affected chaplains) an ungrateful fellow, who owed himself to the king's bounty, several fresh attempts were made for his restitution; that, which particularly concerned this Oliver, was the Welch insurrection at Pembroke, which town, in July, after a brave defence, was surrendered to him; and the Scots invasion under Duke Hamilton, whose army, to which were joined some three thousand English under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, he totally defeated at Preston in Lancashire, on the 17th of August (and not long after the General Fairfax took in Colchester, which had stood out three months in expectation of relief from this army, upon the same account) and pursued his victory as far as Scotland, marching to Edinburgh, and there making sure of a party, dealing with bribes, and other forceable persuasions, and making them disarm themselves to give him no disturbance or interruption, in the accomplishing his most execrable regicide, for which he was now ready, the expected advantages and opportunities being now in his hand.

CHAP. VIII.

Cromwell turns out the Parliament, murders the King, and sets up a Commonwealth, who, invading Scotland and Ireland, make him their General.

Cromwell posting to London, he and his son Ireton put the council of officers, to demand justice upon the king, as the capital offender, and author of all the troubles and bloodshed; which he so eagerly prosecuted, that though the parliament had nearly concluded with the king in the Isle of Wight, after a full treaty, he by Col. Pride, one that would venture upon any thing he was commanded by him, secludes twice the major part of the members, and then packs up a juncto of army blades, of some fifty, who constitute a high court of justice, by which the martyr king was traiterously and barbarously condemned and beheaded, January 30. By the same juncto and rump of a parliament, the kingship and government by a single person was voted useless and dangerous, to which Cromwell freely assented, as purposing to time his ambition, now the great obstacle was removed.

But, though the king and his interest were defunct in England, yet they were not in Ireland or Scotland; whereupon, Cromwell is made general for the Irish expedition, and though he was the only dissuader of the soldiery from that service, during the quarrel betwixt the Independents and the Presbyterians, and while he had accomplished his mischievous ends upon the king; yet now he is severely bent to transport such as the lot should appoint: Which the levelling party, the adjutators, whelps of his own litter, refusing and mutinying, them likewise under pretence of a treaty, and giving and receiving satisfaction (their usual expressions) he betrays and surprises at Burford (not daring to venture a fight with them, for fear of a total defection of his own party) and had the ring-leaders shot to death.

Having surmounted this difficulty, he wafts his army over into Ireland, and presently storms Tredagh, and understanding it was the flower of the king's army, set there to give him a repulse, having twice been beaten off, he led his men himself the third time, and entered, and put all to the sword (having amused the defendants who maintained the breach, but, having then lost their colonel, were in some confusion, through offer of quarter, and by that device got admittance) with a like baseness, treachery, and cruelty.

After that, followed the rendition of most of that kingdom, the

Lord-lieutenant thereof, the Marquis of Ormond, being in no condition to resist him: Whereupon the Scotch war then newly beginning, Cromwell was sent for over, and the Presbyterian ministers, set on, no doubt, by some of his agents, having inveigled Fairfax with the unlawfulness of his engaging against their good brethren, he laid down his commission, which was readily conferred on, and taken up by Cromwell.

CHAP. IX.

Of Cromwell's March into Scotland, his Victories at Dunbar and Worcester, and the Reduction of that Kingdom.

GLADLY did Oliver undertake this war, for now he was sure to make the army his own, by placing and displacing of officers. Long it was, and many delays were used by the Scots, before they would be brought to fight, intending to starve the English army, which was near done to their hands, and Oliver sneaking away home, when the precipitate blue cap, greedy of spoil and victory, would needs fall upon them at Dunbar, Sept. 3, 1650, and were there, by the prowess and desperate valour of their enemies, totally overcome. Cromwell, therefore, now marches back again to Edinburgh, and buys that impregnable castle, of the traitor Dundass, and advances against king Charles the Second, who lay encamped by Stirling; but he not stirring out of his fortified camp, and there being no other or further passage into Scotland, but over the Frith, an arm of the sea: Cromwell wafts over most part of his army, and defeats a Scots party, while the king gives Cromwell the go-by, being two days march before him, and after a tedious march, came to Worcester, August 22; whither, not long after, came Cromwell in great doubt and perplexity by the way (having left General Monk, to carry on the war in Scotland, who, shortly after, reduced the whole kingdom) and beset the town, being recruited, and made up with his old army, to above forty-thousand men; what shall I say, of that unfortunate day? The king was worsted, and most miraculously escaped, and so Cromwell might have leave to play.

But no such matter, the time was come, he had long expected, to act his own game, and appear in it for himself, for by the year 1653, Scotland and Ireland being wholly subdued, and in the hands of his most trusty privado's and confidents, his new Son-in-Law Fleetwood (for Ireton was dead of the plague at Limerick) being Deputy of Ireland, and General Monk Governor of Scotland; he proposeth to the parliament the desires of the army, for their dissolution, to make way for succession of a new representative; which they endeavouring to delay, and to impose upon him with the necessities of their sitting a while longer, his ambition could brook no longer retardments, but sent Major-general Harrison on the 20th of April, 1653, to out their rump-ships; which he accordingly did, to the general rejoicing of the people, who considered nor cared, who should come next, so they were rid of these.

CHAP. X.

How Cromwell ordered the Government afterward, and how he made himself Lord Protector of England.

After the rump was thus dissolved, Oliver by the advice (forsooth) of his general council of officers, erected a council of state, of such as were true to his interest, and the army, and were well fledged with the spoils of the kingdom; but, perceiving that was but a slender authority to derive the government to himself, which was the first and last thing intended, he called a picked conventicle, of the like batch as himself and his followers, all of the godly party, whom he stiled a parliament; the name whereof was enough to authorise and dignify the resignation of the authority they had from, to, him: and their odious actions, moreover, would make a single person (himself) more acceptable; for these wild fellows were upon abolishing the ministry, and opening the floodgate to heresy and atheism; when Cromwell dissolved them, and with them discarded his old friend, and their darling, Major-general Harrison, who was tampering with the army to unhorse Oliver; but he smelt him out, and cashiered him, as he did his trusty friend Lambert, soon after, as finding they were both greater in the army, than his safety and interest would suffer: So impossible it is for brethren in iniquity long to continue in love and friendship. Oliver would endure no competitor, but resolved to be single and supreme.

CHAP. XI.

How Oliver was sworn Protector, and how he managed the Government, briefly.

That little or foolish parliament being divided among themselves, one part thereof resigned their power unto Oliver, who straightwith caused the commissioner of the seal, Mr. Lisle, to administer him an oath, on the sixteenth of December, 1653, before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, in Westminster-hall, to observe a model of government in forty-two articles; which instrument of his, as was said, was found in my Lady Lambert's placket, and thereupon he was proclaimed lord protector; in February he was feasted sumptuously in the city, and knighted the lord mayor, as he did many others afterwards, upon whom he had better have pissed: He made, also, one lord, but he never owned it. Now, though he was proclaimed protector, yet he knew the people took him for no such thing; therefore he called a parliament according to form, thinking to have been declared so by them; but they would not own him, or his authority. Seeing, therefore, he could neither get reputation nor money at home, he resolved to have it from the king of Spain's West-Indies; but, at Hispaniola, his forces, under General Venables, were strangely defeated, and forced to plant themselves in Jamaica, and fight for bread instead of gold. He likewise started several plots (the fox was the finder) against cavaliers, such as Colonel Gerrard, and afterwards Colonel Penruddock (maintaining intelligence, at the price of one-thousand-five-hundred per annum, with one Manning, a clerk to the king's secretary, who then resided at Colen, who discovered most of the king's council, till he was discovered himself, and executed) on purpose to terrify people, and those especially, from rising against him.

Now, when Oliver saw he could not attain his will by whole parliaments, he resolved on his old expedient, to garble a parliament, call it, and then cull it, which he did, and secluded those members that would not, before they entered, recognise and own his highness; by which means two parts of three were excluded, and he, by the remainder, complimented with the stile of king; but, for fear of Lambert and Harrison, and, indeed, the whole kingdom, especially the army, he durst not accept of it; but was content to take the title of protector from their hands; and was accordingly, on the sixteenth of June, 1657, solemnly installed by the speaker, Sir Thomas Widdrington, again, in Westminster-hall, and the parliament adjourned, who had likewise passed an act for erecting of a thing called another house, consisting of such lords as Pride, Hewson, and Barkstead; but, upon the meeting of a full house, after the adjournment, all this new structure was questioned, even to Oliver himself; who thereupon, in a passion, and transported beyond his vizarded sanctity, with an oath, by the living God, dissolved them.

In the year 1658, he assisted the French against the Spaniard, and helped them to take Dunkirk, which, for his pains, he had delivered to him; and, no doubt, it was the best service he ever did to his country. But, during this unenvied triumph, having drenched his polluted hands in more innocent and loyal blood, namely, that of Dr. Hewet, and Sir Henry Slingsby, God put a hook into the mouth of this Leviathan, and having snatched away his beloved daughter, Claypoole, just before, on the third of September, 1658, his great successful day, he was hurried in a tempest out of the world, which he had so long troubled; and, on the sixteenth of November following, was most magnificently buried, to the only sorrow of those who furnished the mourning and pageantry thereof, leaving his wife Elisabeth, alias Joan, with two sons, Richard, who succeeded, till he tamely and cowardly resigned, and is now fled for his father's debts; and Henry, and a daughter ycleped Frances Rich. A person, as it is well charactered of him, fit to be a prince of Tartars or Cannibals.

Before the king returned into England, Colonel Henry Cromwell, son of Sir Oliver Cromwell, obtained license of the king to change that hateful name into Williams, which was the name of this family, before they married with a daughter and heir of Cromwell; which was upon condition they should take her name, as well as estate.

A NARRATIVE

OF THE

IMPRISONMENT AND USAGE OF COLONEL JOHN HUTCHINSON,

Of Owthorp, in the County of Nottingham, Esq. now close Prisoner in the Tower of London.

Written by himself, on the sixth of April, 1664, having then received intimation that he was to be sent away to another Prison; and therefore he thought fit to print this, for the satisfying his Relations and Friends of his Innocence.

Let the proud be ashamed, for they deal perversly with me, without a cause; but I will meditate in thy precepts. Psal. cxix. 78.

Printed in the Year 1664. Quarto, containing twelve Pages.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following Narrative, being written with an air of the strictest veracity, ought to be preserved among the other Materials for History, which we accumulate in these Collections, as it affords a very just idea of the Methods of Justice, which were at that time in use, and may assist our Readers in forming a judgment of the Reign of Charles the Second.

One advantage at least will be afforded by the perusal of this piece; the Reader, amidst his Indignation at the Cruelties, and his Pity of the Hardships which are here recounted, cannot fail to congratulate himself upon the Happiness of living at a Time, when no such Miseries are to be felt, or such Practices to be feared.———J.*

UPON the eleventh day of October, 1663, being the Lord's-day, about seven of the clock at night, there being at that time no one person but my own family in the house with me, a party of horse came to my house at Owthorp in Nottinghamshire, commanded by one Coronet Atkinson, who told me, I must immediately go with him to Newark. I demanded to see his warrant; and, after some dispute, he shewed me a scrip of paper, signed by Mr. Francis Leke, one of the deputy lieutenants, to this effect, as near as I can remember, for he would not give me a copy of it.

To Coronet Atkinson.

YOU are hereby required, to repair to the house of John Hutchinson, Esq. at Owthorp, with a party of horse, and him to seize and bring forthwith to Newark, and to search the said house for what arms you can find, and bring them away also.

Having shewed me this order, they searched the house, and found no arms, but four birding guns of my sons, which hung openly in the kitchen, and them at that time they left; but although the night was very foul and rainy, and I myself was not at that time well, and had not any accommodation for riding, neither of horses, saddles, or other necessaries, not having been on horseback for many months before; and though I and my family urged these reasons to them, offering all civil entertainment, if they would but have staid till the next morning, when I might have gone with the less hazard of my life and health; yet could I not prevail with them, but he forced me to borrow horses and go out of my house at midnight; and, about four of the clock the next morning, they brought me to the Talbot at Newark, which is twelve miles distant from my house, and set two sentinels upon me in my chamber.

While I was thus kept prisoner at Newark, a greater party of horse than that which fetched me, was sent again to my house at Owthorp, under the command of Tomson the Innkeeper where I lay, who, on Tuesday the 13th of October at night, came thither, and made a stricter search all over the house, in every box and trunk, in all the barns, mows, and every hole they could imagine, yet found no more arms than the four guns, which the former party left behind them, but these took away; the rest of the arms, which I had of old, having been all taken away immediately after the act of oblivion past, which, as I conceive, left me as rightful a possessor of my own goods, as any other Englishman; yet, when I was at London, Mr. Cecil Cooper sent a party of soldiers, and took them all out of my house, leaving me not so much as a sword, though at that time there was no prohibition of my wearing one.

Having been removed out of the chamber where I was first lodged at Tomson's, into a very bad room, upon pretence that the other looked into the market place, I received many more insolences and affronts from the drunken Host, till at length I was resolved to bear them no longer; seeing, although I had now been four days at Newark, neither the gentleman by whose warrant I was fetched, tho' he came every day to the house where I was, nor any of the king's officers came at me, to let me know why I was kept there. Whereupon, being provoked by the insolence of the Host to throw something at his head, upon the bustle between us, Mr. Leke came in, and I had then opportunity to tell him that I stood upon my justification, and desired to know my crime, and my accuser; and in the mean time that I might be kept as safe as they pleased, so I might be delivered out of the hands of this insolent fellow, and have accommodation fit for a gentleman; which when they saw I would no longer want, with much difficulty, after two days, I obtained to be removed to the next Inn, where I was civilly treated, with guards still remaining upon me.

On Monday, October the nineteenth, Mr. Leke carried me with a guard of horse to Welbeck, the Marquess of Newcastle's house, where I was honourably entertained by the marquess, who, upon discourse with me, told me, he heard I desired to know my accuser, which he said, he knew no more than I; and my lord, upon the arguments I alledged to him, to evince my innocence, being persuaded of it, sent me back without a guard, only engaging me to stay one week at home at my own house, in which space, if I heard no more from him, I might be free to go whither I would. I was not willing to have accepted this favour, but rather desired to stay in custody till my accuser was produced, and I could clear myself, but, my lord pressing it upon me, I could not refuse it; so that night I returned to Newark, and the next day to my own house, where I stayed only till Thursday, the twenty-second, on which day about eleven of the clock in the forenoon, I was fetched again prisoner by a party of horse, commanded by Corporal Wilson, with a warrant signed by Mr. Leke, and brought again to Newark to Mr. Twentimans, where I was last quartered, and two sentinels again set upon me.

The twenty-third, Mr. Leke came to me, and shewed me a letter he had received from the Marquess of Newcastle, acquainting him, he was sorry he could not pursue the civility he intended me, having received orders from the Duke of Buckingham, that I should be kept prisoner, without pen, ink, or paper; and, to shew the reality of this, there was a copy of the letter that brought the order to the marquess, wherein there was an expression to this effect: 'That, though the duke could not make it out as yet, he was confident he should find me to be in the plot. After Mr. Leke had communicated this to me, he told me, that he himself was to go to London, and the mayor of Newark was to take me into his charge.

After he was gone from me, the mayor sent one Robert Beck to tell me, I must go along with him to his house. I asked him who he was; he told me, he was the jailor. I asked if his house were the jail; he told me he had prisoners in it. I asked him what warrant, mittimus, or order he had to take me into his custody, as his prisoner; he told me, he had none in writing, but the mayor's verbal order. I told him, I would not go to jail upon a verbal order, for no magistrate could send me to jail without a mittimus, expressing some crime, as the cause of his so doing; and therefore I desired him to return to the mayor, and wish him to consider what he did, and to take counsel of any of the lawyers in his own town, whether he could legally carry me to the jail, without calling me before him, or having any complaint against me. But he was resolved, right or wrong, I should go thither; and, after many vain messages to intreat me to go, when I would not be persuaded to it voluntarily, he sent five constables, without any warrant, but his own word, to seize and carry me by force. I admonished them also of their illegal violence upon me; but they were bold to affront the laws, and forced me out of my quarters, along the streets, and into the jail, where I again told the jailor what danger of the law he incurred, by receiving and detaining me prisoner; and asked him if he had any mittimus under any magistrate's hand, to take me into his custody as prisoner? He told me, he had none but the mayor's verbal order, and he must do it, for the mayor had promised to bear him out; which I desired the constables, soldiers, and the rest of the company to bear witness of, how that, without any legal commitment, I was forced into the jail, where afterwards the fellow used me, for the time I stayed, as civilly as his house would afford; but, by reason of the plaister-floors, which I was not used to, I fell sick there, where I remained, from Friday at night, October the twenty-third, till Wednesday the twenty-eighth, about ten of the clock in the morning.

Upon the twenty-seventh, Mr. Leke came to me at the jail, and with him the Marquess of Newcastle's secretary, and told me the marquess had received express orders from the king, to send me up in safe custody to London: But Mr. Leke, finding me very ill, was so civil as to allow me to go up to London by my own house (which was near a road) that I might take accommodations for my journey, and be carried up in my own coach, without which, I had not been able to have gone at that time. Mr. Leke himself, being necessitated to make more haste, went away before the party of horse, that was to guard me up, came into Newark; and left his orders for sending me away with Mr. Atkinson, who first seized me prisoner.

The same twenty-seventh of October, another party of horse came again late in the night to my house, and searched my papers, my wife and I being both at Newark, what cabinets they found not the keys of, they broke open.

On the twenty-eighth, in order to my going to London, I was brought by Beck the jailor back to Twentimans, to be delivered to the party of horse that was to guard me to London: But, they coming very slowly and unwillingly upon that account, I remained all that day in the custody of the jailor at the inn. At night when I was in bed, the mayor, being in his cups, sent to command me, to be carried back to the jail; but the jailor being then more civil and wise, knowing that I had been some time in bed, refused to disturb me, and offered that he, and his man, would sit up as a guard upon me; which would not satisfy, but they sent two soldiers to be set at my door. The next day, the party, commanded to guard me up, not being come into Newark, a mean fellow, which was to command them, came and told me, I must go another way, and not by my own house, nor have the privilege of being carried by my own coach, which Mr. Leke had allowed me. Whereupon I sent to Mr. Atkinson, who had the order from Mr. Leke to send me away, and he having been formerly a great prosecuter of me, though unsuccessfully, to have broken the act of oblivion upon me. Whether malice, or ignorance how to behave himself, or vexation to find the country so unready in this service, moved him to it, I know not, but he was so obstinate, in a peevish cross humour, to have cut me off from all the humanity that Mr. Leke had shewed me; that, although Mr. Cecil Cooper, and Mr.

Penistone Whalley, one a deputy lieutenant, and both justices of the peace of the county, persuaded him all they could, yet no reasonable thing could be obtained from him, till I, growing as resolute as he, was dispatching a post to the Marquess of Newcastle, to intreat a countermand of his barbarism, who would have forced me on horse-back when I was so ill that I could not have ridden one stage, without manifest hazard of never being able to ride another. At length, by the renewed civil interposition of Mr. Cooper, he was overruled to condescend, that, some of the horse appointed for my guard being come in, I should go with them to my own house that night, and there expect the rest the next morning. This contest ending about sunset, the twenty-ninth day I was brought out of Newark, and the coach overthrown and broken in the night, so that I was forced to stay the next day at Owthorp to mend it, and, on Saturday the thirty-first, was brought to Stamford where I would have rested the Sabbath-day, but, they not suffering me, on Tuesday the third of November, I was brought to the crown in Holbourn, and the next morning received by Mr. Leke, and immediately carried, with part of the guard that brought me up, to the Tower of London; and, by the same Mr. Leke, now Sir Francis Leke, delivered there a prisoner, by a warrant signed by secretary Bennet, bearing date the twenty-fifth of October, wherein I stood committed close prisoner for treasonable practices, although the secretary had never seen nor examined me, nor any other magistrate, to know whether or no I could clear myself from the charge of treasonable practices, if there were any such given against me.

On Friday, November the sixth, I was sent for by secretary Bennet to his lodgings at White-Hall, which was the first time I was examined, and the questions he asked me were,

1. Where I had lived these four or five months?

I answered, constantly at my own house in Nottinghamshire.

2. What company used to resort to my house?

I told him, none, not so much as my nearest relations scarce ever saw me.

3. What company I frequented?

I told him, none, for I never stirred out of my own house to visit any.

He said, That was very much.

4. Whether I knew Mr. Henry Nevil?

I answered, Very well.

He asked, When I saw him?

I said, To my best remembrance, never since the king came in.

Then he asked, When I writ to him?

I said, Never in my life.

When he writ to me?

I said, Never.

Whether any messages had passed from him to me, or me to him?

I answered, None at all.

5. Whether none had ever moved any thing concerning a republick to me?

I told him, I knew none so indiscreet.

6. What children I had?

I told him, Four sons and four daughters.

What age my sons were?

I told him, Two were at man's estate, two little children.

7. Where I went to church to hear divine service, common-prayer?

I told him, No where; for I never stirred out of my own house.

Whether I had it not read there?

I answered ingenuously, No.

How I then did for my soul's comfort?

To which I answered, sir, I hope you will leave that for me to account between God and my own soul.

He then told me, I had cut him off of many questions he should have asked me, by my answer to these, and I might return.

So I was sent back again to the Tower, with two of the warders which brought me thither to guard me.

Not long after, at the same time, when Mr. Waters, who was brought prisoner to the Tower out of Yorkshire, was sent for to Whitehall, I was also in very great haste carried thither; but with a stronger guard, and greater formality and strictness, than before; for now I had not only the Deputy-lieutenant, and my own keeper, but a guard of musketiers by water with me; and, when I came to land at Whitehall-stairs, there was ready an officer, one Mr. Andrews, to receive me, who, with a file or two of musketiers, carried me to Sir Henry Bennet's lodgings, and there I observed a great deal of care to place the guard at the outward door in the court, that none might peep in, except some few gentlemen, who were admitted to stare me in the face, none being in the room, except Mr. Andrews and myself, for a long time. till at last my keeper thrust in. In which room I thus stayed two hours, concluding that I should now be confronted by some accuser, or at least have an examination more tending to treasonable practices than my first seemed to do, especially understanding that Mr. Waters had been some hours before in the house, and was yet there; but, at last, out comes Mr. Secretary Bennet, who calling me a little aside to the window, from Mr. Andrews and my keeper, says, 'Mr. Hutchinson, you have now been some days prisoner, 'have you recollected yourself any thing more that you have to 'say, than when I last spoke to you?'

To whom I answered, That I had nothing to recollect, nor more to say.

Are you sure of it? said he.

I replied, Very sure.

Then, said he, you must return to prison.

And accordingly I was carried by the same guard back again to the Tower, where I have ever since been kept close prisoner, with all imaginable strictness, to the ruin of my health and all my affairs.

After Michaelmas term had thus past, in the beginning of Candlemas term, I sent my wife to Sir Henry Bennet, to acquaint him what infinite prejudice this close imprisonment was to me, by reason of a mortgage upon my estate, and the advantage that my tenants and all other people made of my close restraint, which hindered me from speaking to my lawyers and others, that it nearly concerned me, to treat with, about my affairs; but the secretary told her, that I was a very unhappy person, in regard of my former crimes. To which she answered, she esteemed me very happy, in that I was comprised in the act of oblivion; but he, with a doubled reflexion on my former crimes, notwithstanding she had put him in mind of the act of oblivion, said, He should not move the king to allow me any more liberty, unless he could be secured, it might be more safe for his majesty, than he could apprehend it. After such a real necessity, as she made it appear to him, there was of suffering persons to come to me, to treat of the concernments of my estate, it booted her not, to urge the danger of my health, and all other inconveniences which I suffered by being forced to make provision for my dispersed family in three places, the intolerable charge of it, and the impossibility of procuring supplies, while I was kept thus. All this was neglected, and wrought no other effect, but to turn the undeserved oppressions, I groan under, into as unjust a reproach upon me.

I had not written this narrative, but that I understand, now, after twenty-two weeks close imprisonment in the Tower, instead of being brought to a legal trial or set at liberty, I am to be removed from hence to another prison; and though the form and date of the warrant of my commitment close prisoner to the Tower of London, compared with the day of my first being brought to town, together with the times and manner of my examinations by Mr. Secretary Bennet, did clearly let me see, how it was resolved I should be disposed of, before it could possibly be known whether I should appear guilty or innocent, if any accusation was given in against me, not having at that time, nor till some days after I had been close prisoner in the Tower, ever been examined by any man; yet it being still more manifest, by assigning me to a prison, in a place so remote from my family and affairs, and so dangerous to my infirm constitution, to say nothing of the intolerable charge, as that is, to which I hear I must go; and indeed, neither this where yet I am, whilst I am close kept up, nor scarce any other isle or castle, that I know of, will be much less mischievous to me in those respects. I hold it a duty I owe to my own innocence, to publish this narrative, whether I be sent away, or stay in this prison, it being equally destructive to my life and family; leaving my blood, if thus spilt, and the ruin of my family, thus occasioned, to cry to heaven for that justice, which I am not thought worthy of here. And whilst I am yet suffered to breathe, having no other refuge on earth, putting up my petitions to the great judge of heaven and earth, as one not without hope in God, in the words of the prophet David, Psal. xliii. Judge me, O God, and plead my cause, &c. John Hutchinson.

From the Tower of London, April 6,
at Night, 1664.

THE
ORDERS, LAWS, and ANCIENT CUSTOMS of SWANS,

By JOHN WITHERINGS, Esquire,

Master and Governor of the Royal Game of Swans and Cygnets throughout England.

London, Printed in 1664. *Quarto, containing six Pages.*

To the Worshipful John Witherings, Esquire, Chief Master and Governor
of the Royal Game of Swans and Cygnets throughout the
Kingdom of England.

SIR,

Your Deputy, Master Loggins, hearing that I had some ancient notes of the customs and orders concerning Swans, desired me, that you might have a sight of them; which I have sent you, together with certain precedents, or forms of commissions for keeping Swan-herds courts, and copies of ancient patents, which I received of a very honest gentleman, Master Edward Clerke, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esquire, Father to Sir Edward Clerke, one of the masters of the Chancery. These he delivered me, about eighteen years since; at which time Sir Lawrence Tanfeeld, late Lord Chief Baron, and myself had a deputation, from Sir William Andrews, of that walk, which Master Loggins now hath from you. Master Clerke was before me; but, as I remember, he told me he had his deputation from my Lord of Buckhurst, and not from Sir James Mervin. Howsoever, the titles are truly by me transcribed, as I received them written with his own hand. There are orders also printed, and yet somewhat differing from these; which orders were made at one particular court, long ago: And, at a court holden at Burford, in the County of Oxon, about fifteen years since, by the said Sir Lawrence Tanfeeld and others, some new orders were made, which, Sir Lawrence Tanfeeld said, were warrantable by the commission, and lawful to be made, where and when they were fit and necessary for the preservation of Swans; yet so, that those particular orders may be altered, upon occasion; but the ancient customs, contained under the name of orders, may not. There hath been so little care taken, for preserving and publishing these ancient customs, that they are not of all gamesters known; and your deputies commonly send their servants among us, who, as they are more or less covetous, so do they impose more or less upon us; and, when we, that are the ancient gamesters, oppose them, we have some contention. You shall, therefore, Sir, do well, if, comparing these with your other notes, you find them to serve generally for England, as well as for our River of Thames, that you give to all your deputies, and to all commissioners, copies, that so all gamesters may know the certain customs, which are to be kept: And so I bid you heartily farewell.

Your loving Friend,
John D'oyly.

From Alborne in Wiltshire,
this 26th of January, 1631.

The Laws, Orders, and Customs of Swans, taken out of a Book, which the Lord of Buckhurst delivered to Edward Clerke, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq; to peruse, Ann. Elis. 26. On the backside of which Book, it was thus intitled: Taken out of an ancient Book, remaining with Master Hambden, sometime Master of the Swans.

FIRST, If any person doth possess any game of swans, that may not dispend five marks a year of freehold (except the son of the king) the swans of every such person are forfeited to the king, 22 Edward IV.

2. If any person possess any game of swans, and hath not paid his fine for the same, his game of swans is to be seized for the king, till his fine be paid; which fine is six shillings and eight pence; and no man is to pay it more than once, during his life.

3. But, if any person, having no mark allowed him, have one or more swans given him, or have any land-bird sign-marked, he may keep them in the common river till the next upping-time without fine, paying the commons and other charges for the Upping.

4. If any person, having swans, either within franchises, or without, be attainted, his swans are forfeited to the king only, and not to any other persons whatsoever.

5. Also all swans, that are clear of bill, without mark or sign-mark, are the king's only, whether they be pinioned, or flying swans.

6. Also all stray swans, which no man can challenge by his mark, those are the king's only; and they are to be seized for the king, and marked on the leg, but are not to be carried away the first year.

7. In all common streams, and private waters, when cygnets are taken up, the owner of the cob must chuse the first cygnet, and the pen the next, and so in order; but, if there be three, then the owner of the grass, where they breed, must have the third for the spoil of his grass, and pay to the king twelve pence for the same land-bird, saving in such places, where, of ancient custom, they pay less or more.

8. If an airy be led with one swan only, the half of those cygnets shall be seized for the king, till proof be made, whose the swan was, that is away; but are not to be carried away that year.

9. The master of the game, or his deputy, shall yearly come, at the usual days of marking swans in that stream, on pain of losing his fees during his absence; and he shall keep a roll, or standard-book, containing all the usual marks of that stream. He shall also keep a register-book of the number of every man's swans, and the place where they are upped; and shall likewise bring the book of the last year; for which every gamester is to give him, yearly, four pence.

10. Also the master of the game, or his deputy, is to have a penny for upping every white swan, and two pence for every cygnet; and shall have his dinner and supper, and hay or grass for his horse, discharged by the gamesters every upping-day, except in such streams, where, by ancient custom, other composition is used.

11. If any man desire the master of the game to enter any note in his book, other than the notes due to be written, as aforesaid, or to take any note out of his book under his hand, he is to pay four pence.

12. If any marked swan be unpinioned, and thereby do fly, the owner of that swan is to pay four pence; and, if any man take any flying swan, or cygnet, he must bring the same to the master of the game, or his deputy, and take for his pains eight pence, on pain of forty shillings.

13. It is ordained, that no person shall lay leaps, set any nets, or drags within the common streams or rivers, upon the day-time, from the feast of the Invention of the Cross, unto the feast of Lammas, upon pain, so often as they be found so offending, to forfeit twenty shillings.

14. If any swan be found double-marked, embezzled, or by unskilfulness put out of the right mark, the master of the game is to chuse five gamesters (such as are indifferent) to judge who hath right to that swan; and he, to whom the swan shall be adjudged, shall pay four pence for registering the said embezzled or wrong mark: But, if these five, or the greater number of them, do not adjudge the said swan to one of the gamesters, then the swan is due to the king.

15. The usual days for upping of swans are not to be altered without consent of the greater number of gamesters of that stream, and that by proclamation made in all market-towns near the said stream.

16. No person shall go on marking, without the master of the game, or his deputy, be present, upon pain to forfeit forty shillings: But, if, by sickness, or other occasion, he be absent at the usual upping-days, the company may go on, so that some sworn gamester keep the register-book, and receive all the dues, and deliver them to him, at his coming.

17. If any person do embezzle, rase, or alter the mark of any swan, to the loss or hindering of any man's game, he shall suffer one year's imprisonment, and be fined three pounds six shillings and eight pence, and for ever be disabled to be a gamester.

18. And, to the end that, in upping-time, no swan be embezzled, it is ordained, that no man draw blood of any swan, till the master of the game, or his deputy, have viewed the said swan, and declared whose the swan is.

19. No swan, other than clear-billed, is to be marked for the king on the beak, but only on the leg; for two marks on the beak are unlawful.

20. The master of the game may presently sell, or carry away, all swans that are clear-billed, embezzled, as aforesaid, and all swans forfeited for want of freehold, or by attaint of the owner.

21. And yet neither the master of the game, nor any other gamester, may take away any swan, which is in brood with any other man's, or which is coupled, and hath a walk, without the other's consent for breaking the brood.

22. It is ordained, that commons, that is to say, dinner and supper, is to be paid daily by every banker or commoner, whether he be present, or absent; but, if he be absent, the master of the game is to lay it out for him (as likewise all other dues) till the

next meeting, or upping; but the said commons shall not exceed above twelve pence a man, and, if the company will spend more, they are to pay the overplus by the poll.

23. To the end that diet may be had at a reasonable rate, and likewise lodging, the place of taking both is to be chosen by the greater number of the commoners.

24. If any person be found carrying a swan-hook, within forty lugs of any stream, saving on the upping-days, and not accompanied with two swan-herds, he shall forfeit one pound ten shillings and four pence. But, upon the upping-days, every gamester, that carrieth not a hook (except such gentlemen as, for pleasure, go to see their own game) shall forfeit eight pence a day; the one half to be for the master of the game, the other half for the company.

25. No person shall take up any swan or cygnet, marked or unmarked, unless it be done in the presence of two other swan-herds, and that by allowance of the master of the game, or his deputy; for which allowance he is to pay four pence, upon pain to forfeit forty shillings.

26. If any swan-herd depart before he have made even with the master of the game for all dues, he is to forfeit twelve pence; for which, as for all dues, the master of the game, or his deputy, may distrain the game, and, at the next upping, may pay himself by distraining and sale of the game, rendering to the party the overplus.

27. If there be any person or persons, that have swans, that do airy upon any of their rivers, or several waters, and afterward come to the common water or river, they shall pay a land-bird to the king, and be obedient to all swan-laws; for divers such persons do use collusion to defraud the king of his right.

28. If any person shall take away the egg or eggs of any swan, every such offender shall be imprisoned a year and a day, and shall pay thirteen shillings and four pence for every egg so taken away; whereof half to the king, and half to the owner of the swan, 11 H. VII.

29. If any person do drive away any swan breeding, or providing to breed, be it on his own ground, or on any other man's, he shall be fined thirteen shillings and four pence, and shall suffer one year's imprisonment, 11 H. VII.

30. If any dog shall drive any swan away from her nest, the owner of such dog shall forfeit thirty shillings and four pence; but, if any dog shall kill any old swan, the owner of such dog shall forfeit to the king forty shillings, whether he be there, or not.

31. If any person shall hunt any ducks, or any other chace in the water, with any dog or dogs, in fence-time (that is, from the feast of Easter till Lammas eve) he shall pay, for every offence, six shillings and eight pence.

32. It is ordained, That, if any person doth set any snares, or any manner of nets, lime, or engines, to take bitterns, or swans, from the feast of Easter, to the sunday after Lammas-day; he or

they to forfeit to the king's majesty, for every time so setting, six shillings and eight pence.

33. If there be any weirs upon the rivers, not having grates before them, whereby the swans and cygnets may be defended from drowning, the owner of such weir shall forfeit to the king thirteen shillings and four pence.

34. All fishermen are to assist the master of the game, or his deputy, in the execution of their office, on the upping-days, with their boats at the upper end of their several waters, upon pain of twenty shillings for every default; for which service the master of the game shall cause the accustomed fees to be paid to the said fishermen.

35. Lastly, if there be any other misdemeanor or offence committed, or done by any owner of any game, swan-herd, or other person whatsoever, contrary to any law, ancient custom, or usage heretofore used and allowed, and not before herein particularly mentioned or expressed, you shall present the same offence, that reformation may be had, and the offenders punished, according to the quantity and quality of the several offences.

These orders, according to Master D'oyly's directions, I have examined, and compared with some other orders, which are now in print, and have been observed and used in some parts of this kingdom; but I find anciently used these laws, customs, and orders, in most parts of this kingdom, and not much differing from those orders now printed, in matter of substance, but only in form. As also I find a commission, used for the preservation of the royal game of swans and cygnets, directed to noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, for the inquiring of abuses committed contrary to these laudable orders and customs, and the offences to punish, according to their several qualities; and have caused these orders to be printed, that thereby better knowledge may be taken of them by every deputy-master of the game.

John Witherings.

THE * *EXAMINATION AND TRIAL OF*

MARGARET FELL and GEORGE FOX,

(At the several Assizes held at Lancaster, the fourteenth and sixteenth Days of the first Month, 1663-4*; and the twenty-ninth of the sixth Month* 1664*)*

For their obedience to Christ's Command, who saith, 'Swear not at all:'

Also something in answer to Bishop Lancelot Andrew's Sermon concerning Swearing.

Thus have you made the Commandment of God of none Effect by your Tradition, Matt. xv. 6.

Printed in the Year 1664. *Quarto, containing thirty-four Pages.*

I.

SHE was called to the bar, and when she was at the bar, order was given to the gaoler, by the judge, to set a stool and a cushion for her to sit upon; and she had four of her daughters with her at the bar, and the judge said, 'Let not Mrs. Fell's daughters stand at the bar, but let them come up hither, they shall not stand at the bar;' so they plucked them up, and set them near where the judge sat. Then, after a while, the mittimus was read, and the judge spoke to her, and she stood up to the bar, and he began to speak to her as followeth:

Judge. He said, Mrs. Fell, you are committed by the justices of peace for refusing to take the oath of obedience; and I am commanded, or sent by the king, to tender it to any that shall refuse it.

Margaret Fell. I was sent for from my own house and family, but for what cause or transgression I do not know.

Judge. I am informed by the justices of peace in this county, that you keep multitudes of people at your house, in a pretence of worshiping god; and, it may be, you worship him in part, but we are not to dispute that.

Marg. Fell. I have the king's word from his own mouth, That he would not hinder me of my religion. 'God forbid,' said he, 'that I should hinder you of your religion, you may keep it in your own house.' And I appeal to all the country, Whether those people that met at my house be not a peaceable, a quiet, and a godly honest people? And whether there hath been any just occasion of offence given by the meeting that was kept in my house?

Judge. If you will give security that you will have no more meetings, I will not tender the oath to you: You think if there be no fighting nor quarrelling amongst you, that you keep the peace, and break no law; but I tell you, That you are a breaker of the law, by keeping of unlawful meetings; and again, you break the law, in that you will not take the oath of allegiance.

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* This is the 489th Article in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

Marg. Fell. I desire that I may have the liberty to answer to those two things that are charged against me: And, first, for that which is looked upon to be matter of fact, which is concerning our meetings; there are several of my neighbours that are of the same faith, principle, and spirit, and judgment that I am of; and these are they that meet at my house, and I cannot shut my door against them.

Judge. Mistress, you begin at the wrong end, for the first is the oath.

Marg. Fell. I suppose, that the first occasion of tendering to me the oath, was, because of meeting; but, as for that, if I have begun at the wrong end, I shall begin at the other: And, First, then, as to the oath, the substance of which is allegiance to the king; and this I shall say, as for my allegiance, I love, own, and honour the king, and desire his peace and welfare, and that we may live a peaceable, a quiet, and godly life under his government according to the scriptures, and this is my allegiance to the king; and as for the oath itself, Christ Jesus, the king of kings, hath commanded me not to swear at all, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other oath.

Judge. He called for the statute-book, and the grand jury to be present: Then one of the justices, that committed her, said, Mrs. Fell, You know, that, before the oath was tendered to you, we offered, that, if you would put in security to have no more meetings at your house, we would not tender the oath to you.

Marg. Fell. I shall not deny that.

Judge. If you will yet put in security that you will have no more meetings, I will not tender it to you.

Marg. Fell. Spoke to the judge, and the court, and the rest of the people: You all profess here to be christians, and likewise you profess the scriptures; so, in answer to those things that are laid against me:

First (John iv.) Christ Jesus hath left upon record in the scriptures, that God is a spirit, and that his worship is in the spirit and truth; and that he is seeking of such worshipers to worship him, in which spirit, I and those that meet, in my house, meet and worship God, in obedience to his doctrine and command.

Secondly, Mat. v. The same Christ Jesus hath commanded, in plain words, That I should not swear at all; and, for obedience to Christ's doctrine and command, am I here arraigned this day; and so, you, being christians, and professing the same things in words, judge of those things according to that of God in your consciences, and I appeal to all the country, Whether ever any prejudice, or hurt, those meetings did?

So, after she had spoken of the worship of God in spirit, and obedience to Christ's doctrine and command, &c.

Judge. You are not here for obedience to Christ's commands, but for keeping of unlawful meetings; and you think, that if you do not fight, or quarrel, or break the peace, that you break no law, but there is a law against unlawful meetings.

Marg. Fell. What law have I broken for worshiping God in my own house?

Judge. What law?

Marg. Fell. Aye, What law have I broken for worshiping God in my own house?

Judge. The common law.

Marg. Fell. I thought you had proceeded by a statute. Then the sheriff whispered to him, and mentioned the statute of the 35th of Eliz.

Judge. I could tell you of a law, but it is too penal for you, for it might cost you your life.

Marg. Fell. I must offer and tender my life and all for my testimony, if it be required of me. Then the latter part of the statute was read to the jury for the oath of obedience; and the judge informed the jury and the prisoner, concerning the penalty of the statute upon refusal, for it would be to the forfeiture of all her estate, real and personal, and imprisonment during life.

Marg. Fell. I am a widow, and my estate is a dowry, and I have five children unpreferred; and, if the king's pleasure be to take my estate from me, upon the account of my conscience, and not for any evil or wrong done; let him do as he pleases; and further, I desire that I may speak to the jury of the occasion of my being here.

Judge. The jury is to hear nothing, but me to tender you the oath, and you to refuse it or take it.

Marg. Fell. You will let me have the liberty that other prisoners have, and then she turned to the jury, and said ——— Friends, I am here this day upon the account of my conscience, and not for any evil or wrong done to any man, but for obeying Christ's doctrine and command, who hath said in the scripture, That God is a spirit, and that his worship is in the spirit and truth, and for keeping meetings in the unity of his spirit, and for obeying Christ's command and doctrine, who hath said, Swear not at all; am I here arraigned this day. Now you profess yourselves to be christians, and you own the scriptures to be true, and, for the obedience of the plain words of scripture, and for the testimony of my conscience, am I here; so I now appeal to the witness of God in all your consciences to judge of me according to that.

Secondly, You are to consider this statute what it was made for, and for whom it was made, for papists; and the oath was, allegiance to the king. Now, let your consciences judge, Whether we be the people it was made for, who cannot swear any oath at all, only for conscience sake, because Christ commands not to swear at all.

Judge. Then the judge seemed to be angry, and said, She was not there upon the account of her conscience; and said, She had an everlasting tongue, you draw the whole court after you, and she continued speaking on, and he still crying, Will you take the oath or no?

Marg. Fell. It is upon the account of my conscience, for, if I could have sworn, I had not been here.

Secondly, If I would not have meetings in my house, I need not to have the oath tendered to me, and so I desire the jury to take notice, that it is only for those two things that I am here arraigned; which are only upon the account of my conscience, and not for any evil done against any man. Then the judge was angry again, and bid them tender her the oath, and hold her the book.

Judge. Will you take the oath of allegiance?

Marg. Fell. I have said already, that I own allegiance and obedience to the king at his just and lawful commands; and I do also owe allegiance and obedience to the King of Kings, Christ Jesus, who hath commanded me not to swear at all.

Judge. That is no answer: Will you take the oath, or will you not take it?

Marg. Fell. I say, I owe allegiance and obedience unto Christ Jesus, who commands me not to swear.

Judge. I say unto you, that is no answer: Will you take it, or will you not take it?

Marg. Fell. If you should ask me never so often, I must answer to you: The reason, why I cannot take it, is, because Christ Jesus hath commanded me not to swear at all; I owe my allegiance and obedience unto him.

Then one of the justices, that committed her, said: Mrs. Fell, you may, with a good conscience, if you cannot take the oath, put in security, that you may not have any more meetings at your house.

Marg. Fell. Wilt thou make that good, that I may, with a safe conscience, make an engagement to forbear meetings, for fear of losing my liberty and estate? Wilt not thou, and you all here, judge of me, that it was for saving my estate and liberty that I did it? And do I not in this deny my testimony? And would not this defile my conscience?

Judge. This is no answer: Will you take the oath? We must not spend time.

Marg. Fell. I never took an oath in my life; I have spent my days thus far, and I never took an oath; I own allegiance to the king, as he is king of England, but Christ Jesus is king of my conscience.——Then the clerk held out the book, and bid her pull off her glove, and lay her hand on the book.

Marg. Fell. I never laid my hand on the book to swear, in all my life, and I never was at this assize before; I was bred and born in this county, and have led my life in it, and I was never at an assize before this time, and I bless the Lord, that I am here this day upon this account, to bear testimony to the truth.——Then they asked her if she would have the oath read. She answered: I do not care, if I never hear an oath read; for the land mourns, because of oaths.

Judge. Then the judge cried, take her away.——Then they took her civilly away; and asked her if she would give security, that she would have no more meetings.

Marg. Fell. Nay, I can give no such security, I have spoken enough for that.

Then George Fox was called before Judge Twisden; being a prisoner, the gaoler brought him in.

Judge. What, do you come into the court with your hat on? —And then the gaoler took it off.

George Fox. Peace be amongst you all.——And said, the hat was not the honour that came down from God.

Judge. Will you take the oath of allegiance, George Fox?

Geo. Fox. I never took oath in my life.

Judge. Will you swear, or no?

Geo. Fox. Christ commands we must not swear at all; and the apostle: And, whether must I obey God, or man, judge thee, I put it to thee.

Judge. I will not dispute with thee, George Fox. Come, read the oath to him. And so the oath was read, and, when it was read, give him the book, said they; and so a man, that stood by him, held up the book, and said, lay your hand on the book.

Geo. Fox. Give me the book in my hand. Which set them all a gazing, and as in hope he would have sworn. Then, when he got the book in his hand, he held up the book, and said: This book commands me not to swear, if it be a Bible, I will prove it; and he saw it was a Bible, and he held it up; and then they plucked it forth of his hand again, and cried, will you swear? Will you take the oath of allegiance, yea, or nay?

Geo. Fox. My allegiance lies not in oaths, but in truth and faithfulness; for I honour all men, much more the king: But Christ saith I must not swear, the great Prophet, the Saviour of the world, and the Judge of the world; and thou sayest I must swear: Whether must I obey Christ, or thee? For it is in tenderness of conscience that I do not swear, in obedience to the command of Christ and the apostle; and for his sake I suffer, and in obedience to his command do I stand this day; and we have the word of a king for tender consciences, besides his speeches and declarations at Breda: And dost thou own the king?

Judge. Yes, I own the king.

Geo. Fox. Then why dost not thou own his speeches and declarations concerning tender consciences? To the which he replied nothing; but George said, it is in obedience to Christ, the Saviour of the world, the Judge of the world, before whose judgment-seat all men must be brought, that I do not swear, and am a man of a tender conscience. And then the judge stood up.

Judge. I will not be afraid of thee; thou speaks so loud, thy voice drowns mine and the court's, I must call for three or four cryers to drown thy voice, thou hast good lungs.

Geo. Fox. I am a prisoner here, this day, for the Lord Jesus, that made heaven and earth, and for his sake do we suffer, and for him do I stand this day; and, if my voice was five times louder, yet should I sound it out, and lift it up for Christ's sake, for whose cause I stand this day before your judgment-seat, in obedience to Christ's commands, who commands not to swear, before whose judgment-seat you must all be brought, and give an account.

Judge. Sirrah, will you take the oath?

Geo. Fox. I am none of thy sirrah, I am no sirrah, I am a Christian: Art thou a judge, and sits there to give names to prisoners? Thou ought not to give names to prisoners.

Judge. I am a Christian too.

Geo. Fox. Then, do Christian works.

Judge. Sirrah, thou thinkest to frighten me with thy words, and looked aside, I am saying so again.

Geo. Fox. I speak in love to thee, that doth not become a judge, thou oughtest to instruct a prisoner, of the law and scriptures, if he be ignorant and out of the way.

Judge. George Fox, I speak in love to thee.

Geo. Fox. Love gives no names.

Judge. Wilt thou swear, wilt thou take the oath, yea or nay?

Geo. Fox. As I said before, whether must I obey God or man, judge ye. Christ commands not to swear, and if thou, or ye, or any minister, or priest here will prove that ever Christ or his apostles, after they had forbidden swearing, commanded men should swear, I will swear, and, several priests being there, yet not one did appear.

Judge. George Fox, will you swear or no?

Geo. Fox. It is in obedience to Christ's commands I do not swear, and for his sake we suffer, and you are sensible enough of swearers, how they first swear one way, then another; and if I could swear any oath at all, upon any occasion, I should take that, but it is not denying oaths upon some occasions, but all oaths, according to Christ's doctrine.

Judge. I am a servant to the king, and the king sent me not to dispute, but he sent me, to put his laws in execution, wilt thou swear? Tender the oath of allegiance to him.

Geo. Fox. If thou love the king, why dost thou break his word, and not own his declarations and speeches to tender consciences, from Breda, for I am a man of a tender conscience, for in obedience to Christ's command I am not to swear.

Judge. Then you will not swear, take him gaoler.

Geo. Fox. It is for Christ's sake, I cannot swear, in obedience to his commands I suffer, and so the Lord forgive you all.

And so the mighty power of the Lord God was over all.

The appearance of Margaret Fell the second time, being the sixteenth day of the afore-mentioned month, 1663-4.

Judge. 1. Mrs. Fell, you stand here indicted by the statute, because you will not take the oath of allegiance, and I am here to inform you, what the law provides for you in such a case, viz.

First, If you confess to the indictment, the judgment of a Premunire is to pass upon you.

Secondly, If you plead, you have liberty to traverse.

Thirdly, If you stand mute and say nothing at all, judgment will be passed against you, to see what you will chuse, of those three ways.

Marg. Fell. I am altogether ignorant of these things, for I had never the like occasion, so I desire to be informed by thee, which of them is the best for me, for I do not know; and so several about the court cried, traverse, traverse.

Judge. If you will be advised by me, put in your traverse, and so you have liberty, until the next assizes, to answer your indictment.

Marg. Fell. I had rather according to thy own proposal have a process, that I might have liberty until the next assizes, and then to put in a traverse.

Judge. Your traverse is a process.

Marg. Fell. May not I have a process, and put in my traverse the next assizes, I am informed, that was the thing that thou intended that I should have.

Judge. You shall have it.

Marg. Fell. That is all I desire.—Then, a clerk of the crown office stood up and whispered to the judge, and said it was contrary to law, and said I must put in my traverse now.

Judge. I would do you all the favour I can, but you must enter your traverse now.

Marg. Fell. I acknowledge thy favour and mercy, for thou hast shewn more mercy than my neighbours have done, and I see what thou hast done for me, and what my neighbours have done against me; and I know very well, how to make a distinction, for they who have done this against me, they have no reason for it.

Judge. I have done you no wrong, I found you here.

Marg. Fell. I had not been here but by my neighbours.

Judge. What say you, are you willing to traverse?

Marg. Fell. If I may not be permitted to have that which I desire, that is, longer time, I must be willing to traverse, till the next assizes; and that upon this account, that I have something to inform thee of, which I did not speak on the last time, when I was brought before thee: The justices which committed me, they told me they had express order from above; but they did not shew me the order, neither indeed did I ask them for it, but I heard since, that they have given it out in the country, that they had an order from the council, others said they had an order from the king.—The sheriff said there was express order; and also Justice Fleming said, there was an order from the king and the council; so the country is incensed, that I am some great enemy to the king, so I desire that I may have this order read, that I may know what my offence is, that I may clear myself.

Judge. I will tell you what that order is, we have express order from the king, to put all statutes and laws in execution, not only against you, but all other people, and against papists, if they be complained of.

Marg. Fell. Will that order give the justices of peace power to fetch me from my own house, to tender me the oath?

Judge. Mistress, we are all in love, if they had an order, believe they had one.

Marg. Fell. If they have one, let them shew it, and then I can believe it.

Judge. Come, come, enter the traverse.

Marg. Fell. I had rather have had more time, that I might have informed the king, concerning these things.

Judge. You may inform the king in half a year's time, so now let us have your friend called up.

Then, after she was gone down, the judge called her back again and said, if you will put in bail, you may go home, and have your liberty till the next assizes, but you must not have such frequent meetings.

Marg. Fell. I will rather lie where I am, for as I told you before, I must keep my conscience clear, for that I suffer.

The sixteenth day of the same month, George Fox was brought before the judge, the second time, where he was a little offended at his hat, being the last morning, before he was to depart away, and not many people.

Judge. The judge he read a paper to him, which was, whether he would submit, stand mute, or traverse, and so have judgment past; he spake these and many more words so very softly, and in haste, that George Fox could not tell what he said.

Geo. Fox. Desired it might be traversed and tried.

Judge. Take him away, then I will have no more with him, take him away.

Geo. Fox. Well, live in the fear of God, and do justice.

Judge. Why, have I not done you justice?

Geo. Fox. That which thou hast done hath been against the command of Christ.

This with much more was spoken, which could not be collected.

And then George Fox was called up, the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month in the year 1664.

At the assizes holden at Lancaster, Margaret Fell brought to the bar, the indictment read to the judge, come will you take the oath?

Marg. Fell. There is a clause in the indictment, that the church-wardens informed of something which seemeth, that that should be the ground or first occasion of this indictment, I desire to know what that information was, and what the transgression was, by which I come under this law.

Judge. Mistress, we are not to dispute that, you are here indicted, and you are here to answer, and to plead to your indictment.

Marg. Fell. I am first to seek out the ground and the cause wherefore I am indicted; you have no law against me, except I be a transgressor; the law is made for the lawless and transgressors; and except I be a transgressor, ye have no law against me, neither ought you to have indicted me, for being that the church-wardens did inform, my question is, what matter of fact they did inform of, for I was sent for from my own house, from amongst my children and family, when I was about my outward occasions, when I was in no meeting, neither was it a meeting-day; therefore I desire to know what this first foundation or matter of fact was, for there is no law against the innocent and righteous, and, if I be a transgressor, let me know wherein.

Judge. You say well, the law is made for transgressors, but, mistress, do you go to church?

Marg. Fell. I do go to church.

Judge. What church?

Marg. Fell. To the church of Christ?

Judge But do you go to church amongst other people, ye know what I mean.

Marg. Fell. What dost thou call a church, the house or the people? The house ye all know is wood and stone; but if thou call the people a church, to that I shall answer. As for the church of England that now is, I was gathered unto the Lord's truth, unto which I now stand a witness, before this church was a church. I was separated from the general worship of the nation, when there was another set up than that which is now, and was persecuted by that power that then was, and suffered much hardship; and would you have us now to deny our faith and our principles, which we have suffered for so many years? and would you now have us to turn from that which we have born witness of so many years, and turn to your church contrary to our conscience?

Judge. We spend time about those things, come to the matter in hand, what say you to the oath and to the indictment?

Marg. Fell. I say this to the oath, as I have said in this place before now, Christ Jesus hath commanded me not to swear at all, and that is the only cause and no other; the righteous judge of heaven and earth knoweth, before whose throne and justice ye must all appear one day, and his eye sees us all and beholds us all at this present, and he hears and sees all our words and actions; and therefore every one ought to be serious, for the place of judgment is weighty; and this I do testify unto you here, where the Lord's eye beholds us all, that for the matter or substance of the oath, and the end for which it was intended, I do own one part, and deny the other; that is to say, I do own truth and faithfulness and obedience to the king, and all his just and lawful demands and commands; I do also deny all plotting, contrivings against the king, and all Popish supremacy and conspiracy, and I can no more transgress against King Charles in these things, than I can disobey Christ Jesus his commands; and by the same power and vertue of the same word, which hath commanded me not to swear at all, the same doth bind me in my conscience, that I can neither plot nor contrive against the king, nor do him nor no man upon the earth any wrong; and I do not deny this oath, only because it is the oath of allegiance, but I deny it, because it is an oath, because Christ Jesus hath said I shall not swear at all, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor any other oath; and, if I might gain the whole world for swearing an oath, I could not, and what ever I have to lose this day, for not swearing of an oath, I am willing to offer it up.

Judge. What say you to the indictment?

Marg. Fell. What should I say, I am clear and innocent of the wronging any man upon the earth as my little child that stands by me here, and, if any here have any thing to lay to my charge, let them come down and testify it here before you all; and, if I be clear and innocent, you have no law against me. Then Colonel Kirby and the sheriff whispered to the judge, and I looked up and spoke to Colonel Kirby, and said let us have no whispering, I will not have so many judges one of one side, and another of another, here is one judge that is to be judge: and the judge said no, no, I will not hear them; and then I called to Colonel Kirby, and said if thou have any thing to lay to my charge, or to speak against me, come, come down here, and testify against me; and I said, the judge represents the king's person and his power, and I own that.

Judge. Jury, take notice she doth not take the oath.

Marg. Fell. This matter is weighty to me, whatsoever it is to you, upon many accounts, and I would have the jury to take notice of it, and to consider seriously what they are going to do; for I stand here before you upon the account of the loss of my liberty and my estate.

Secondly, I stand in obeying Christ's commands, and so keeping my conscience clear, which if I obey this law and King Charles's commands, I defile my conscience, and transgress against Christ Jesus, who is the king of my conscience; and the cause and controversy in this matter, that you all are here to judge of this day, is betwixt Christ Jesus and King Charles; and I am his servant and witness this day, and this is his cause, and whatsoever I suffer it is for him, and so let him plead my cause when he pleaseth.

And the judge said to the jury, are ye all agreed, have ye found it? And they said, for the king.

Margaret Fell then spoke to the judge, and said, I have council to plead to my indictment; and he said he would hear them afterwards in arrest of judgment; so the court broke up for that time; and, after dinner when they came again, they intended to have called us at the first, and they had called George Fox out, and was calling me; and I stepped up to the bar, and desired the judge that he would give us time till the next morning to bring in our arrest of judgment; and the judge said at the first we should, and I was stepping down to go my way; and the judge called me back again, and said, mistress Fell, you wrote to me concerning your prisons, that they are bad and rains in, and are not fit for people to lie in; and I answered, the sheriff doth know and hath been told of it several times; and now it is raining if you will send to see, at this present, you may see whether they be fit for people to lie in or no; and Colonel Kirby stood up and spoke to the judge to excuse the sheriff, and the badness of the room; and I spoke to him, and said, if you were to lie in it yourselves, you would think it hard, but your minds is only in cruelty to commit others, as William Kirby here hath done, who hath committed ten of our friends, and put them into a cold room, where there was nothing but bare boards to lie on, where they have laid several nights, some of them old ancient men above threescore years of age, and known to be honest men in their country where they live; and when William Kirby was asked, why they might not have liberty to shift for themselves for beds? He answered and said, they were to commit them to prison, but not to provide prisons for them: And we asked him who should do it then? And he said, the king. And then the judge spoke to him and said, they should not do so, they should let them have prisons fit for men, with several more such like words: and then at that time we were returned to our chambers again; the next day we were called about the tenth hour, and I stood up to the bar, and said I had council there, and named them, that the judge might assign them to speak; and I said I had two or three words to speak before them, and I said, I did see all sorts of prisoners, that did appear before the judge, received mercy, what the law would afford them; but we desired only to receive justice and law, and the judge said what are we here for else? So I stepped down, and the lawyers spoke and shewed the judge several errors, and defects, and places of contradiction, and confusion in the indictment; at which the judge seemed to give ear to some of them, others he seemed to wave; but he made a pause and a stop, and seemed dissatisfied, and then called George Fox; and so then when he came to plead, and bringing that by which his indictment was quite quenched; and then they put the oath to George Fox. Again the judge spoke to the lawyers, and said, he would consider of those particulars they had spoken to, and he would speak to his brother Twisden before he passed judgment upon me; but, if I do pass judgment, you may have a writ of error; and the lawyers answered him again, will you pass an erroneous judgment, my lord? So after they had called the grand jury, and tendered George Fox the oath again, they returned us to our chambers; and when they had drawn another indictment of George Fox, and found it, they called us again in the afternoon, and George Fox pleaded to his indictment and entered his traverse; when he had done, the judge spoke to me, and said, if such a word had been in, which was not in mine, but it was in George Fox's (and yet it was neither of those words, by which his indictment was quashed) but, if that had been in mine, he said he would not have passed sentence, but, being that it was not there, he passed sentence of premunire; then I stood up and told him that he had said to my council, that I might have a writ of error to reverse it; he said I should have what the law would afford me; so I said the Lord forgive thee for what thou hast done, and this law was made for Popish Recusants, but ye pass sentence but on few of them.

MARGARET FELL.

The last Assizes holden at Lancaster, the Twenty-ninth of the sixth month, 1664.

I George Fox, being called before the judge, was put amongst the felons and murtherers, and there stood amongst them above two hours, the people and the justices, and the judge gazing upon me; and they tried many things before the judge, and they called me to the bar, and then the judge caused me to be brought, and he then caused the jury to be called, and then he asked the justices whether they had tendered me the oath at the sessions, and they said they had; and the judge caused the book to be given to the justices for them to swear, they tendered me the oath according to the indictment; and some of them would have refused, and the judge said he would do it to take away occasion, that there might be no occasion; and, when the justices and jury was sworn, the judge asked me whether I had not refused to take the oath the last assize? And I said I never took an oath in my life, and Christ the saviour and judge of the world saith, Swear not at all; and the judge asked me whether or no I had not refused to take the oath the last assizes? And I answered the words that I said to them was, that if they could prove either priest or teacher, or justices, that, after Christ and the apostles had forbidden swearing, that afterwards they commanded that men should swear, I would swear.

The judge said he was not at that time to dispute whether it was lawful to swear, but to enquire whether or no I did refuse to take the oath.

George. Those things as concerning plotting, and the Pope's foreign powers, &c. contained in that oath, I utterly deny.

The judge said, I said well in that.

George. I said to them again as before, that, if they could prove, that, after Christ and the apostle forbad swearing, that again they commanded to swear, I would swear; but Christ and the apostle commanded not to swear, therefore I should shew forth christianity, for I am a christian.

The judge asked me again, whether I denied the oath, what did I say?

George. What would thou have me to say? I have told thee before what I have said.

The judge asked me if I would have those men to swear that I had taken the oath?

George. Would thou have those men to swear that I have refused to take the oath? At which the court burst out into laughter: I asked them if this court was a play-house: Where is gravity and sobriety, for that did not become them? And so the indictment being read, I told the judge I had something to speak to it; and I asked him whether all the oath was not to be put into the indictment, and he said yes; why, then, said I, here is (pretended to be derived and his heirs and successors) left out;

and I asked him whether the oath was to be put to the king's subjects, and he said yes.

I answered, why am not I put in as a subject? But the word (subject) is left out of the indictment, which is in the oath, and so makes it not the same oath. Jury, take notice of it; but the judge said, I must not speak to the jury; at which words the judge read the oath, and found it was as I had said; so he stood up, and said he could put the oath to me, or any man in the court, and so they began to be disturbed in themselves; also the justices. And there began to be a murmuring against the clerks; and the judge he got up, and began to cover the error; so I asked whether the last eleventh day of January the sessions were kept at Lancaster, which they call Monday, and whether or no the sessions was not on that they call Tuesday, the twelfth of January; all people take your almanacks, and see whether any oath was tendered G. F. the eleventh of January, whether the sessions was not upon the twelfth; and the clerks and people looked their almanacks, and saw it was the twelfth; and the judge asked whether the eleventh was not the first of the sessions, and they answered there was but one day, and it was the twelfth; and the judge said then it was a great mistake; and then all the justices was struck, and some of them could have found in their hearts to have gone off, and said they had done it on purpose, and said, what clerk did it? And a great stir was amongst them; and then I spoke to the jury, how that they could not bring me in guilty according to that indictment; and the judge said I must not speak to the jury, but he would speak to them, and said they might bring me in guilty, I denying the oath; then I said what should you do with a form then, and do not go according to it? Then you may throw the form away, and then I told the jury that it lay upon their consciences, as they would answer the Lord God before his judgment-seat, before whom all must be brought; and so the judge spoke to me, and said he would hear me afterwards any reasons I could alledge, wherefore he should not give judgment against me, and so he spoke to the jury; and I bid him do me justice, and do justice, and so the jury brought in for the king, guilty.

And I told them that the justices had forsworn themselves and the jury both, and so they had small cause to laugh as they did a little before, and to say I was mad; and, before I had brought forth my reasons, I stood a little while, and the judge said he cannot dispute; but then the people said, he is too cunning for them all, after I had brought forth my reasons, how contrary to their own indictment they had done and sworn, and brought me in guilty. Oh, the envy and rage, and malice that was among them against me, and lightness, but the Lord confounded it all, that abundance of it was slain; and so I told them I was no lawyer, and the judge said he would hear me what I could alledge before he did give judgment; and so I cried all people might see how they had forsworn themselves, and gone contrary to their own indictment, and so their envy and malice was wonderfully stopt, and so presently Margaret Fell was called, who had a great deal of good service amongst them; and so the court broke up near the second hour: Many more words was spoken concerning the truth.

And so in the afternoon we were brought up to have sentence passed upon us, and so Margaret Fell desired that judgment and sentence might be deferred till the next morning; and we desired nothing but law and justice at his hands, for thieves had mercy; and I desired the judge to send some to see my prison, being so bad, they would put no creature they had in it, it was so windy and rainy; and I told him that Colonel Kirby, who was then on the bench, said I should be locked up, and no flesh alive should come at me; and most of the gentry of the country being gathered together, expecting to hear the sentence, but they were crost that time; so I was had away to my prison, and some justices, with Colonel Kirby, went up to see it; and when they came up in it they durst scarcely go in it, it was so bad, rainy, and windy, and the badness of the floor; and others that came up said it was a Jakes House, I being removed out of the prison which I was in formerly; and so Colonel Kirby said I should be removed from that place 'ere long, that I should be sent unto some securer place; for he spoke to the judge in the court, saying, that he knew that the justices would join with him; but the judge said, after I have past sentence I will leave him to the jailor; and how I was not a fit man to be converst with, none should converse with me; and all the noise among the people was that I should be transported; and so the next day, towards the eleventh hour, we was called forth again to hear the sentence and judgment; but Margaret Fell was called first before me to the bar, and there was some counsellors pleaded, and found many errors in her indictment, and so she was taken by, after the judge had acknowledged them, and then the judge asked what they could say to mine; and I was willing to let no man plead for me, but to speak to it myself; and, though Margaret Fell had some that pleaded for her, yet she spoke as much herself as she would; and though they had the most envy against me, yet the most gross errors was found in mine; and before I came to the bar I was moved to pray, that the Lord would confound their wickedness and envy, and set his truth over all, and exalt his seed; the thundering voice answered, 'I have glorified thee, and will glorify thee again;' and I was so filled full of glory, that my head and ears was filled full of it; and that when the trumpets sounded, and the judges came up again, they all appeared as dead men under me; and so when I was to answer to the errors of the indictment, seeing that all the oath, as he said himself, was to be in, I told him there was many words of the oath left out, which was (pretended to be derived, and his heirs and successors) and I bid them look the oath, and look the indictment, and they might see it, and they did, and found it according to my words; and I asked them whether the last assizes holden at

Lancaster was in the fifteenth year of the king, which was the tenth day of March, and they said, nay, it was the sixteenth year; then, said I, look your indictment, and see whether or no it is not the fifteenth year, and then they were all of a fret both judge and justices, for it was the fifteenth in the indictment; then the judge bid them look whether Margaret Fell's was so or no, and it was not so: I told them I had something else to speak concerning the indictment, but they said Nay, I had spoken enough, so the indictment was thrown out; so I told them that they had small cause to laugh as they had done a little before, for they might see how the justices and the jury were forsworn men, and so I bid him do me justice, and he said, I should have law; and the judge said I was clear from all the former, and he started up in a rage and said, but he would proffer the oath to me again; I told him they had example enough for swearers and false swearers, both justices and jury, yesterday before their faces, for I saw before mine eyes both justices and jury had forsworn themselves, who heard the indictment; and so he asked me, whether I would take the oath? I bid him do me justice for my false imprisonment, all this while; for what had I been prisoner all this while for, for I ought to be at liberty? Then he said I was at liberty, but I will put the oath to you again: Then I turned me about, and cried, 'all people, take notice this is a snare,' and all was mighty quiet, and all people was struck and astonished; and he caused the grand-jury to be called, for he had called them before, when I was there, when he saw they would be overthrown, and the jury would fain have been dismissed; but he told them, he could not dismiss them, for he had business for them, and they might be ready, when he called them, and I felt his intent, that if I was freed he would come on again; so I looked him in the face, and he was judged in himself, for he saw that I saw him; so he caused the oath to be read to me again, and caused the jury to be called, and then when the oath was read, he asked me whether I would take the oath, or no; and, the jury standing by, I told him, I never took oath in my life, and he bid them give me the book, and I bid them give it me in my hand and I opened it; and he bid me swear, and I told him the book bid swear not at all; again he bid me swear, and I told him, the book said I should not swear, and held it open to them, and said by the book, I would prove that men should not swear.

And if they would prove, after Christ and the Apostle had forbidden swearing, that afterwards they commanded to swear, then I would swear, for I was a man of a tender conscience; and, if they had any sense of a tender conscience, they would consider this; and the judge asked me, Whether I would take the oath? And bid them give me the book again: I told them, ye give me the book to swear, and the book saith I should not swear at all; and so you may prison the book: The judge said, he would imprison George Fox; I answered, nay, you may prison the book, which saith swear not at all; and the sheriff and the judge said, the Angel swore in the Revelations: I answered, I bring forth my first begotten son into the world, saith God, let all the Angels in Heaven worship him, who saith swear not at all; and the judge said often, he would not dispute; and so then I spoke much to the jury, how that it was for Christ's sake, that which I did; and therefore none of them to act contrary to that of God in their consciences, for before his judgment-seat they must all be brought; and for all those things contained in the oath, as plots, and persecuting about religion, and the Pope's power, &c. I denied them in my heart, and I am a christian, and shall shew forth christianity this day, and it is for Christ's sake that I stand, for it is *Lotish shabim de Col dabor;* and they all gazed, and there was a great calm, and they took me away; but there were many more words, both to the jury and to them.

Then, in the afternoon, we was called again, where I stood among the thieves a pretty while, with my hat on, at the last the gaoler took it off; and when I was called to the bar, the jury brought in guilty for the king, and the judge asked me, What I could say for myself; I bid them read the indictment, I would not answer to that I did not hear; and, as they read, the judge bid them take heed it was not false again; and they read it so amazedly, that, when they spoke to me, I did scarcely understand what they said, and the judge asked me, What I would plead? I told them, I desired to have a copy of that indictment, and to have some time to answer to it, for the last I had but lately, and never heard it read but once, and then in the court, and so the judge asked me, What time I would have? And I said till the next assizes, and the judge said I should: Then he asked again, What I would plead? I told him I was not guilty at all of denying swearing, swearing obstinately and wilfully, and those things contained in the oath, as jesuitical plots, and foreign powers, &c. I utterly denied them; and he said, I said well in that: And the judge said, the king was sworn, the parliament was sworn, and the justices and he was sworn, and the law was upheld by oaths: I told them, they had sufficient experience of men's swearing; had not the justices and jury forsworn themselves? And had they not read the Book of Martyrs, how many of the martyrs suffered, because they could not swear, both in the ten persecutions, and in Bonner's days? And the judge said, I would the laws were otherwise: Then I said, our yea is yea, and our nay nay, all along; and if we transgress our yea and nay, let us suffer as they do that break an oath, and so to deny swearing is not a new thing in obedience to Christ's command; and I said this we had sent to the king, who said it was reasonable: And so, after several more words, I was had away to my chamber, being, as I was before, to answer to the indictment; and so the truth and power of the Lord God was glorious over all, and many spirits was crost grievously in their envy and malice.

There was many things spoken both to judge, jury, and people, which were too large to mention.

And so the judge told Margaret Fell her sentence, and I lie upon a new indictment. G. F.

Something in answer to Bishop Lancelot Andrews's Sermon concerning Swearing, being one of his Sermons upon the Third Commandment; the place that he treats upon is in Jer. the ivth, *the words are these: And thou shalt swear, The Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness.*

And further, to prove the lawfulness of swearing, he brings Deut. vi. 13. Isa. xlv. 23.—Psal. lxiii. and last ver. and how Abraham sware, Gen. xxi. 24. and Isaac sware, Gen. xxvi. 31. and Jacob sware xxxi. 33. and Abraham's servant sware, Gen. xxi. 24. and Gen. xxiv. 3 and Numb. xxx. 3. Which, saith he, an oath is to the lifting up of a burthen, as to the entering of a bond.

First, He saith an oath is to be used in solemn matters, and he brings these scriptures following out of the Old Testament to prove it, Psal. cxliv. 8. Numb. xxx. 3. Psal. cxix. 106. Psal. xv. 4. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13. Ezek. xvii. 12. Psal. cx. 4. Psal. lxxxix. 35. I Kings xxii. 16. Lev. v. 1. 1 Chron. xv. 15. Gen. xxiv. 3. and xlvii. 29.

Secondly, For the nature of an oath, he quotes cxix. Psal. 9. ver. and Numb. x. and last ver.

Thirdly, He speaks of the manner of an oath, and produceth for confirmation these scriptures following, Deut. xii. 8. Numb. v. 18. Dan. xii. 7. Rev. x. 5. 1 Kings viii. 31. Exod. xxii. 8.—Neh. v. 12. Numb. v. 19. Prov. xxix. 24. Judg. xvii. 2. Lev. v. 1. 1 Sam. iii. 27. 1 Kings xxii. 16. Gen. xxv. 33. 1 Kings 1. 13. Jer. xviii. 8.

First, As for all the above-mentioned scriptures which he hath quoted in the time of the law, and before the law, and the Angels swearing in the Revelations, do not prove that christians may swear; and we do grant ye the time before the law men did swear, and also the Angel swore, But Christ is come, the first begotten, whom God hath brought forth into the world, and saith, Let all the Angels worship him: And this is my beloved Son, hear ye him, saith God. And Christ saith, how that, in the old time, men was to perform their oaths to the Lord; these were their true oaths, which they were to perform, and they were not to swear falsely, but to perform their oath to the Lord: So here Christ, in his doctrines, lets them see the false oaths and the true oaths in the old time; and that was the true oath to swear by the Lord, and to swear, The Lord liveth; and every tongue should swear; and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Joseph, and the Prophets sware; but Christ is the end of the Prophets, and doth fulfil the law, and reigns over the house of Jacob and Joseph; and, Before Abraham was, I am, saith Christ. And so, though they sware before the law, and under the law, and the Angel in the Revelations sware, and the Angel that sware by the Lord, as the oath was in the time of the law, and before the law; and this was the oath that Christ minds them on in his doctrine here, that they were to perform to the Lord; yet now mark his doctrine, which he himself lays down and commands: ‘But I say unto you *now*, Swear not at all,’ &c. Matth. v. 34. In the Hebrew language it is, לא תשכען דכל-דבר ‘But let your communication be yea, yea, nay, nay; whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil:’ In the Hebrew it is, זהיה־רברכם כן כן אין אין וכל אשר יותר־מאלח מרעהוא: And, for further proof, see how James lived in the same doctrine and practice, and held it forth to the twelve tribes, which was the Jews, who had the oath of God, and was to swear in the time of the law; see his general epistle, in the fifth chapter, and also speaking, in the second chapter, of such as drove them before the judgment-seat; but, in the fifth chapter, this is his command: ‘Above all things, my brethren, swear not at all, neither by heaven, nor by the earth.’ In the Greek it is, Πρὸ πάντων δὲ, ἀδελφοί μου, μὴ ὀμνύετε, μήτε τὸν οὐρανὸν, μήτε τὴν γῆν. This you may call *creatures*, or *made things*; but mark, James goes further, and saith, μήτε αλλον τινὰ ὅρκον, ‘nor by any other oath; but let your yea be yea, and your nay be nay, lest you fall into condemnation;’ ἤτω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ, ναὶ· καὶ τὸ οὒ, οὔ· ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ κρίσιν πέσητε.

Mark the danger now, and whether we have not ground enough, in the fear of the Lord God, to obey Christ's commands, and the Apostle's doctrine, ‘lest we fall into condemnation and evil.’ We have set some words done in the Greek tongue, that those, it most concerns, may see the original; but the spirit is our's, and the commands of Christ, and the Apostle's doctrine, to be obeyed, in what tongue soever it be written in. But we would query the thing with any, Whether the Apostle James, who wrote to Jews, and not to Gentiles, did not write in the Hebrew tongue, and not in Greek? And, if so, then his words to them, in this particular, are, זעל־כל־דברים אהי אל־תשבעו לא בשמים זלא בארצ זלא באלה אחרת זיהי דברכם כן כן זאין אין פן תפלן במשפט. The pricks, points, and accents, and the plain and naked interpretation of the Hebrew words we have left for them, it most concerns, to add.

Secondly, As for all the scriptures, he brings against rash swearing and false swearing, it would rejoice our hearts to have the priests do that, and the magistrates punish it; for a couple of railing priests came the other day, and sware before our faces lightly and vainly, and justified it, when they had done. It would become magistrates, and them, better, if they did not suffer an oath to be heard in the towns, or markets, or alehouses, or streets, you that have power not to suffer those things; for you would have work enough to restrain such things, and such persons, and not to fall upon the innocent, which, in obedience to Christ's commands, and the Apostle's doctrine, cannot swear, for conscience sake. For imprisoning such emboldens people to swear; and, Would it not be better for people, and would ye not shew forth more christianity, to keep to yea and to nay, in all their communications, according to Christ's commands, and the Apostle's doctrine?

Thirdly, There was bond, in the old time, by oath; but

Christ, he looses from the bonds, and brings to peace and liberty, and makes free, and saith, ‘Swear not at all;’ and so, though we be in outward bonds, it is for Christ Jesus sake, and the word of God is not bound.

Fourthly, And though Moses sware in the time of the law, and Abraham's servants sware, yet Christ, the Son, saith, ‘Swear not at all,’ and we are to hear him in all things, the great Prophet.

Fifthly, And as for the ceremonies of the oaths, Christ is the substance of all ceremonies, that saith, ‘Swear not at all.’

Sixthly, And, though David sware, he, that David called Lord, saith, ‘Swear not at all,’ and he is upon his throne.

Seventhly, And where he saith, ‘Thou shalt swear by the Lord, and swear, The Lord liveth, they were not to swear by them that were no Gods, nor creatures, nor by the earth, nor by heaven, or by the hand, or by Jerusalem;’ Now, what are the oaths that all Christendom swears, both papists and protestants? Whether it be the oath that was amongst the Jews, and whether or no they practise the oath that they do now, and whether or no is that ceremony now used? If not, When did God alter it? Where about in scripture, and in what place of scripture is it, that he sets this way and ceremony of swearing in Christendom, both amongst papists and protestants, which is to swear by the book, and by the Evangelists? Is this beyond the Jews swearing, by the city, or by the head, or by the temple, which Christ forbid, and not only those oaths, but the oath of God, which the Jews was to swear by? Answer these things.

Eighthly, And as for Zedekiah's oath to Nebuchadnezzar, and Joseph's oath to Pharaoh, this was in the time that oaths were to be performed amongst the Jews and Patriarchs; and what is this to Christ's doctrine which forbids oaths, which oaths were before Christ came?

Ninthly, And as for the oath of supremacy and the other, it is to acknowledge the king of England, and allegiance to him, which things hath been manifest and practised by us, but not by such as swore allegiance to the king's father, and swore the one way and the other way: And hast not thou, and many of you, taken the oath against him? And such as have sworn one while for him, and another while against him, How are they in allegiance to him that swears one way and another way? And cannot there be, in truth and faithfulness, allegiance to the king without swearing? For now, How should we stand in allegiance to Christ, if we did not obey his commands, the King of Kings מלר מלבים? For he commands us not to swear, but keep to yea and nay; and one of his great ambassadors to nations, that went with his message to the twelve tribes, saith, ‘Above all things, my brethren, swear not at all, lest you fall into condemnation.’

Tenthly, There were two states of oaths; the one was, that people was to perform to the Lord and swear; and the other was, that God sware by himself concerning his Son Christ Jesus, which, when he came who fulfilled God's oath, he ended the other oath, and saith, 'Swear not at all,' and calls the first oath the old time; he fulfilled the truth, and let them see how, in the time of the law, false oaths were forbidden in the old time, and heathenish oaths were forbidden in the time of the law, for they were not to swear by Baal, but they were to perform their oaths to the Lord, which Christ saith unto them, 'Swear not at all,' and so he ended that oath; so there are no oaths before the fall, and there are no oaths in the restoration again by Christ Jesus, but yea and nay, according to his doctrine; but amongst Moses and the Prophets, and in the old time before Moses and the Prophets, men did swear, as Abraham and Isaac, &c. But he, the great Prophet, is come, that is to be heard in all things, and he, the oath of God, Christ Jesus, stands and remains.

Eleventhly, The Apostles speaking to the Hebrews, swearing by a greater, which was an end of controversy and strife amongst them, he brought this as a similitude, not that the Hebrews should swear, for, if he had, he had contradicted James, which wrote to the twelve tribes his doctrine to them, which were Hebrews; but he brought it as a similitude, that the oath, which men sware by the greater, ended strife; but God, not finding a greater than himself, he sware concerning his Son, which is Christ, who ends the strife, who destroys the devil and his works, the author of strife; for the oath, in the time of the law, ended the strife; but we see oaths, now-a-days, begins it; and why? The matter is, because in Christ Jesus men do not live, who is the Peace and God's oath.

Twelfthly, Whereas the bishop saith, That they hold in Divinity, that to swear, of and by itself considered, is an act forbidden no less than to kill, &c.

Answer, In the time of the law they killed and swore; but Christ saith, 'Swear not at all;' and also, he saith, 'Love enemies;' And how do these agree to kill and to love enemies, and love one another: 'And if one strike thee on the one cheek, turn the other to him.'

And this paralleling the magistrates executing justice upon malefactors; as, 'He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed again;' Is not a paralleling with Christ's doctrine, who saith, 'Swear not at all,' for that may be done by witnesses without oath, as thou mayest read the scriptures in the old time, when oaths were denied in the primitive time amongst the primitive christians, who were in Christ's doctrine, thou mayest read how they did things by witnesses; as the Apostle speaks, in the mouth of two or three witnesses, &c. Which place he instances of what was done in the time of the law, which was a statute of judgment amongst the Jews, 'Whosoever killeth any person, the murtherer shall be put to death by the mouth of witnesses,' &c. But no oaths are mentioned here, Numb. xxxv. 30. with Heb. x. 28. read that throughout, and also Deut. xix. 15, and 1 Kings xxi. 10, &c. And many more scriptures might be alledged, which you, that have read scriptures, are not ignorant of.

Now, for the practice amongst the saints, see Matt. xviii. 16. Christ, who bids them keep to yea and nay, in that place he lays down a practice to be used amongst them, in matter of fault and transgression, how it should be ended by two or three witnesses; read the words, 'That in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word shall be established:' And what, Dost thou think that he would order them to swear, who had once forbidden it? And read the viiith chap. of John and 17th ver. and we do not find, that the witnesses against Christ that he should speak blasphemy, Matt. xxvi. 65, that they did swear; and also you may see in Acts vi. 11, 12, 13, how they, that were hired against Stephen, no mention is made of their swearing: Moreover, you may see in 2 Cor. xiii. 1. the speech of the Apostle amongst the Saints, how he tells them of his coming unto them in the mouth of two or three witnesses; he doth not tell, that he is coming to them with oaths in their mouths; Mark, the Apostle was an elder, and had care of the churches.——And again, the Apostle that writes to Timothy, a bishop, and overseer of the churches, saith he, 'Against an elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses.'—Now he doth not say, Before two or three men that swears, for, if he had, he would have contradicted Christ's doctrine and James; 1 Tim. v. 19, and 2 Tim. ii. saith the Apostle to Timothy, the bishop, 'The things that thou hast heard of me amongst many witnesses, the same commit to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also.' Now he received this by witnesses, not by oath, and he was to commit it, and not by oaths: And were not these the things that the whole church came to be ordered by? And this was amongst the christians in the primitive times when oaths were ended; and many more things might be alledged, which were too tedious for you to read.

Thirteenthly, And whereas he brings that objection of the anabaptists, which is, that it standeth not with christian profession, but was tolerated as an imperfect thing under the law.

Answer. Which objection of theirs we do not own, as we do not own the bishop for swearing; for it was the way of the Lord, and the way of the Lord was perfect, and the commandment for swearing was good in itself, until the time of Christ, who is perfect, that ends the law, and people must live in him, Christ Jesus, and walk in him that saith, 'Swear not at all,' that ends the oath, and is the oath of God: Dost thou not read of a people in the Galatians and Romans, that was turned back into the law, from the law of the Spirit; and the Apostle told them, 'He that broke one point was guilty of all,' and he brought them to the law of love which fulfilled the law.

Fourteenthly, And as for all the scriptures, the bishop brings to prove that the christians sware in the primitive time, they are nothing to the purpose, though the bishop say, that Christ admits of some swearing, which both his own words, and the Apostle's, contradicts; Christ's words are, 'Swear not at all;' and the Apostle's are, 'Above all things,' &c.—And so he goes on, and lets them see what was in the law. Committing adultery was forbid under the law, but, in the time of Christ, looking upon a woman, and lusting after her, was committing adultery——And he sets forth, in the justice of the law, 'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth;' and shews how that, in the time of the law, 'thou shalt not kill, and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of judgment; but I say unto you, that whosoever shall be angry with his brother without cause, shall be in danger of judgment;' and so he tells, both swearing and killing to be in the old time, and said, 'except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, you shall in no wise enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.'

Fifteenthly, And as to that of the apostle speaking in the 1 Thes. ii. God was his witness that he did not make covetousness his cloak.

Answ. It were well if the priests could say so now; but this doth not prove that he swore, and there are many men that takes man to be his witness; and that is not an oath, surely, is it? Thou understands that: And if this were an oath, why do you cast friends into prison?

Sixteenthly, And that of the Galatians, chapter i. 2. There is nothing in that place like unto an oath which he brings.

Seventeenthly, And as for the 2 Cor. iv. 23d verse, there are not so many verses in that chapter. And as for Ephesians the 4th and the 15th, which he brings for Christians to swear, wherein he says we are bound at all times to speak truth to our neighbours.

Answ. He doth not say we are to swear truth at all times, but to speak it at all times.

Eighteenthly, And that which he brings in Acts xxiii. 3. How the apostle reproved the high priest, that caused him to be smitten contrary to law.

Answ. Here the apostle was preaching the gospel and Christ's doctrine to them, to the priests that had the law and outward things; this was nothing to the purpose, that the apostle should swear, or that Christians should swear.—And in the 14th verse which he quotes. Answ. Those were the bad people that bound themselves with a curse, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul that preached the gospel; this is nothing at all that Christians should swear.

Nineteenthly, We say there were heathens oaths, and Jews oaths, which were to swear by the Lord, which Christ calls the old time, which they were to perform, which oath Christ ends; and saith, 'Swear not at all;' for in the time of the law the Jews were to deny all false oaths, and heathenish oaths, and they were not to swear by Paul, but the true oath which Christ ends. And did not the Christians suffer in the primitive times, because they could not swear by the prosperity of Cæsar; and was not that oath then imposed upon them? And by the good fortune of the emperor, was not that another oath? And did not many Christians then suffer, because they could not swear? Read the ten persecutions which was a long time before the Pope got up; and then did not the Pope, when he had got up over the churches, give forth both oath and curse, with bell, book, and candle? And was not the ceremony of his oath to lay three fingers a top of the book, to signify the trinity; and two fingers under the book, to signify damnation of body and soul, if they sware falsly?—And was not there a great number of people that would not swear, and suffered great persecution, as read the book of Martyrs but to Bonner's days? And it is little above an hundred years since the Protestants got up; and they gave forth the oath of allegiance, and the oath of supremacy; the one was to deny the Pope's supremacy, and the other to acknowledge the kings of England; so we need not to tell you of their form, and shew you the ceremony of the oath; it saith, kiss the book, and the book saith, kiss the Son, which saith, 'Swear not at all,' and so cannot allegiance be to the king in truth and faithfulness, as was said before without an oath, yea, and more than many that swears.

So you may see to deny swearing is no new thing, for it was the practice of the Christians in former times to deny it, both in heathens and the times of popery before Protestants, and so it is in obedience to the command of Christ that we do not swear in our loves to him; and if we say he is the Lord and Master, and do not the thing that he commands, that is but deceit and hypocrisy.—And so rash and bad swearing, that was forbidden in the time of the law, it was not that which Christ came to fulfil, but true oaths, and the true types, figures, and shadows; and he saith, 'Swear not at all.'

Twentiethly, And, for Acts the xiiith, there is nothing spoken of swearing there, as all people may read.

Twenty-firstly, And whereas the apostle often speaks of taking to witness a record upon his own soul by his rejoicing in Christ Jesus, what is all this to swearing, and taking an oath, or where did ever the apostle take a solemn oath, or command the brethren and churches to do the same? For often he speaks of the witness out of the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established. And the bishop often brings the 1 Cor. xv. 31. 'By our rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus, I die daily:' This place cannot be brought for a proof, that the apostle sware; if so, when thou sayest by the meat thou art refreshed, and by the fire thou art warmed, and people tells thee thou must go by such a lane to such a town, they all swear then, do they not?

Twenty-secondly, As for the particle Nὴ, the bishop says it is never used, but in an oath only.

Answ. And what is Nὴ, is it not *(truly)* as, also the primitive word ναὶ, which signifies *yea?* And is not that word ναὶ in the afore-mentioned fifth of Matthew, and the fifth of James, where swearing is denied; for is not ναὶ in Greek, *yea* in English; and is not Nὴ in Greek, *truly* in English? And if every man that says *yea* and *truly* sweareth, then the bishop proves his assertion. And is not there a difference between כן and נשבע? So, in meekness and love, read this over in that from which it was sent.

POSTSCRIPT.

Christ Jesus, who is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, the Beginning and Ending, First and Last, him by whom God will judge the world in righteousness.

We quæry of you whether he or any of his apostles, after they had given forth a command that none should swear, but keep to yea and nay, in all their communications, can any minister or teacher prove this in express words out of the New Testament that they ever commanded to swear, or did swear? That will satisfy, that will end all. But that we should be cast into prison for our obedience to Christ's command, by you, that profess yourselves to be Christians, and own Christ Jesus as you say, is not right: And he commands you to love enemies, if you did obey his commands, and love one another; for they that are Christians, and own Christ Jesus, they should love one another: For this was a mark by which they were known to be disciples, learners of him. And so they, that are lovers of him, own him and obey him and his doctrine; so, though we do suffer here by you all the sessions or assizes, we do commit our cause, and you that do persecute us, to the general assizes and terrible day wherein God will judge the world in righteousness, whose commands we obey in tenderness; and there we know we shall have true judgment without respect of persons, there our hats will not be looked at before the Almighty, but the action and transgression, and who hath served God, and who hath not served him: For Christ hath told you before-hand, what he will say to them, that visits him not in prison, where he is made manifest in his brethren: Then what will become of them that casts them into prison for tenderness towards God, for obeying his doctrine, and keeps to yea or nay in their communications according to his words?—And so these things we leave to the general day, though we can say, the Lord forgive you that doth thus persecute us, if it be his will, freely from our hearts, for we do you, nor no man harm, but seek the good and peace of all men, and for this cause, for obeying the truth, we do suffer.

G. F.

AN ANSWER TO THE

FRENCH DECLARATION OF WAR,

IN ALLIANCE WITH THE DUTCH AND DANES, IN THE YEAR 1665.

London: Printed for the Author, in 1665-6, on a Broad-side.

THE heavens look big with wonder, and inform
Our expectations of some present storm.
French, Dutch, and Dane too, all at once? Why then
'Tis time to shew that we are Englishmen.
They say, at foot-ball, three to one is odds;
But this is nothing, for the cause is God's.
Have at them all, we care not where we come,
Since gracious heaven is reconcil'd at home.
Courage, brave Britons, then, we do no more
But fight with those whom we have beat before.
And now, methinks, much better may we, since
We fight for such an all-accomplish'd prince,
Who the world's conquest is as fair to get
As Alexander, like himself, the great.
Talk not of ten to one, pitiful story,
Alas! the odds does but increase the glory:
Besides the English from their ancestry
Derive themselves the heirs of victory.
Where should the sons of honour, if they die,
But in the field, the bed of honour, lie?
The world will know, when time shall serve, we dare
Come out, and meet that prince of pitch and tar;[*]
Bring your wind-selling Laplanders too, do,
Sure we shall deal [†] with you, and board [†] you too;
And you will tell us, when this comes to pass,
Your Bergen bus'ness no such bargain was.
Danes! we don't fear you; come, alas! ye know
Our women beat you once,[‡] and so may now.
Nor value we that kingdom of kick-shaws,[§]
We come not to receive, but give them laws;
We shall provide 'em such a fricasee
Of legs and arms,[¶] they'll scarce be glad to see.
They now must understand with whom they cope,
A mighty prince,[**] and not a miter'd Pope;[††]

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[*] The King of Denmark, to whom Norway is subject, from whence comes our pitch and tar.

[†] Two epithets intimating that, although we trade with him for deal and boards, yet we are able to deal, or behave manfully in fight with him, and upon occasion board his ships.

[‡] Viz. When they in one night conspired to cut all the Danish men's throats throughout England, thereby to deliver their country from their government; upon which account it is said, that the Englishmen have ever since given the women the wall, and the most honourable places at all times.

[§] France.

[¶] Of soldiers slain in battle.

[**] The King of Great Britain.

[††] Alluding to the dispute which then subsisted between the French king and the Pope.

One that will otherwise the matter handle,
With glitt'ring swords, and not bell, book, and candle;
One that shall anathematise you worse,
Not to pronounce, but execute your curse.
He'll bring you Jeggery home to your door;
Instead of[*] Bulls you'll hear his cannons roar;
And I make bold to tell you in the close,
Although no Popes, we'll make you kiss our toes.
An English monarch[†] (monsieur), no new thing,
Has sent his son to fetch him a French king;
If ye suspect, or scruple our report,
Enquire at Poictiers, Cressy, Agincourt,[‡]
That place[§] never to be forgotten, where
The prisoners more than we that took them were:
The French shall know it too, as we advance,
'Tis we, not they, fight for the king[¶] of France.
Ye boast of gold and silver, and such stuff,
We'll bring you pockets for it sure enough.
And, if we meet ye on the foaming source,[**]
We'll have a word or too of deep[††] discourse.
  A fig for France, or any that accords
  With those low-country leather-apron[‡‡] lords.

THE CHARACTER OF HOLLAND.

London: Printed by T. Mabb for Robert Horn, at the Angel in Pope's-Head-Alley, 1665. Folio, containing eight Pages.

HOLLAND, that scarce deserves the name of land,
  As but th' off-scowring of the British sand;
And so much earth as was contributed
By English pilots, when they heav'd the lead;
Or what by th' ocean's slow alluvion fell
Of shipwreck'd cockle and the muscle shell;
This indigested vomit of the sea
Fell to the Dutch by just propriety.

Glad then, as miners that have found the ore,
They with mad labour fish'd the land to shore;
And div'd as desperately for each piece
Of earth, as if 't had been of ambergris;
Collecting anxiously small loads of clay,
Less than what building swallows bear away;
Or than those piles which sordid beetles roul
Transfusing into them their dunghill soul.

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[*] Pope's.
[†] Henry V.
[‡] At which place the English have given the French total overthrows in battle.
[§] Agincourt.
[¶] Because the King of Great Britain still maintains his title of King of France.
[**] The sea.
[††] Equivocally signifying both serious and on the sea; for the deep is the sea.
[‡‡] The Dutch.

How did they rivet with gigantick piles
Thorough the center their new-catched miles:
And to the stake a struggling country bound,
Where barking waves still bait the forced ground;
Building their wat'ry Babel far more high
To reach the sea, than those to scale the sky?

Yet still his claim the injur'd ocean laid,
And oft at leap-frog o'er their steeples play'd;
As if on purpose it on land had come
To shew them what's their *Mare Liberum.*
A daily deluge over them does boil:
The earth and water play at level-coil.
The fish oft-times the burgher dispossest,
And sat not as a meat, but as a guest:
And oft the Tritons and the sea-nymphs saw
Whole sholes of Dutch serv'd up for Cabillau.
Or, as they over the new level rang'd,
For pickled Herring, pickled Heeren chang'd.
Nature, it seem'd, asham'd of her mistake,
Would throw their land away at duck and drake.

Therefore necessity, that first made kings,
Something like government among them brings.
For as with pygmies, who best kills the crane;
Among the hungry, he that treasures grain;
Among the blind, the one-ey'd blinkard reigns;
So rules, among the drowned, he that drains.
Not who first sees the rising sun commands,
But who could first discern the rising lands,
Who best could know to pump an earth so leak,
Him they their lord and country's father speak.
To make a bank was a great plot of state,
Invent a shovel and be magistrate.
Hence some small dyke-grave, unperceiv'd, invades
The power, and grows as 't were a king of spades:
But for less envy some joint state endures,
Who look like a commission of the sewers.
For these half-anders, half wet, and half dry,
Nor bear strict service nor pure liberty.

'Tis probable religion after this
Came next in order, which they could not miss:
How could the Dutch but be converted, when
Th' apostles were so many fisher-men?
Beside, the waters of themselves did rise,
And, as their land, so them did re-baptise.
Though Herring for their God few voices mist,
And poor John to have been th' Evangelist.
Faith, that could never twins conceive before,
Never so fertile, spawn'd upon this shore:
More pregnant than their Marg'et, that laid down
For Hans-in-Kelder of a whole Hans-Town.

Sure, when religion did itself embark,
And from the east would westward steer its ark,
It struck; and, splitting on this unknown ground,
Each one thence pillag'd the first piece he found:
Hence Amsterdam-Turk-Christian-Pagan-Jew,
Staple of sects, and mint of schism grew;
That bank of conscience, where not one so strange
Opinion, but finds credit and exchange.
In vain for Catholicks ourselves we bear,
The universal church is only there.

Nor can civility there want for tillage,
Where wisely for their court they chose a village:
How fit a title clothes their governors!
Themselves the Hogs, as all their subjects Boors.

Let it suffice to give their country fame,
That it had one Civilis call'd by name,
Some fifteen-hundred and more years ago,
But, surely, never any that was so.

See but their mermaids, with their tails of fish
Reeking at church over the chafing-dish.
A vestal turf, enshrin'd in earthen ware,
Fumes through the loop-holes of a wooden square;
Each to the temple with these altars tend
(But still do place it at her western end)
While the fat steam of female sacrifice
Fills the priest's nostrils, and puts out his eyes.

Or what a spectacle the skipper gross,
A Water-Hercules, Butter-Coloss,
Tunn'd up with all their several towns of beer;
When, stagg'ring upon some land, Snick and Sneer,
They try, like statuaries, if they can
Cut out each other's Athos to a man;
And carve in their large bodies, where they please,
The arms of the United Provinces.

Vainly did this slap-dragon fury hope
With sober English valour e'er to cope;
Not though they prim'd their barbarous morning's draught
With powder, and with pipes of brandy fraught;
Yet Rupert, Sandwich, and of all, the Duke,
The Duke has made their sea-sick courage puke,
Like the three comets sent from heaven down,
With fiery flails, to swinge th' ungrateful clown.

OBSERVATIONS

BOTH HISTORICAL AND MORAL UPON THE

BURNING of LONDON, September, 1666.

With an Account of the Losses:

And a most remarkable Parallel between London and Moscow,
both as to the Plague and Fire.

Also an Essay touching the Easterly Wind.

Written by Way of Narrative, for Satisfaction of the present
and future Ages.

By REGE SINCERA.

London, Printed by Thomas Ratcliffe, and are to be sold by Robert Pawlet, at
the Bible in Chancery-Lane, 1667.

Quarto, containing Thirty-eight Pages.

Many have written concerning this memorable Fire of London in 1666. But, I presume, they, that read this, will agree, that none has done it with more conciseness, impartiality, and perspicuity.

In the first place, The Author delivers the plain historical fact, without any exaggeration or foreign insinuations, and then enquires, Who has done it? In which enquiry, he endeavours to shew, that it was a punishment sent by a good and wise God upon the City, for just, wise, and good causes.

Thirdly, Enquiring what hath done it? He endeavours to prove, that this was the greatest fire that ever happened upon the earth, since the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah, and shews, at a moderate computation, that the loss amounted to, at least, 7,335,000 pounds. To which, by way of consolation, he adds an account of the greatness of the City of Moscow, and its visitation first with a raging plague, and in the year following with a consuming fire, contrived by the Tartars, who pursued the Czar to that City, and setting fire to it on all sides, which not only burnt the houses and stuff, but destroyed 200,000 people also in its flames, in less than four hours time.

Fourthly, He expatiates on the praise of this City of London, and then endeavours to find out the cause and accidents by which this fire was kindled and promoted; and concludes with some proper reflections on the reason and time of this conflagration.

To his much honoured and respected Friend, John Buller, Esq. a
worthy Member of the honourable House of Commons.

SIR,

THIS little treatise having lain dormant in a corner of my desk ever since its birth (which was three weeks after the fire) hath got at last so much strength as to walk abroad. The reason of its long repose was, that I expected when some more pregnant wit and better pen would have undertaken this task, which is altogether out of my profession and employment. But, finding that hitherto all that hath been written concerning it, as to the narrative of its beginning, progress, and ending, hath been thought defective, I have given it leave to shew itself abroad, with observations thereon, under your honourable name, as well to avoid the malignancy of censure, as to testify unto the world how much I am

Your humble and affectionate servant,

Rege Sincera.

Before we proceed any further in the examination of so lamentable and dismal a subject, we have thought fitting, for the curiosity of those that shall read these lines, and for the satisfaction of posterity, in whose hands it may chance to come, to set down the true and naked narrative of the fact as it did happen, and as it hath been printed by the consent of his majesty, and of the publick authority, that the reader, being made certain of the truth of the accident, may the more willingly proceed to the examination of those observations we have made upon it.

Whitehall, September 8.

On the second instant, at one of the clock in the morning, there happened to break out a sad and deplorable fire in Pudding-Lane, near New-Fish-Street; which falling out that hour of the night, and in a quarter of the town (so close built with wooden pitched houses) spread itself so far before day, and with such distraction to the inhabitants and neighbours, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the further diffusion of it, by pulling down houses, as it ought to have been; so that this lamentable fire, in a short time, became too big to be mastered by the engines, or working near it. It fell out most unhappily too, that a violent easterly wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that day, and the night following spread itself up to Grace-church-street, and downwards from Cannon-street, to the water-side, as far as the Three-Cranes in the Vintry.

The people, in all parts about it, distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care to carry away their goods, many attempts were made to prevent the spreading of it, by pulling down houses, and making great intervals; but all in vain, the fire seizing upon the timber and rubbish, and so continuing itself even through those spaces, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday, notwithstanding his Majesty's own, and his Royal Highness's indefatigable and personal pains to apply all possible remedies to prevent it, calling upon, and helping the people with their guards, and a great number of nobility and gentry unweariedly assisting therein; for which they were requited with a thousand blessings from the poor distressed people. By the favour of God, the wind slackened a little on Tuesday night, and the flames meeting with brick buildings at the Temple, by little and little it was observed to lose its force on that side; so that, on Wednesday morning, we began to hope well, and his Royal Highness never despairing, or slackening his personal care, wrought so well that day, assisted in some parts by the lords of the council before and behind it, that a stop was put to it at the Temple-church, near Holborn-bridge, Pye-corner, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, near the lower end of Coleman-street, at the end of Basinghall-street, by the Postern; at the upper end of Bishopsgate-street, and Leadenhall-street, at the Standard in Cornhill, at the Church in Fanchurch-street, near Clothworkers-hall in Mincing-lane, at the middle of Mark-lane, and at the Tower-dock.

On Thursday, by the blessing of God, it was wholly beat down and extinguished, but so as that evening it unhappily broke out again at the Temple, by the falling of some sparks (as is supposed) upon a pile of wooden buildings; but his Royal Highness, who watched there that whole night in person, by the great labours and diligence used, and especially by their applying powder to blow up the houses about it, before day most happily mastered it.

Divers strangers, Dutch and French, were during the fire apprehended, upon suspicion that they contributed mischievously to it, who were all imprisoned, and informations prepared to make a severe inquisition thereupon by my Lord Chief Justice Keeling, assisted by some of the lords of the privy-council, and some principal members of the city; notwithstanding which suspicions, the manner of the burning all along in a train, and so blown forwards in all its way by strong winds, make us conclude the whole was an effect of an unhappy chance; or, to speak better, the heavy hand of God upon us for our sins, shewing us the terror of his judgments in thus raising the fire; and immediately after his miraculous and never enough to be acknowledged mercy, in putting a stop to it when we were in the last despair, and that all attempts for the quenching it, however industriously pursued, seemed insufficient. His majesty then sat hourly in council, and in his own person making rounds about the city, in all parts of it where the danger and mischief was greatest, till next morning, that he sent his grace the Duke of Albemarle, whom he called from sea to assist him on this great occasion, to put his happy and successful hand to the finishing of this memorable deliverance.

About the Tower, the seasonable orders given for plucking down houses, to secure the magazines of powder, was more especially successful, that part being up the wind; notwithstanding which, it came almost to the very gates of it; so as, by this early provision, the several stores of war, lodged in the Tower, were intirely saved; and we have further this infinite cause, particularly, to give God thanks, that the fire did not happen in any of those places where his majesty's naval-stores are kept; so, though it hath pleased God to visit us with his own hand, he hath not, by dis-furnishing us with the means of carrying on the war, subjected us unto all our enemies.

Through this sad accident, it is easy to be imagined, how many persons were necessitated to remove themselves and goods into the open fields, where they were forced to continue some time, which could not but work compassion in the beholders. But his majesty's care was more signal on this occasion, who, besides his personal pains, was frequent in consulting always for relieving those distressed persons; which produced so good effect, as well by his majesty's proclamations, and the orders issued to the neighbouring justices of peace, to encourage the sending in of provision to the markets, which are publickly known, as by other directions, that (when his majesty, fearing lest other orders might not yet have been sufficient, had commanded the victualler of his navy to send bread into Moorfields, for the relief of the poor, which, for the more speedy supply, he sent in baskets out of the sea-stores) it was found that the markets had been already so well supplied, that the people, being unaccustomed to that kind of bread, declined it, and so it was returned in great part to his majesty's stores again, without any use made of it.

And we cannot but observe, to the confutation of all his majesty's enemies, who endeavour to persuade the world abroad, of great parties and disaffection at home against his majesty's government, that a greater instance of the affection of this city could never be given, than hath been now given in this sad and deplorable accident, when, if at any time, disorder might have been expected from the losses, distraction, and almost desperation of some persons in their private fortunes, thousands of people not having to cover them. And yet, in all this time, it hath been so far from any appearance of designs or attempts against his majesty's government, his majesty and his royal brother, out of their care to stop and prevent the fire, frequently exposing their persons with very small attendants in all parts of the town, sometimes even to be intermixed with those who laboured in the business, yet nevertheless there hath not been observed so much as a murmuring word to fall from any; but, on the contrary, even those persons, whose losses rendered their condition most desperate, and to be fit objects of their prayers, beholding those frequent instances of his majesty's care for his people, forgot their own misery, and filled the streets with their prayers for his majesty, whose trouble they seemed to compassionate before their own.

Observations.

The philosophers, rhetoricians, and lawyers do agree, that all the circumstances of a fact are happily contained in a Latin verse framed for that purpose, as well to illustrate the method, which is the life of history, as to help the memory which is to reap the benefit of it; the verse runneth thus:

Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando?

Who hath done it, what hath he done,
Where, by what means, wherefore, how, when?

Although these disjunctives seem at first sight to carry no great sense, nevertheless, when they shall be thoroughly examined, it will be found, that they do contain all that can be said upon a subject, and that out of them, as out of so many living springs, may be drawn all that is necessary for the clearing of a propounded question; and we will not be ashamed in this to follow the method of the schools and the authority of the learned, knowing that whatsoever fault shall be found in it, will rather be imputed to our incapacity, than to the foundation we have built upon. Therefore to begin.

Quis? Who hath done it?

SECT. I.

For the clearing of the darkness wherein the human understanding is naturally wrapped up, in distinguishing the several accidents and events that happen daily in this sublunary world: The philosophers have established two principal causes, whereunto every one may have recourse for his satisfaction and the securing of himself, that nothing happeneth by chance, which is the opinion of desperate and atheistical persons. The first and universal cause is God Almighty, who, as he alone hath created the world, so hath he also reserved to himself alone the government thereof, insomuch that the least accidents that befal, depend merely from his providence, neither is there any thing hidden to him with whom we have to do; it is he without whose leave and knowledge not a hair falleth from our heads, and who telleth us by his prophet that, 'There is no 'evil in the city but he hath done it.' This is that First Cause which ought to captivate our understandings under its will, to make us admit all events with an equal mind, and submit our patience to his dispensations, saying with David, 'I did hold my peace because, 'thou didst it, Psal. l. Verse 21.' The other causes are called second causes, because most commonly God maketh use of them for the accomplishing of his will, and these are divided into as many branches as there are individual creatures in the world. By these a man liveth, being begotten by the seed of his parents; dieth being suffocated, falleth being drunk, is drowned in making shipwreck, &c. Where it is to be observed that several second causes may concur together to the production of one and the same effect; as in this sad and lamentable accident we see the carelessness of a baker, the solitariness and darkness of the night, the disposition of old and ruinous buildings, the narrowness of the streets, the abundance of combustible and bituminous matter, the foregoing summer extraordinary hot and dry, a violent easterly wind, and the want of engines and water, concur as it were unanimously to the production of this wonderful conflagration, and to do in four days what four armies of enemies (not opposed) could scarce have done in eight. The astrologers, whose science is as abstruse as uncertain, would fain introduce another cause between the first and the second, to wit, the position and influence of the celestial bodies; but this accident will contribute much to stop their mouths; for either they could not foresee it, or else, having foreseen it, they should have given us precaution of it, as they do of many other more frivolous things, and of less consequence than this; and which are never true but by a supposition that, if they do not happen in our country, they may happen in another, which is called to whiten black. Let us therefore conclude, that the two causes above-mentioned, that is, first and second, are sufficient to move us to humble ourselves in the sight of God, who, having the year before destroyed in the space of six months about an hundred-thousand people; and seeing our impenitent hearts and seared consciences return again to our first vomiting, of pride, drunkenness, swearing, false dealings, whoring, treachery, and other vices; after he hath taken away the health of some, he taketh away the wealth of others, and threateneth the rest with an impendent famine, by the last excessive rains he did send, and may send again in this sowing-time; and it will avail nothing here to say, as I have heard many, that other countries, as France and Italy, are guilty of as many, if not greater crimes than we are, seeing that God chastiseth every son he loveth, and that he beginneth his judgments by his own houshold, and this nation having received more prosperities and blessings from his hands than any other, and accordingly more peculiarly bound to serve and obey him than all the rest, whom he will find well enough, when he seeth his due appointed time: 'For 'that servant that knew his Lord's will, and prepared not himself, 'neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many 'stripes; but he that knew not, and did commit things worthy 'stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes: For unto whom much 'is given, of him shall be much required, and to whom men have 'committed much, of him they will ask the more. Luke xii. '47, 48.'

Quid?

What hath he done?

SECT. II.

The answer is easy. An incendy, a conflagration, a ruin and devastation by fire, such (as I believe) did never happen by any natural and ordinary means; for that of Sodom and Gomorrah was supernatural and miraculous, the like being never heard before nor after, that it should rain fire and brimstone suddenly, and in such a quantity in fair weather; for the scripture mentioneth that the sun was risen upon the earth. Besides, that, instead of calcining the said towns into powder, as fire and brimstone will do all solid bodies, it not only turned them, but also the ground on which they stood, into a bottomless bituminous lake, which to this day remaineth before our eyes for a fearful example of the heinousness of sin, and of the severity of God's justice. Concerning the conflagration of Troy, and that of Rome: The first may be fabulous, or exaggerated by the familiar hyperboles of poets, to whose relation chiefly we owe our belief in that point. As for that of Rome, it is to be believed, that those heaps of stones and marbles, of which she was then built, gave a great check, if not a stop, to the raging of the fire, and stood in the way of the tyrant's pleasure. Concerning others, as that of * Constantinople, † Cracow, ‡ Venice, || Vienna in Austria, § Delft in Holland, ** Malines and Antwerp, they came nothing near this, which in three days and three nights, of about four-hundred and sixty acres of ground upon which the City of London stood, hath swept away about three-hundred and fifty, which is at the rate of four parts in five, having destroyed about twelve-thousand houses, eighty-seven parochial churches, besides six or seven consecrated chapels, and the magnificent and stately cathedral church of St. Paul, the publick and most excellent buildings of the Exchange, Guild-hall, Custom-house, and all, or very near, the halls belonging to every private company, besides an innumerable quantity of goods of all sorts, this city being the best magazine not only of England, but also of all Europe; but, amongst the rest, it was a treasure unspeakable of four commodities, which, for their luggage and cumbersomeness, could not be rescued from the jaws of that unmerciful element, that is, wine, tobacco, spices, and books. As for books, the booksellers, who dwelled for the most part round about the cathedral church, had sheltered their books in a subterraneal church under the cathedral, called St. Faith's, which was propped up with so strong an arch and massy pillars, that it seemed impossible the fire could do any harm to it; but, the fire having crept into it through the windows, it seized upon the pews, and did so try and examine the arch and pillars, by sucking the moisture of the mortar that bound the stones together, that it was calcined into sand: So that, when the top of the cathedral fell upon it, it beat it flat, and set all things in an irremediable flame. I have heard judicious men of that trade affirm, that the only loss of books in that place, and Stationers-hall, publick libraries, and private persons houses, could amount to no less than 150,000 pounds. I have seen bells and iron wares melted, glass and earthen-pots melted together, as it had been by a fire of fusion; the most big and solid stones (as those of the cathedral) slit, scaled, and in some parts calcined to powder by the violence of the flames. Nevertheless, as God's mercy is above all his works, and he remembereth it always amongst his judgments, I could not learn of above half a dozen people that did perish by that woeful conflagration; one of them was of my acquaintance, and a watch-maker living in Shoe-lane, behind the Globe-tavern; his name was Paul Lawell, born in Strasbourg, who, being about eighty years of age, and dull of hearing, was also deaf to the good admonitions of his son and

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* Turkish History. † M. Cromen. ‡ Paulus Jovius, 12 Book.

|| Caspinian in Vita Imp. § Adr. Junius. ** Guicciardin, 12 Book.

friends, and would never desert the house till it fell upon him, and sunk him with the ruins in the cellar, where afterwards his bones, together with his keys, were found.

Although the loss of so famous a city, and of the riches contained within its precinct, be inestimable, nevertheless, to satisfy the curiosity of the reader, and that of posterity, as also, to give some light unto those, who, with a more mature deliberation, shall attempt the full history of it; we will set down the chiefest heads by which it is valued, leaving the liberty to the judicious reader, to add to, or subtract from, as he shall think fit; for we do not pretend here to give an exact account of all the losses, which, we hope, some better wits, and that are more at leisure, will undertake hereafter: But only to invite them, by this, to a more curious and earnest inquiry of the truth, and so transmit to posterity a fearful example of God's judgment, that they may, in avoiding sin, also avoid the like, to the glory and praise of his most holy name.

Let it, therefore, be said again, that, by the computation of the best Geometricians, the City of London, within the walls, was seated upon about four hundred and sixty acres of ground; wherein were built about fifteen thousand houses, besides churches, chapels, schools, halls, and publick buildings; out of this quantity of houses, twelve thousand are thought to be burnt, which is four parts of five, each house being valued, one with another, at twenty-five pounds a year's rent, which, at twelve years purchase, maketh three-hundred pounds, the whole amounting to three millions six-hundred thousand pounds.

Fourscore and seven parochial churches, besides that of St. Paul's the cathedral, and six consecrated chapels, the Exchange, Guildhall, Custom-House, the halls of companies, and other publick buildings, amounting to half as much, *i. e.* one million eight-hundred thousand pounds.

The goods that every private man lost, one with another, valued at half the value of the houses, *i. e.* one million eight-hundred thousand pounds.

About twenty wharfs of coals and wood, valued at a thousand pounds a piece, *i. e.* twenty thousand pounds.

About one-hundred thousand boats and barges, one thousand cart-loads, with porters to remove the goods to and fro, as well for the houses that were a burning, as for those that stood in fear of it, at twenty shillings a load, *i. e.* one-hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

In all seven millions three-hundred thirty-five thousand pounds.

This being reduced to the account of French money, taking one pound sterling for thirteen livres, amounteth to ten-thousand five hundred and sixty-nine millions, six-hundred and seventy-five thousand livres.

Now, O London! it may well be said of thee, 'How doth the City sit solitary, that was full of people; how is she become as a widow; she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces?' Jerem. Lam. chap. i. 1. But courage, O thou that art now my country, thou art fallen into the hands of God, and not of men; he that chastiseth thee is thy father, and, if he hath a rod to punish thee, he hath also a staff to comfort thee; turn to him, and he will turn to thee, for he is merciful and long-suffering, not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance; therefore, be not overwhelmed with sorrow, nothing hath befallen thee, but hath happened to others before thee; and, if it be true, that the likeness, and participation of afflictions, doth mitigate the sense of them, that I may something allay thy present sorrow, I will relate thee a story that hath much parallel with thine, to shew thou hast not been the only miserable: It is a true one, written and testified by an honourable Dutch merchant, who was an eye-witness to it; and, although it hath been once printed, yet, because the book is scarce, and the language foreign, I thought thou wouldst not take it ill, if I should impart it unto thee.

Moscow, the chief city of all the countries of the Emperor of Russia, is a very great city, but not well compacted; it hath, in compass, with the suburbs, well inhabited, and as full of people as the town, about three German leagues and a half, which maketh about fourteen English miles; the compass of the town, within the walls, is about three English miles; the streets and path-ways are of great trees set close together, and some boards by the houses side; and it is so dirty in rainy weather, that it is impossible to go through the city, otherwise than on horse-back; according to the custom of the country, where horses are of small value, and of little expence, never being shod for any journey whatsoever, unless it be during the ice. The houses are but one story high, or two at the most, all built with wood, set up at the top one of another: There are, in the city, suburbs, and castle, about five-thousand five-hundred churches, built, for the most part, like chapels, most of them with great trees set one upon another. The great duke's lodging is also built of wood, which he thinketh wholsomer than stone; the castle is pretty well fortified with walls and broad ditches; it occupieth as much room as all the rest of the city. On one side of it dwell the Sins, on the other the Optisins, who are as the treasurers of the great duke, in whose hands, as soon as you come, you must put in all your merchandises. Being departed from Nerva, about the tenth of July, 1570, we came, on the beginning of August, to Moscow, where I found the Great Duke*, and his officers, busy in seeking out about thirty persons, who fell all under the sword of the common hangman, except one who was cast alive into boiling water; and this, because they had taken bribes: most of them were great lords, and familiars with the great duke; others were merchants of Novogrod, with their wives, children, and families, accused of treason in the behalf of the king of Poland. Few days after, a horrid plague invaded the town of Moscow, and the places about it, with such violence, that, in four months, there died above two-hundred and fifty thousand people; and it was particularly observed, that, in eight days, that is, from the tenth to the eighteenth of August, there died two-thousand seven hundred and three priests; and this plague did continue so fiercely, that, in the end of it, every one wondered when he met any body of his acquaintance.

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* This great duke was John Basilides, the famous tyrant.

This extraordinary misery was followed, the year after, on the fifteenth of May, by a strange ruin and conflagration; the occasion was, that the emperor of the Tartarians, being discontented that the Russians did not pay him some annual tribute; and hearing besides, that the great duke, by his tyranny and massacres, had so depopulated the country, that he should find no great resistance that way, did summon him to pay the said tribute; but the great duke returned nothing in answer, but spightful and reproachful words; wherefore, the Tartarian came out of his country, about the end of February, followed with an army of one-hundred thousand horse, who, within the space of two months and a half, did ride about five-hundred German leagues, which make two-thousand English miles: When they were come about two days journey from the frontiers of the Duke, he resolved to meet them, and to give them battle; but he lost it with a prodigious slaughter of his men. The Duke, knowing that the Tartarian would seek him out, ran away, as fast, and as far as he could: He was only within nine leagues of Moscow, when the Tartarians came and encompassed the town, thinking he was within; they set a-fire all the villages round about it; and, seeing that the war would prove too tedious for them, resolved to burn that great city, or, at least, the suburbs of it: For this purpose, having placed their troops round about it, they set fire on all sides, so that it seemed a burning globe; then did arise so fierce and violent a wind, that it drove the rafters and long trees from the suburbs into the city; the conflagration was so sudden, that no body had time to save himself, but in that place where he was then: The persons, that were burnt in this fire, were above two-hundred thousand; which did happen, because the houses are all of wood, and the streets paved with great fir-trees, set close together, which, being oily and rosinous, made the incendy unexpressible, so that, in four hours time, the city and suburbs were wholly consumed. I and a young man of Rochelle, that was my interpreter, were in the middle of the fire, in a magazine vaulted with stone, and extraordinarily strong, whose wall was three feet and a half thick, and had no air but on two sides; one wherein was the coming in and going out, which was a long alley, in which there were three iron gates, distant about six feet from each other; on the other side there was a window, or grate, fenced with three iron shutters, distant half a foot one from another: We shut them inwardly, as well as possibly we could; nevertheless, there came in so much smoke, that it was more than sufficient to choak us, had it not been for some beer that was there, with the which we refreshed ourselves now and then. Many lords and gentlemen were stifled in the caves, where they had retired, because, their houses being made of great trees, when they fell, they crushed down all that was underneath; others, being consumed to ashes, stopped all the passages of going and coming out, so that, for want of air, they all perished. The poor country people, that had saved themselves, in the city, with their cattle, from three-score miles round about, seeing the conflagration, ran all into the market-place, which is not paved of wood, as the rest; nevertheless, they were all roasted there, in such sort, that the tallest man seemed but a child, so much had the fire contracted their limbs; and this, by reason of the great houses that were round about; a thing more hideous and frightful than any can imagine. In many places of the said market, the bodies were piled, one upon another, to the height of half a pike; which put me into a wonderful admiration, being not able to apprehend, nor understand, how it was possible they should be so heaped together.

This wonderful conflagration caused all the fortifications of the Town-wall to fall, and all the ordnance, that were upon it, to burst. The walls were made of brick, according to the ancient way of building, without either fortifications, or ditches: Many, that had saved themselves among them, were, nevertheless, roasted, so fierce and vehement was the fire; among them, many Italians and Walloons of my acquaintance. While the fire lasted, we thought that a million of cannons had been thundering together, and our thoughts were upon nothing but death, thinking that the fire would last some days, because of the great circumference of the castle and suburbs; but all this was done in less than four hours time, at the end of which, the noise growing less, we were curious to know, whether the Tartarians, of whom we stood in no less fear than of the fire, were entered. They are a warlike people, though they eat nothing but roots, and such other like substance, and drink only water. The greatest lords among them feed upon flesh baked between a horse and the saddle, wherein rideth the horseman: Nevertheless, they are very strong, lusty, and inured to all hardship, as, also, are their horses, who are wonderful swift, and will travel further, in one day, eating nothing but grass, than ours will do in three, feeding upon oats; therefore, the Tartarians come so easily, from so far, to invade the Russians. They have also that craft, that they only come in the summer, for the conveniency of their horses: Their country is temperate, from whence they come about the latter end of February, that they may be in Russia about the beginning of June, and go back again, into their own country, at the end of it, lest they should be overtaken by the winter in Russia; which, if it should fall out, they would be all starved, because of the great deserts uninhabited, containing above three-hundred German leagues, and, therefore, void of all relief, as well for themselves, as for their horses, there being then no grass upon the ground; which constraineth them to make such a journey, which is of above twelve-hundred German leagues, in four or five months time, with all their army, which consisteth commonly of about one hundred and fifty thousand, or two hundred thousand horses, as good as can be; but the horsemen are but slightly armed, having, for all weapons, a jack of mail, a dart, and bow and arrows; they know nothing of what belongeth to guns, having, in all their country, but two cities, wherein the emperor keepeth his court, without any villages or houses, but are contented to live under tents, which they remove to and fro, as they see occasion.

But to come again to our misery, after we had hearkened a while, we heard some Russians running to and fro, through the smoke, who were talking of walling the gates, to prevent the coming in of the Tartarians, who were expecting when the fire went out. I and my interpreter, being come out of the magazine, found the ashes so hot, that we durst scarce tread upon them; but, necessity compelling us, we ran towards the chief gate, where we found twenty-five or thirty men escaped from the fire, with whom, in a few hours, we did wall that gate, and the rest, and kept a strict watch all that night with some guns that had been preserved from the fire. In the morning, seeing that the place was not defensible with so few people as we were, we sought the means to get into the castle, whose entry was then inaccessible; the governor was very glad to hear of our intention, and cried to us, We should be very welcome; but it was a most difficult thing to come in, because the bridges were all burnt, so that we were fain to get over the wall, having, instead of ladders, some high fir-trees thrown from the castle to us, wherein, instead of rounds to get up, they had made some notches, with a hatchet, to keep us from sliding: We got up then, with much ado; for, besides the evident inconveniency of those rough ladders, we did carry about us the sum of four-thousand thalers, besides some jewels, which was a great hinderance to us to climb along those high trees; and that, which did double our fear, was, that we saw before our eyes some of our company, that had nothing but their bodies to save, yet tumble down from the middle of those high trees into the ditch, full of burnt bodies, so that we could not tread but upon dead corpses, whose heaps were so thick every where, that we could not avoid to tread upon them, as if it had been a hill to climb up; and that, which did augment our trouble, was, that, in treading upon them, the arms and legs broke like glass; the poor limbs of these creatures being calcined, by the vehement heat of the fire, and our feet sinking into those miserable bodies, the blood and the filth did squirt in our faces, which begot such a stench all the town over, that it was impossible to subsist in it.

The twenty-fifth of May, in the evening, as we expected, in great perplexity, what the Tartarians would attempt against us, who were about four-hundred in the castle: The Tartarians, whom we had saluted with our guns, and killed some of them that were come too near one of the castle-gates, began to go back the same way that they came in, with so much speed, that, the next morning, all that torrent was drained up; for which, having given

God thanks, and set our business in order, as well as the present calamity would permit, we went away from that desolate place.

Now, O London! consider that thy fate is not peculiar to thyself, and that will allay the bitterness of thy sufferings; remember, also, that, if thou sanctifiest this affliction to thy use, the Lord promiseth by his prophet, "That those shall reap in joy who did sow in tears." Psal. cxxvi. 6.

Ubi?

Where?

SECT. III.

In the richest city of Europe, and perhaps in the world; the greatest magazine that could be found for all sorts of merchandises, incomparable for the salubrity of the air, and conveniency of situation; magnificent in publick buildings; illustrious in good deeds; renowned for hospitality; famous for government; venerable for antiquity; having subsisted about two-thousand years; inhabited by citizens, whose courage was equal to their fortunes; in a word, a city of which it might be said more truly than of Ormus:

> Si terrarum orbis quaqua patet annulus esset,
> Londinum illius gemma decusque foret.

This circumstance, which we tread over so slightly, that we may not be suspected of flattery, is not the least that aggravateth the enormity of this accident; there is none of those characters, we have given it, but are very true, and might be the worthy employment of a better pen than mine, and the subject of a full volume.

Quibus Auxiliis?

By whose Help?

SECT. IV.

Here we must have recourse to what we have said before in the first paragraph, when we spoke of the second causes, and say that God hath made use chiefly of eight things to accomplish this work. The negligence of the master or his servants, in whose house the fire did first begin; the solitariness of the night; the narrowness of the place; the weakness of the buildings; the quantity of combustible and bituminous matters gathered thereabouts; the preceding summer which was extraordinarily hot and dry; the east-wind that blew violently all that while; and the want of engines and water to quench the fire; we shall give every one its little section, to satisfy the curiosity of those who inquire so much of the causes that have made this conflagration so violent, dismal, and irremediable.

I. Though there be some accidents which no human prudence can prevent; as when a man either in his own house, or going through the street, is crashed by a sudden ruin; nevertheless, the philosophers are not to blame, when they say that every one may be the author of his own fortune, for it is certain, that, if a man neglecteth or forsaketh that Providence given him by nature, he doth together forsake the instrument and the means which his good genius maketh use of, to make him avoid the ill accidents that may befall him; for, as our soul doth only act by the organs of our body, so our genius either good or bad cannot act but by the means of our soul. Now if our soul enjoyeth a sound and temperate body, and doth her functions with purity and facility; that genius, which is always near hand, and as it were whispering at our ear, doth move and stir her to the preservation of whatsoever belongeth or concerneth her. If, on the contrary, this soul inhabiteth a body dyscratiated, melancholick, full of obstructions, or drowned in the excesses of eating and drinking, or passions, its nature being igneous, and never ceasing from action; it necessarily followeth, that, according to the disposition of the organs, she turneth to the wrong way, and neglecteth those things wherein she is merely concerned. Now, in things that might be prevented or remedied, it is an invalid excuse to say, I would never have thought that such a thing should happen: For, who can attribute it to a mere accident to put fire in an oven, and to leave a quantity of dry wood, and some flitches of bacon by it, within the sphere of its activity, and so go to bed, in leaving his providence with his slippers.

I remember that, some thirty-six years ago, in a town of Brie, a province of France, called Sezane, upon a Sunday morning, a woman that kept a chandler's shop, having occasion to snuff a candle, threw the snuff into a corner of her shop, among some old rags and papers, and so shutting the door went to mass; but, within the space of half an hour, and before she could come back again, not only her house, but those of her neighbours were all in a flame, which being helped by an east-wind which blew at that time, and which is the most dangerous of all the winds for incendies, as we shall shew hereafter, did in the space of a day and a night consume the whole town, consisting of about four-hundred houses. Can this be called a mere accident, since there is nobody so void of common sense, but might have either foreseen, or prevented so calamitous a consequence?

II. The second cause of this misfortune is, the time wherein it did happen, to wit, about one of the clock in the night, when every one is buried in his first sleep; when some for weariness, others by deboistness, have given leave to their cares to retire; when slothfulness and the heat of the bed have riveted a man to his pillow, and made him almost incapable of waking, much less of acting and helping his neighbours.

III. The narrowness of the place did also much contribute to this conflagration, for the street where it did happen, as also most of those about it, were the narrowest of the city, insomuch that in some a cart could scarce go along, and in others not at all. The danger, I did once run of my life thereabouts by the crowd of carts, hath caused me many times to make reflexion on the covetousness of the citizens, and connivency of magistrates, who have suffered them from time to time to incroach upon the streets, and to jet the tops of their houses, so as from one side of the street to touch the other; which, as it doth facilitate a conflagration, so doth it also hinder the remedy, and besides taketh away the liberty of the air, making it unwholesome, and disfigureth the beauty and symmetry of the city. I hope that, for the future, his majesty, his council, and that of the city, will take care that such disorder happen no more, and will cause this city to be as commodious in its buildings, as it is happy in its situation.

IV. Now followeth the weakness of the buildings, which were almost all of wood, which by age was grown as dry as a chip: This inconvenience will easily be remedied, in building the houses with stone or brick, according to the statutes and ordinances of parliament, provided and enacted long ago in that behalf, though for the most part ill observed.

V. The quantity of combustible and bituminous matter hath given the greatest encouragement to this devouring fire; for, as the place where the fire begun was not far from the Thames, and from those wharfs where most merchandises are landed, so Thames-street, and others thereabouts, were almost nothing else but magazines of combustible and sulphureous merchandises: Thereabouts were a prodigious quantity of oil, butter, brandy, pitch, brimstone, saltpetre, cables, &c. and by the Thames side were almost all wharfs full of coals and wood. Now as fire of itself is nothing but light which corporifieth itself in the matter, and acteth more or less according to the disposition of it, as we see that a fire of straw is less violent than that of coals; it followeth that this fire, having lighted upon these sulphureous and bituminous matters, did feed upon them as in its proper element, and not only devoured them with ease, but imparted to the next combustible matters a disposition more fitting and apt to receive it. The nature of this sulphureous fire was evidently seen in the melting of bells, iron, pots, glasses, and other metallick things, and in the calcining of stones and bricks, which no other single fire of wood, coals, or other vulgar matter could have done. I remember that, some four or five years ago, the lightning fell in Herefordshire without doing any harm in the country, but, being extinguished of itself, the exhalation of it did mix itself with a strong westerly wind, that came as far as London, beating down houses, plucking up trees by the roots, and, to shew its nitrous and sulphureous nature, did, as it were, neglect to touch wood, but did chiefly stick upon metal, and either broke or bent it; the tokens of it are seen to this day upon the steeples of Bow-church, St. Andrew, St. Giles Cripplegate, the May Pole, and other places. These sulphureous matters were also the cause of another inconveniency, which is, that the fire, being corporified in them, did extend the sphere of its activity at a further distance than ordinary, and cast its burning beams furthest off, mixing more exactly its atoms in the air, which it turneth almost into its own nature; which was the cause, that nobody could come nearer that fire than a hundred or two-hundred paces.

VI. The foregoing summer, that was extraordinarily hot and dry, had also disposed the matter of the buildings to admit the fire more quickly and easily, by sucking not only the intrinsecal moisture that was in them, but also that of the air which might have moistened them; for, though there be no rain falling, nevertheless there is a certain vapourish moisture in the air, which, if it be not dried up, doth moisten all porous things intrinsecally, and doth condense itself upon the solid ones, in the form of an oleaginous moisture, as doth appear upon marbles and glasses.

VII. In cometh now the east-wind to play its part in this tragedy. That unfortunate wind, of which it is commonly said, that it is neither good for man nor beast, did blow with such a wonderful fierceness all the time of the conflagration, that it did not only quicken the fire, as bellows do the furnaces, but also, getting into the streets, and among the houses, when it found any let or hinderance that did recoil it back, it blew equally both to the right and to the left, and caused the fire to burn on all sides, which hath persuaded many that this fire was miraculous. I myself remember, that going into some streets at that time, and having the wind impetuously in my face, I was in hope that at my return I should have it in my back, but it was all one, for the reason aforesaid. It would be here too tedious to speak of the nature of winds, and to shew many reasons why this wind is so dry in England, as to burn the flowers and leaves of the trees, more than the hottest sun can do; one, which, I think satisfactory, will serve for all: It is therefore to be observed, that winds do not only participate of the nature of the places where they are begot, but also of that of the countries through which they pass. Now all the southern, western, and northern winds must pass through the great Ocean to come into England, in which passage there mixes with them abundance of vapours, which cause their moisture, except the north-wind, wherein the moisture is condensed by the cold; but the east-wind to come to us must pass over the greatest continent in the world, France, Germany, Hungary, Greece, Persia, &c. even to China; so that, in pursuing such a tract of land, it not only droppeth down by the way its moist effluviums, the earth, as it were, sucking them for its irroration, but also carrieth along all the hot and dry exhalations that perpetually arise out of the earth, which is the cause of its dry and burning quality. I had, formerly, a little garden, where I did bestow as much pains and care as I could, to bring up some young fruit-trees that were in it; having the advantage of a very good mould; but being seated eastward, and closed narrowly by a brick wall on either side; this wind, that reigneth constantly here in England, in the months of March, April, and beginning of May, did, in their budding, so burn the leaves and the flowers, that the hottest sun could not do the like; so that I was fain to give it over, having been two or three years, before I could understand that mystery, and the nature of that wind in this country, for there are some other countries where this wind is salubrious and fruitful enough.

VIII. It was also a great contributing to this misfortune, that the Thames water-house was out of order, so that the conduits and pipes were almost all dry; as also, that the engines had no liberty to play, for the narrowness of the place, and crowd of the people, but some of them were tumbled down in the river, and among the rest, that of Clerkenwell, esteemed one of the best.

And thus, courteous reader, thou seest an admirable concurrence of several causes, for the putting of God's will in execution: in other cities, that are not subject to conflagrations, as Paris, which is all built of free-stone, the inundations have several times played their pranks; other towns, as in Italy, that think themselves exempted from fire and water, come to their periods by fearful earthquakes; others, that escape fire, water, and earth, do perish by the meteors of the air, and are calcined by the lightning; so that God Almighty never wanteth instruments to compass his will; and it seemeth that the four elements, of which this world is compounded, do conspire against the happiness and quietness of man, when, by their daily prevarications, they go about to confirm the disobedience of our first parents.

Cur?

Why?

SECT. V.

Here it is that we must wholly stoop and humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, and answer with the Apostle, *O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor?* Rom. xi. 33. Let it suffice thee, O man, to know, that whether he hath done it to punish thee for thy sins, or to try thy faith, and exercise thy patience; if thou canst make benefit of this affliction, and sanctify it to thy use; we know that all things work together for good, to them that love God.

Quomodo?

How?

SECT. VI.

This circumstance is answered by the contents of the fourth.

Quando?

When?

SECT. VII.

When we were newly come out of a civil war of twenty years standing, where it is thought above one-hundred-thousand people did perish.

When the plague had the year before swept away above one-hundred-thousand people, and was still raging.

When the kingdom was exhausted of money, and trade lost.

When we had wars with France, Denmark, and Holland, and not without fear of divisions among ourselves.

Then, even then, came this dreadful fire, after the aggregation of so many judgments before, (like Job's comforter, after his unwelcome messengers) but then, even then, did our seeming utter destruction appear; but, by our heavenly Father's paternal corrections, and by his mercy, we are secured from our fears by peace and quietness, both at home and abroad, and restored to the hopes of a flourishing nation, and the most glorious city of the world.

Crescit sub pondere virtus.

EXPERIMENTED PROPOSALS*

How the King may have money to pay and maintain his Fleets, with ease to his people; London may be rebuilt, and all proprietors satisfied; Money to be lent at Six per Cent. on Pawns; and the Fishing-Trade set up, which alone is able and sure to inrich us all. And all this without altering, straining, or thwarting any of our Laws or Customs now in use.

By Sir EDWARD FORDE.

Licensed, Nov. 2, 1666. Roger L'Estrange.

London: Printed by William Godbid, 1666. Quarto, containing one sheet.

1. THE end of our money is to adjust contracts and accounts between ourselves; for it is not coined to be melted or transported.

2. These, and all tokens of account, are valued according to their portableness, which prefers gold before silver, jewels before gold, bills and bonds before all.

3. These bills, bonds, book accounts, and even verbal promises, we transfer from one to the other, which our law approves of and corroborates.

4. Satisfying security, therefore, clearly supplies and contents us as well as money, for who would not rather have a straw, or a piece of paper, than an hundred pounds, if he were sure it would at all times yield him as much as he took it for? Our practice evinceth this, for we purchase bills of exchange at two or more per cent. The money-master parts with his coin for a sheet of

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* This is the 164th number in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

paper or parchment. Nay, it gets our money into our enemies; esteemed, but, in truth, failable money banks, though they give but three per cent. use, and we six, nay, Ireland ten and more per cent. For it is satisfactory security, not great use, that attracts money.

5. Land security is evidently, of all, the surest and most satisfying, where the title is clear, and no danger of counterfeits or foreign conquest.

6. No money can be surer than taxes by act of parliament, though ten or more years day of payment were allowed the people, which this way may be done; and yet the king, by making current bills thereon, may have it all presently, without any deductions. And, by the people's yearly and easy payments, these bills may be certainly paid and taken in.

7. By such-like distinct bills, London may be rebuilt, and all proprietors satisfied for enlarging the streets, the fines and rents of all so built being engaged to satisfy and take in all these bills.

8. The like may be done for banks of loan upon pawns, truly called Mounts of Piety, where, the stock thus coming gratis, the poor (who now pay above forty, fifty, nay sixty per cent. use, to their ruin, and casting them and theirs on their parishes charge) may have money at six per cent. The clothiers on their cloth the like, till the merchant or draper can take it off, and the clothier, mean time, have money to go on with his trade, and keep his workmen still employed. The landed man, at four per cent use, whereby he may improve his land, or lend his money to such as can well pay him six per cent. and gain enough. Half this use will soon pay and take in these bills, the other half will defray all charges, and augment this Mount to a vast advantage of all.

9. By the like way, the Herring Trade may be established, to the breeding up and maintaining plenty of mariners, enough for the king, merchant, and fishery; and employ our poor from their childhood, and the profit hereof will soon pay and take in these bills also; for John Keymor's books clearly shew, how the Dutch, and foreigners, by our fish, make more money in one year, than the king of Spain doth in four years of his Indies; and how these Dutch hereby will certainly eat us out of all trade, and be clear masters of the sea, to the terror of all kings and states.

10. Credit thus raised is honest, because all bills are sure to be paid. It prejudiceth no man, because he hath as much use of this bill money, as if he had the silver; and it compasseth all these particulars, to the good of us all. Nor is the way hazardous or untrodden, but such as hath been long, and is still used by our neighbours, to the advancing their little country (not so big nor fruitful as one English county) from poor distressed states, to be Hogans Mogans, and all by a real cheat; for no considerate man can believe that they have so much money in their banks, as they give out bills for. What then do they get? But lose the use they pay, and their charge in guarding and keeping accounts.

11. These lessen not, but increase both bullion and coin, where they are used; for what monarch can spare such sums as little Genoa lends to the king of Spain, that great master and merchant of gold and silver? And what people generally fuller of money, and freer from beggars than the Dutch, by these proposed courses?

If all, or any of these, be thought worthy debating, the proposer is confident he can answer all objections, and shew the way how there shall not be any danger of cheat or abuse in any part thereof.

THE HUMBLE PETITION AND ADDRESS OF

EDWARD, EARL OF CLARENDON. M S.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.

May it please your Lordships,

I CANNOT express the insupportable trouble and grief of mind I sustain, under the apprehension of being misrepresented unto your lordships; and when I hear how much of your lordships time hath been spent in the mention of me, and is attended with more publick consequence; and of the difference of opinion, which is already, or may probably arise, betwixt your lordships and the honourable house of commons, whereby the great and weighty affairs of the kingdom may be obstructed, in a time of so general dissatisfaction: I am very unfortunate to find myself suffer so much, under two very disadvantageous reflexions, which are in no degree applicable to me.

The first, from the greatness of my estate and fortune, collected and made in so few years; which, if it be proportionable to what it is reported, may very reasonably cause my integrity to be suspected. The second, that I have been the sole manager, and chief minister, in all the transactions of state, since the king's return into England, to August last; and, therefore, that all miscarriages and misfortunes ought to be imputed to me, and to my counsels. Concerning my estate, your lordships will believe, that, after malice and envy have been so inquisitive and so sharp-sighted, I will not offer any thing to your lordships, but what is really true; and I do assure your lordships, in the first place, that, excepting from the king's bounty, I have never received, nor taken one penny, but what was generally understood to be the just and lawful perquisite of my office, by the constant practice of the best times; which I did, in my own judgment, conceive to be that of my Lords Coventry and Elsmore; the practice of which I constantly observed, although the office, in both their times, was lawfully worth double to what it was to me; and, I believe, now is:

That all the courtesies and favours, which I have been able to obtain from the king for other persons, in church, state, or Westminster-hall, have never been worth, to me, five pounds; so that your lordships may be confident, I am as innocent from corruption, as from any disloyal thought; which, after thirty years service of the crown, in some difficulties and distress, I did never suspect would have been objected to me, in my age. And I do assure your lordships, and shall make it manifest, that the several sums of money and some parcels of land, which his majesty hath bountifully bestowed upon me, since his last return into England, are worth more, than all I have amounts unto. So far I am from advancing my estate by indirect means; and, though this bounty of his majesty hath very far exceeded my merit, or my expectations, yet some others have been as fortunate, at least, in the same bounty, who have had as small pretence to it, and have no great reason to envy my condition.

Concerning the other imputation, of the credit and power of being chief minister, and causing all to be done, that I had any mind to, I have no more to say, than that I had the good fortune to serve a master of very great judgment and understanding, and to be always joined with persons of great abilities and experience, without whose advice and concurrence never any thing hath been done. Before his majesty's coming over, he was constantly attended by the Marquis of Ormond, the late Lord Culpepper, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas, who were equally trusted with myself, and without whose joint advice and concurrence, when they were all present (as some of them always were) I never gave any counsel. As soon as it pleased God to restore his majesty into England, he established his privy-council, and shortly, out of them, a number of honourable persons of great reputation, who for the most part are alive still, as a committee for foreign affairs, and consideration of such things, as the number of them required much time and deliberation, and with those persons he vouchsafed to join me; and, I am confident, the committee never transacted any thing of moment (his majesty being always present) without presenting the same first to the council-board; and I must appeal to them concerning my carriage, and whether we were not all of one mind, in matters of importance. For more than two years, I never knew any difference in the council, or that there were any complaints in the kingdom; which I wholly impute to his majesty's great wisdom, and the intire concurrence of his counsellors, without the vanity of assuming any thing to myself; and, therefore, I hope, I shall not be singly charged with any thing, that has since fallen out amiss: But, from the time that Mr. Secretary Nicholas was removed from his place, there were great alterations; and whosoever knows any thing of the court, or councils, knows well how much my credit hath since that time been diminished, although his majesty still vouchsafed graciously to hear my advice, in most of his affairs. Nor hath there been, from that time to this, above one or two persons brought to the council, or preferred to any considerable office in the court, who have been of any intimate acquaintance, or suspected to have any kindness for me; and most of them most notoriously known to have been very long my enemies, and of different judgments and principles from me, both in church and state; and who have taken all opportunities to lessen my credit with the king, and all other persons, by misrepresenting and misinterpreting all that I said, or did, and persuading men, that I had done them some prejudice with his majesty, or crossed them in some of their pretensions, though his majesty's goodness and justice were such, that it made little impression upon him.

In my humble opinion, the great misfortunes of the kingdom have proceeded from the war, to which, it was most notoriously known, that I was always most averse. And I may, without vanity, say, I did not only foresee, but did declare the mischief, we should run into, by entering into a war before any alliances with neighbouring princes; and, that it may not be imputed to his majesty's want of care, or the negligence of his counsellors, that no such alliances were entered into, I must say, that his majesty left nothing unattempted, in order thereunto; and knowing very well, that France resolved to begin war upon Spain, as soon as his catholick majesty should depart the world; which being much sooner expected by them, they had, in two winters, been at great charge in providing plentiful magazines of all provisions upon the frontiers, that they might be ready for the war. His majesty used all means possible to prepare and dispose the Spaniards with that apprehension, offering his friendship to that degree, as might be for the security and benefit of both crowns. But Spain, flattering itself, that France would not break with them, at least, that they would not give them any cause, by administering matter of jealousy, never made any real approach to make friendship with his majesty, but, both by their ambassadors here, and his majesty's ambassador at Madrid, always insisted, as preliminaries, upon the giving up of Dunguirgue, Tangier, and Jamaica.

Though France had an ambassador here, to whom a project for a treaty was offered, and the Lord Hollis, his majesty's ambassador at Paris, had used all endeavours to persue and prosecute the said treaty; yet it was quickly discerned, the principal design of France was to draw his majesty into such a new alliance, as might advance their design, without which, they had no mind to enter into the treaty proposed; and this was the state of affairs, when the war was entered into with the Dutch; from which time, neither crown continued the making an alliance with England. As I did, from my soul, abhor the entering into this war, so I never presumed to give any advice or counsel for the way of managing of it, but by opposing many propositions, which seemed, by the late Lord Treasurer and myself, to be unreasonable, as the payment of seamen with tickets, which added to the expence.

My enemies took all occasions to inveigh against me, and (making of friendship with others out of the council of more licentious principles, and who knew well enough how much I disliked and complained of the liberty they took to themselves, of rallying all council and counsellors, and turning all things, serious and secret, into ridicule) they took all ways imaginable to render me ungrateful to all sorts of men, whom I shall be compelled to name in my own defence, persuading those that miscarried, that it was the Chancellor's doing, whereof I never knew any thing. However, they could not withdraw the king's favour from me, who was still pleased to use my service with others; nor was there any thing done, but upon the joint advice of, at least, the major part of those who were consulted; and, as his majesty commanded my service in the late treaties, I never gave the least advice in private, or wrote one letter to any person, in those negotiations, but upon the advice of the council, and after it was read in council, or, at least, by the king himself, and some others; and if I prepared any instructions, or memorials, it was by the king's command, and the request of the secretaries, who desired my assistance; nor was it any wish of my own, that any ambassador should give me any account of the transactions, but the secretary, with whom I was always ready to advise; nor am I conscious to myself, of ever having given advice, that hath proved mischievous, or inconvenient to his majesty; and I have been so far from being the whole manager, that I have not, in the whole last year, been above twice with his majesty in any room alone, and very seldom in the two or three last years preceding; and, since the parliament at Oxford, it hath been very visible, that my credit hath been very little, and that very few things have been hearkened to, that have been proposed by me, but contradicted *eo nomine*, because they were proposed by me. I most humbly beseech your lordships, to remember the office and trust I had for seven years, in which discharge of my duty, I was obliged to stop and obstruct many men's pretensions, and refused to set the seal to many men's pardons, and their grants, which would have been profitable to them, which procured them, and many whereof, upon my representation to his majesty, were for ever stopped; which naturally hath caused many enemies to me; and my frequently concurring, upon the desires of my late Lord Treasurer (with whom I had the honour to have a long and faithful friendship to his death) in representing several excesses and exorbitances, the yearly issues so far exceeding the revenue, provoked many persons concerned, of great power and credit, to do me all the ill offices they could; and yet, I may faithfully say, I never meddled with any part of the revenue, or the administration of it, but when I was desired, by the late Lord Treasurer, to give him my assistance and advice, having had the honour to serve the Crown, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was, for the most part, in his majesty's presence; nor have I been, in the least degree, concerned, in point of profit, in letting any part of his majesty's revenue, nor have ever treated, or debated it, but in his majesty's presence, in which my opinion concurred always with the major part of the council; all which, upon examination, will be made manifest to your lordships, how much soever my integrity is blasted, by the malice of those, who, I am confident, do not believe themselves; nor have I, in all my treaties, otherwise received the value of one shilling, from all the kings and princes in the world, except the book of the Louvre, sent by the Chancellor of France, by the king's direction, but from my own master, to whose intire service, and to the good and welfare of my country, no man's heart was ever more devoted. This being my present condition, I do most humbly beseech your lordships to retain a favourable opinion of me, and believe me to be innocent from those foul aspersions, until the contrary shall be proved, which, I am sure, can never be, by any man worthy to be believed; and since the temper of the times, and the difference between the two houses, in the present debate, with the power and malice of my enemies, who give out, they shall prevail with his majesty to prorogue, or dissolve the parliament in displeasure (and threaten to expose me to the rage and fury of the people) may make me to be looked upon, as the cause which obstructs the king's service, and the unity and peace of the kingdom: I most humbly beseech your lordships, that I may not forfeit your lordship's favour and protection, by withdrawing myself from so powerful a prosecution, in hopes I may be able, by such withdrawing, hereafter to appear, and make my defence, when his majesty's justice, to which I shall always submit, may not be obstructed, or controuled, by the power and malice of those, who have sworn my destruction.

Exit Clarendon.

THE WORLD'S MISTAKE IN
OLIVER CROMWELL;

OR,

A short Political Discourse, shewing, that Cromwell's Male-administration (during his four Years and nine Months pretended Protectorship) laid the foundation of our present condition, in the Decay of Trade.

London: Printed in the year MDCLXVIII.

OF all the sins, that the children of men are guilty of, there is none, that our corrupt natures are more inclinable unto, than that of idolatry; a sin, that may be towards men, as well as other creatures, and things: for, as that which a man unmeasurably relies, and sets his heart upon, is called his God, even as that which he falls down before and worshipeth; so, when one hath the person of another in an excess of admiration, whether for greatness, or richness, &c. which we are subject to adore, we are said to idolise him; and therefore, the wise Venetians, who, of all men, are most jealous of their liberty, considering that, as the nature of man is not prone to any thing more than the adoration of men, so nothing is more destructive to freedom, have, for preventing the mischiefs of it, made it unlawful, even so much as to mourn for their duke at his death: Intimating thereby, that their felicity and safety depends not upon the uncertain thread of any one man's life, but upon the vertue of their good laws, and orders, well executed, and that they can never want virtuous persons to succeed. And how do such principles in men, led by little more than morality, reprove those, who have a great measure of gospel-light, for their senseless excess, in their adoring the remembrance of Cromwell? For as the objects of idolatry are mistaken creatures, or things, proceeding sometimes from self-love, as well as other causes, so the undeserved approbation, and applause, that Cromwell's memory seems to have with his adherents, amounting to little less, than the idolising of him, appears to me to be the product of an excessive veneration of greatness, and a selfish partiality towards him; for that, the more honour is given to him, the more praise they think will consequently redound to them, who were his favourites; and they fortify themselves herein, with the credit, they say, he hath abroad, though there is little in that, because the opinion, that strangers have of him, may well be put upon the account of their ignorance, in the affairs of England, which travellers do find to be so great, even amongst ministers of state, as is to be admired. And now, as this error in idolising Oliver hath two moral evils in it (besides the sin in itself:) The one a reflexion upon the present times, as if the former were better than these; and the other, the unjust defrauding the long-parliament of that, which is due to them, to give it idolatrously to him, to whom it doth not belong; I esteem it a duty incumbent upon me to discover the mistake. I am not insensible, that I shall, by this, draw the envy of those upon me, who, being jealous of their honour, will be angry for touching them in their Diana;* but, knowing myself clear from the vices of envying virtue in any, how contrary soever he may be to me in judgment, as well as from being unwilling to allow every one their due commendations, I will cast myself upon Providence, for the success of this paper; and in reference to Cromwell's government, and the present times, make some observations relating to both, and, in order thereunto, shew,

First, That the original cause of the low condition that we are now (in relation to trade) reduced unto, had its beginning in Oliver's time, and the foundations of it, laid either by his ignorant mistaking the interest of this kingdom, or wilfully doing it, for the advancement of his own particular interest.

Secondly, That his time, for the short continuance, had as much of oppression, and injustice, as any former times.

Thirdly and Lastly, That he never, in his latter days, valued either honour or honesty, when they stood in the way of his ambition, and that there is nothing to be admired in him (though so much idolised) but that the partiality of the world should make him so great a favourite of ignorance, and forgetfulness, as he seems to be.

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* Or, favourite.

When this late Tyrant, or Protector (as some calls him) turned out the long-parliament, the kingdom was arrived at the highest pitch of trade, wealth, and honour, that it, in any age, ever yet knew. The trade appeared, by the great sums offered then for the customs and excise, nine-hundred thousand pounds a year being refused. The riches of the nation shewed itself, in the high value that land and all our native commodities bore, which are the certain marks of opulency. Our honour was made known to all the world, by a conquering navy, which had brought the proud Hollanders upon their knees, to beg peace of us, upon our own conditions, keeping all other nations in awe. And besides these advantages, the publick stock was five-hundred thousand pounds in ready money, the value of seven-hundred thousand pounds in stores, and the whole army in advance, some four, and none under two months; so that, though there might be a debt of near five-thousand pounds upon the kingdom, he met with above twice the value in lieu of it.

The nation being in this flourishing and formidable posture, Cromwell began his usurpation, upon the greatest advantages imaginable, having it in his power to have made peace, and profitable leagues, in what manner he had pleased with all our neighbours, every one courting us then, and being ambitious of the friendship of England; but, as if the Lord had infatuated, and deprived him of common sense and reason, he neglected all our golden opportunities, misimproved the victory, God had given us over the United Netherlands, making peace (without ever striking a stroke) so soon as ever things came into his hands, upon equal terms with them: And immediately after, contrary to our interest, made an unjust war with Spain, and an impolitick league with France, bringing the first thereby under, and making the latter too great for Christendom; and by that means broke the balance betwixt the two crowns of Spain, and France, which his predecessors, the long-parliament, had always wisely preserved.

In this dishonest war with Spain, he pretended, and endeavoured to impose a belief upon the world, that he had nothing in his eye, but the advancement of the protestant cause, and the honour of this nation; but his pretences were either fraudulent, or he was ignorant in foreign affairs (as I am apt to think, that he was not guilty of too much knowledge in them.) For he that had known any thing of the temper of the popish prelacy, and the French-court-policies, could not but see, that the way to increase, or preserve the reformed interest in France, was by rendering the protestants of necessary use to their king, for that, longer than they were so, they could not be free from persecution; and that the way to render them so, was by keeping the balance betwixt Spain and France even, as that, which would consequently make them useful to their king: But by overthrowing the balance in his war with Spain, and joining with France, he freed the French king from his fears of Spain, enabled him to subdue all factions at home, and thereby to bring himself into a condition of not standing in need of any of them; and from thence hath proceeded the persecution that hath since been, and still is, in that nation, against the reformed there; so that Oliver, instead of advancing the reformed interest, hath, by an error in his politicks, been the author of destroying it.

The honour and advantage he propounded to this nation, in his pulling down of Spain, had as ill a foundation. For if true, as was said, that we were to have had Ostend and Newport, as well as Dunkirk (when we could get them) they bore no proportion, in any kind, to all the rest of the king of Spain's European dominions, which must necessarily have fallen to the French king's share, because of their joining and nearness to him, and remoteness from us, and the increasing the greatness of so near a neighbour must have increased our future dangers.

But this man, who, through ignorance, is so strangely cried up in the world, was not guilty of this error in state only, but committed as great a solecism, in his designing the outing of the king of Denmark, and setting up of the king of Sweden. For had the Swedes but got Copenhagen (as in all probability, had Oliver lived, they would have done) they had wanted nothing of consequence, but the cities of Lubeck and Dantzick (which, by their then potency, they would easily have gained) of being masters of the whole Baltick Sea, on both sides, from the Sound or Mouth down to the bottom of it; by which, together with all Denmark, Norway, and the Danes part of Holstein, which would consequently have been theirs (they then having, as they still* have, the land of Bremen) there would have been nothing, but the small counties of Ouldenburgh and East-Friezland, which would easily have fallen into their mouths, betwixt them and the United Netherlands, whereby Sweden would on the one side, to the north and north-east, have been as great, as France on the other, to the south and south-west; and they two, able to have divided the western empire betwixt them.

And whereas it had in all ages been the policy of the Northern States and Potentates, to keep the dominion of the Baltick Sea divided among several petty princes and states, that no one might be sole master of it; because, otherwise, most of the necessary commodities for shipping, coming from thence and Norway, any one lord of the whole might lay up the shipping of Europe, by the walls, in shutting only of his ports, and denying the commodities of his country to other states. Cromwell, contrary to this wise maxim, endeavoured to put the whole Baltick Sea into the Swedes hands, and undoubtedly had (though, I suppose, ignorantly) done it, if his death had not given them that succeeded him, the long-parliament, an opportunity of prudently preventing it: For, if he had understood the importance of the Baltick Sea to this nation, he could not have been so impolitick, as to have projected so dangerous a design against his new Utopia,* as giving the opening and shutting of it to any one prince. I am not ignorant, that this error is excused, by pretending that we were to have had Elsinore and Cronenburg Castle (the first, the town, upon the narrow entrance of the Baltick, called the Sound, where all ships ride, and pay toll to the king of Denmark; and the latter, the fortress, that defends both town and ships) by which we should have been masters of the Sound, and consequently of the Baltick; but they that know those countries, and how great a prince the Swede would have been, had he obtained all the rest; besides, *these two bawbles* must confess, we should have been at his devotion, in our holding of any thing in his countries: And further, if the dangerous consequence of setting up so great a prince had not been in the case, it had been against the interest of England, to have had an obligation upon us, to maintain places so remote, against the enmity of many states and princes; and that for these reasons:

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* In the year 1658.

First, because the ordinary tolls of the Sound would not have defrayed half the charge, and, to have taken more than the ordinary tolls, we could not have done, without drawing a general quarrel upon us, from most of the princes and states of the northern parts of Europe.

Secondly, because the experience of all former times sheweth us, that foreign acquisitions have ever been chargeable and prejudicial to the people of England, as Sir Robert Cotton makes it clearly appear, That not only all those pieces of France, which belonged to us by rightful succession, but also those we held by conquest, were always great burthens to our nation, and cause of much poverty and misery to the people. And it is not our case alone, to be the worse for conquests (though more ours, than other countries, because of the charge and uncertainty of the winds and weather, in the transportation of succours and relief by sea; which contiguous territories, which are upon the Main, are not subject to) but the case also of (I think I may say) all other kingdoms. In France their burthens and oppressions have grown in all ages, with the greatness of their kings: Nay, even after their last peace with Spain, by which they had given them peace with all the world, besides many places in the Spanish Netherlands, and Catalonia, to boot: Upon which the poor people promised themselves, though vainly, an unquestionable abatement of taxes; instead of that, they found their pressures increased daily, and their king, though overgrownly great and rich, himself, yet the people so poor, that thousands are said to die in a plentiful year, for want of bread to their water, nothing being free there, but fresh water and air: For, except in some few privileged places, wherever they have the conveniency by their situation of sea-water (lest they should make use of the benefit of that, which God and nature hath given them, for saving the charge of salt) every family is *forced* to take so much salt of the king, at his own rate (which is above ten times the price it is sold for to strangers, for transportation) as is judged they may spend in a year; the Lord deliver all other countries from their example. In Sweden, that king, court, and their military officers are the better for their conquests in Germany, Denmark, Russia, and some places anciently belonging to Poland; but the commons the worse: Spain is undone, by the great number of people sent thence to the West-Indies, which hath depopulated the country, France reaping more benefit by keeping their people at home to manufactures, than Spain doth by sending theirs abroad for silver and gold; and now, though by these instances it may appear to be the interest of the people of other nations, as well as ours, to live in peace, without coveting additions; yet it is more our true interest, because, by reason of our situation, we have no need of foreign frontier towns, our ships, well ordered, being better than other princes bordering garisons, than any other kingdoms, to neglect especially European acquisitions, and colonies, and apply ourselves,

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* Meaning his own new sort of government.

First, to the improving of our own land, of which we have more than we have people to manage.

Secondly, to the increasing our home and foreign trades, for which we have natural advantages above any other nation.

Thirdly and Lastly, by our strength, which trade will increase. To make use of it, together with the helps that God and nature hath given us in our situation, and otherwise, in keeping the balance amongst our neighbours. For, if the province of Holland, which is but four-hundred-thousand acres of profitable ground, is, by the benefit of trade, able to do so much as we experienced the last war, what might we do, if trade were improved, who have much more advantages for it, than they have. I ascribe what was done by the Netherlands, in the late war, to the province of Holland; because that, though the provinces are seven in number, Holland's due proportion of all charges is $58\frac{1}{3}$, in a hundred, to all the others $41\frac{2}{3}$, of which $41\frac{2}{3}$, Holland gets little more than 20 honestly paid them, insomuch that it alone may be reckoned to bear four fifths in a hundred, to one fifth that all the other six bear; and how prodigious a thing is it, that Holland, no bigger than as before-mentioned, should be able to coap with England, Scotland, and Ireland; and, that, though their charges in the late war was abundantly greater than ours, yet, by their good management, to be so little the worse for it, as, at the conclusion of the war, to have their credit so high, that they could have commanded what money they had pleased at three in the hundred, and all this by the meer additional benefit of trade and good order; and how by Cromwell's indiscreet neglecting of trade, and choosing war, when he was in peace, did he miss the true interest of England, as, by his ill-founded designs, he did the interest of the reformed religion. For, if he had succeeded in his unjust invasion of the Spanish territories in the West-Indies (as God seldom prospereth dishonest undertakings) it being intended for a state acquisition, the benefit would not have been diffusive, but chiefly to himself and favourites, and prejudicial to the people in general, though, at the expence of their substance, the acquests would have been made. For, had he met with so much success in the gaining those countries, and in them, that plenty of gold and silver as he vainly hoped for, we should have been as unhappy in them (in the depopulating of our countries, by the loss of the multitude of people that must have been sent thither, and in impoverishing our nations by the vast charges of a continual war) as Spain is, and to no other end, than the making of him only rich, able to inslave the remaining people, and to make himself absolute over them; for the preventing of which, in such tyrants as Cromwell, surely Moses had an eye, when he said that they should not greatly multiply silver and gold. And thus, as Cromwell's designs must, to an impartial judgment, appear to have been laid, some dishonestly, others impoliticly, and all contrary to the interest of the kingdom, so the issue of them was damageable to the people of England: As,

First, in his sudden making a peace with Holland, so soon as he got the government, without those advantages for trade, as they who beat them did intend to have had, as their due, and just satisfaction for their charges in the war.

Secondly, in his war with Spain; by the loss of that beneficial trade to our nation, and giving it to the Hollanders, by whose hands we drove, during the war, the greatest part of that trade, which we had of it, with twenty-five in the hundred profit to them, and as much loss to us.

Thirdly, by our loss, in that war with Spain, of 1500 English ships, according as was reported to that assembly, called Richard's parliament.

Fourthly, in the disgracefullest defeat at Hispaniola, that ever this kingdom suffered in any age or time.

Fifthly and Lastly, in spending the great publick stock he found, and yet leaving a vast debt upon the kingdom, as appeared by the accounts brought into Richard's assembly; which had, I believe, been yet much higher, but that they, who under him managed the affairs, were a sort of people, who had been long disciplined, before his time, to a principle of frugality, and against cheating; though at cousening the poorer people, for their masters benefit, some of them were grown as dexterous, as if they had been bred in the court of Spain. For, besides imposing Richard upon the people, after his father's death, by a forged title, according to the very law they took to be in being, when, by his assembly, they were ordered to bring in an account of the receipts, and payments of the kingdom; they made above sixty-thousand pounds spent in intelligence, whereas it cost not above three or four-thousand at most; and, calculating the rest by these, it may well be concluded, that they were expert in their trades.

It is confessed, that Oliver's peace and league with France was upon honourable articles; but, as the tottering affairs of France then stood, much more could not have been sooner asked, than had. For Mazarin, being a man of a large and subtle wit, apprehending the greatness of England at that time, which was then dreadful to the world, and the vast advantages France would have in pulling down, by their help, of Spain, granted him, not only any thing for the present that he demanded, but disregarded also even his party's making their boasts of the awe he had him under: considering, that when Cromwell had helped him to do his work, in bringing under the house of Austria, and therein casting the balance of Christendom on his side, he should afterwards have leisure to recover what then he seemed to part with. And though nothing is more ordinary, than to hear men brag, how Oliver vapoured over France, I do esteem Mazarin's complying with him, for his own ends, to be the chief piece of all his ministry; for, by that means only, and no other, is his master become so great at this day, that no factions at home can disturb his peace, nor powers abroad frighten him. Which is more than any king of France, since Charles the Great, could say: And, when his neighbour nations have, too late I fear, experienced his greatness, they will find cause to curse the ignorance of Oliver's politicks; and therefore, when a true measure is taken of Cromwell, the approbation, that he hath in the world, will not be found to have its foundation in sense, or reason, but proceeding from ignorance and atheism: From ignorance, in those that take all that was done by him, as a servant, and whilst under the direction of better heads than his own, to be done by him alone; and from atheism, in those that think every thing lawful that a man doth, if it succeed to his advancement. But they that shall take an impartial view of his actions, whilst he was a single person*, and at liberty to make use of his own parts without controul, will find nothing worthy commendations, but cause enough from thence to observe, that the wisdom of his masters, and not his own, must have been that by which he first moved; and to attribute his former performances, whilst a servant, as is truly due, to the judgment and subtlety of the long-parliament, under whose conduct and command he was. And now, from Cromwell's neglecting to live in peace, as, if he had pleased, he might have done with all the world, to the great inriching of this nation: The improvement of our victory over Holland in his peace with them; his being the cause of the loss of our Spanish trade, during all his time; of the loss of 1500 English ships in that war; besides, by it breaking the balance of Europe; of the expence of the publick stock and stores he found, with the contracting a debt of nineteen-hundred-thousand pounds, according to his own account (which, for aught I know, he left behind him, but am apt to think the debt was not altogether so great, though made so to his son Richard's assembly, as a means to get the more money from the poorer people:) And lastly, of the dishonourable overthrow we met with at Hispaniola. It may be well concluded, that he laid the foundation of our present want of trade, to what we formerly enjoyed; and that the reason, why his miscarriages were not sooner under observation, is, because our stock of wealth and honour, at his coming to the government, being then unspeakably great, stifled their appearance, until, having since had some unhappy additional losses, they are now become discernible as first losses, to a merchant, who concealedly bears up under them, are afterwards discovered by the addition of second losses, that sink him. When I contemplate these great failings, I cannot but apprehend the sad condition any people are in, whose governor drives on a distinct contrary interest to theirs; for, doubtless, Cromwell's over-weening care to secure his particular interest, against his majesty, then abroad, and the long-parliament, whom he had turned out, with a prodigious ambition of acquiring a glorious name in the world, carried him on to all his mistakes and absurdities, to the irreparable loss and damage of this famous kingdom.

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* Protector.

To prove the second assertion, that Oliver's time was full of oppression and injustice, I shall but instance in a few of many particulars, and begin with John Lilburne; not that I think him, in any kind, one that deserved favour or respect, but that equal justice is due to the worst as well as best men, and that he comes first in order of time.

1. John, in 1646, was, by order of the then Parliament, tried for his life, with an intent, I believe, of taking him away; but, the jury not finding him guilty, he was immediately, according to law, generously set at liberty by those, that had quarrel enough against him. This example in the parliament of keeping to the laws in the case of one, who was a professed implacable enemy to them, ought to have been copied by Cromwell; but, on the contrary, to shew that there was a difference betwixt him and his predecessors (the long-parliament's) principles, when the law had again, upon a second tryal, occasioned by Oliver, cleared Lilburne, the parliament's submitting to the law was no example to him: For, contrary to law, he kept him in prison, until he was so far spent in a consumption, that he only turned him out to die.

2dly, Mr. Coney's case is so notorious, that it needs little more than naming. He was a prisoner at Cromwell's suit, and being brought to the King's Bench bar, by a Habeas Corpus, had his council taken from the bar, and sent to the Tower, for no other reason, than the pleading of their client's cause; an act of violence, that, I believe, the whole story of England doth not parallel.

3dly, Sir Henry Vane, above any one person, was the author of Oliver's advancement, and did so long and cordially espouse his interest, that he prejudiced himself, in the opinion of some, by it; yet so ungrateful was this monster of ingratitude, that he studied to destroy him, both in life and estate; because he could not adhere to him in his perjury and falseness. The occasion he took was this; He, appointing a publick day of humiliation, and seeking of God for him, invited all God's people in his declaration, to offer him their advice in the weighty affairs then upon his shoulders. Sir Henry, taking a rise from hence, offered his advice by a treatise, called 'The Healing Question': But Cromwell, angry at being taken at his word, seized, imprisoned, and endeavoured to proceed further against him, for doing only what he had invited him to do; and some may think, that Sir Henry suffered justly, for having known him so long, and yet would trust to any thing he said.

4thly, In Richard's assembly, certain prisoners in the Tower, under the then lieutenant, and some sent thence to Jersey, and other places beyond the sea, complained of false imprisonment. The jailor was sent for. and being required to shew by what authority he kept those persons in hold, produceth a paper all under Oliver's own hand, as followeth: 'Sir, I pray you seize such and such persons, and all others, whom you shall judge dangerous men; do it quickly, and you shall have a warrant, after you have done.' The nature of this warrant was, by Richard's assembly, debated, and having first Richard's own council's opinion in the case, as serjeant Maynard, &c. they voted the commitment of the complaints to be illegal, unjust, and tyrannical; and that, first, because the warrant, by which they were committed, was under the hand of the then (as they called him) chief magistrate, who, by law, ought not to commit any by his own warrant. Secondly, because no cause was shewn in the warrant. And, Thirdly, in the case of those sent out of the reach of a Habeas Corpus, which in law is a banishment, because no Englishman ought to be banished by any less authority than an act of parliament. And therefore, for these reasons, they voted farther, that the prisoners should be set at liberty without paying any fees, or charges, but the turning out, and punishing the lieutenant by the assembly (for obeying so unjust a warrant) was prevented by their sudden dissolution.

5thly, The tyranny, in the decimating a party restored to common privileges with all others, and the publick faith given for it, by a law made to that end, by the then powers in being, is sufficiently shewed in the mentioning of it, only there is this aggravating circumstance in it: That Cromwell, who was the principal person in procuring that law, when he thought it for his advantage not to keep it, was the only man for breaking it. But to the honour of his first assembly, next following, it may be remembered, that they no sooner came together, than, like true Englishmen, who are always jealous of the rights and privileges of the people, they damned the act of decimation as an unjust and wicked breach of faith.

The third assertion of Cromwell's knowing no honesty, where he thought his particular interest was concerned, is made good; First, (tho' therein he mistook his interest) in his odious and unjust war with Spain, without the least provocations, meerly out of an ambitious and covetous design of robbing that prince of his silver and gold mines; and because he judged it for his credit to disguise his unlawful desires, he proceeded in it, by employing his creatures in the city, to draw the merchants to complain of injuries done them by Spain, and to petition for reparations; but, by a cross providence, his project had a contrary success; for, instead of answering his seekings, the merchants remonstrated to him the great prejudice that a war with Spain would be to England; and shewed, that that king had been so far from injuring us that he had done more for compliance, and preventing a breach with England, than ever he had done in favour of any other nation. But, when Oliver saw his method would not take, he called the remonstrators, malignants, and begun the war of his own accord, in which he was highly ungrateful in designing the ruin of that prince, who all along had been most faithful to his party.

Secondly, His falseness and ingratitude appeared superlatively in turning out his masters *, who had not only advanced him, but made themselves the more odious by their partial affection towards him; and in his doing it, with the breach of a positive negative oath, taken once a year, when made a counsellor of state, besides the breach of all other engagements, voluntary imprecations, protestations, and oaths, taken frequently upon all occasions in discourse and declarations; and yet further (when he had turned them out) and left them void of protection, and exposed them to the fury of the people, in pursuing them with false reproachful declarations, enough to have stirred up the rude multitude to have destroyed them, wherever they had met them.

Thirdly, His want of honour, as well as honesty, appeareth, yet further, in that having, by a long series of a seeming pious deportment, gained, by his dissimulation, good thoughts in his masters, the long-parliament, and, by his spiritual gifts, wound himself into so good an opinion with his soldiers (men, generally, of plain breeding, that knew little besides their military trade, and religious exercises) that he could impose, in matters of business, what belief he pleased upon them. He made use of the credit he had with each, to abuse both, by many vile practices, for making himself popular, and the parliament and army odious to one another; and, because the artifices he used are too many to enumerate, I shall but instance in some few: As his sly complaining insinuations against the army to the parliament, and against them to the army: His being the chief cause of the parliament's giving rewards to his creatures, and then, whispering complaints among his officers, of their ill husbandry: His obstructing the house in their business, by long drawling speeches, and other ways, and then complaining of them to his soldiers, that he could not get them to do any thing that was good: His giving fair words to every one, without keeping promise with any, except for his own advantage, and then excusing all with forgetfulness: And his deserting his major generals, in their decimations, crying out most against them himself, when he only had set them at work, because questioned by his assembly, is not to be forgotten, &c.

I would not be understood to remember any thing here, in fa-

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* The long-parliament.

vour of the long-parliament, for what might be wicked in him, might be just as to them: And though, if what he did, had been for the restoration of his majesty, he might have been excused, yet, being for his own single advancement, it is unpardonable, and leaves him a person to be truly admired for nothing but apostasy and ambition, and exceeding Tiberius in dissimulation. I am not ignorant that some think it matter of praise in him, that he kept us in peace, four years and nine months; but that hath little in it, his majesty having done the like, almost double his time, since his return, with one fifth part of that number of soldiers which he commanded; though he hath also had the trouble of pressing, and sometimes forcing uniformity in religion, which he found under several forms; whereas Oliver kept the nation purposely divided in opinions, and himself of no declared judgment, as the securest way of engaging all several persuasions equally to him; which artifice, together with his leaving the church lands alienated as he found them, were all the true principles of policy that I know of, which he kept unto.

The honesty of these principles I refer to the judgment of every man's conscience, but, if we may judge of things by experience and success, they seem to have been very happy in the world: For, in comparing the condition of the protestant countries at present, to what they were in times of Popery, we shall find them more considerable now than formerly; for, in taking a true survey of the reformed dominions, we shall discover them to bear no proportion at all, in largeness, to the Popish*; and that there is nothing that keeps the balance betwixt the two parties, but the advantage that the first hath, in being free from the bondage of the church of Rome, and the latter's being under it: For, as the church of Rome's mercies are (by their principles) cruelties†, so, had they power answerable to the natural richness of the soil of their countries, and extent of their territories, they would long before this have swallowed up the protestant churches, and made bonfires of their members; but, as God, in his mercy and wisdom, hath, by his over-ruling hand of providence, preserved his church; so, for the Romish church's inability to effect that which they have will and malice enough to carry them on to do, there are these natural reasons;

First, There being generally, of the Popish countries, above one moiety belonging to churchmen, Monks, Friars, and Nuns, who, like drones, spend the fat of the land, without contributing any thing to the good of mankind, renders them much the less considerable.

Secondly, Marriage being forbidden to all these sorts and orders, occasions great want of people every where, they being uncapable of any children but those of darkness ‡, except in France, which is an extraordinary case, proceeding partly, by not being so subject to Rome, as other countries of that belief are; but especially from the multitude of protestants, that are among them.

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* See page 41, &c. † See page 36, &c. ‡ Viz. Bastards.

Thirdly, The blind devotion of these people, carrying them on to vast expences, in the building and richly adorning of many needless and superfluous churches, chapels, and crosses, &c. with the making chargeable presents by the better, and pilgrimages by the meaner sort, to their idols, keeps all degrees under.

Fourthly, The many holydays, upon which, the labouring man is forbidden to work, adds much to their poverty.

But, Fifthly and Lastly, The vast number of Begging Friars, who living idly, and purely upon the sweat of other men's brows, without taking any labour themselves, make it impossible for the lower sort of people, who think they are bound, in conscience, to relieve them, ever to get above a mean condition. Now whosoever shall seriously weigh and ponder these circumstances, under which the Popish countries lie, and consider the reformed's advantage in being free from them, must confess it the less wonder, that the Evangelical* princes and states, with their small dominions, compared to the others great, are able to bear up against them. And now, as the alienation of church-lands, the turning out the Romish vermin, the Priests, Monks, Friars, and Nuns, who devour all countries wherever they come, and freedom from the Popish imposition upon conscience, hath mightily increased the greatness of the Protestant princes and states, to what they anciently were, and the not doing the same, in the Popish countries, keeps those princes under; so, even amongst the reformed, where the church-lands are most alienated, and liberty of conscience most given, they prosper most, as in Holland, and some parts of Germany, with other places. And, on the contrary, Denmark, where church-lands are least alienated of any of the reformed countries, and the city of Lubeck, where, of all the free imperial cities of Germany, liberty of conscience is least given, they thrive least in both places. And, I think, it will also hold, that, as this famous kingdom, in the times of Popery, was, in no measure, so formidable as now it is; so before the restoration of our Hierarchy to their lands, their hoarding up the money, which before went in trade, and their discouraging and driving into corners the industrious sort of people, by imposing upon their consciences, it flourished more, was richer, and fuller of trade, than now it is; and I dare undertake to be a prophet in this, That, if ever any protestant country should be so far forsaken of the Lord, as to be suffered to turn unto Popery, these observations will be made good in their visible loss of the splendor, riches, power, and greatness, that they now know.

Had Cromwell been a person of an open prophane life, his actions had been less scandalous; but, having been a professor of religion, they are not to be pleaded for; neither can it be consistent with religion to palliate them, which have been of so much offence, and, as may be feared, made so many atheists in the world; and I cannot but stand amazed, when I hear him extolled by some, not ignorant of his practices, knowing in religion, and, as I hope, fearing God.

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* Protestant, so called, because they take the word of God for their rule of faith.

Now I will suppose, I may be suspected to have been injured, or disobliged by Oliver; but I can with truth affirm, I never received either good or evil from him in all my life, more than in common with the whole kingdom, which I think, may be allowed to render me the more a competent judge in his case; and, that I am so far from being moved unto this, out of any quarrel to him, that, as I have here mentioned some few of many injustices and state-errors, that he was guilty of in his short time, if I were conscious of any thing more, during his protectorship, worthy applause, than I have here mentioned, I should not envy it him, but freely remember it; and, if any think I have not said enough on his behalf, and too much to his disadvantage, I have this for my buckler, that I wish I could have said more for him, and had known less against him; professing, that, besides what I have here hinted, I am wholly ignorant of any one action in all his four years and nine months time, done either wisely, virtuously, or for the interest of this kingdom, and, therefore, that I am none of his admirers, I ought to be pardoned by my readers.

Much more might be said upon this subject, but this may suffice to shew, that, if Mazarin, at the hearing of Oliver's death, thought he had then reason for calling him a fortunate fool, if he were now living he would find more cause for it, Cromwell's lot, as to reputation, having been exceedingly much greater since his death, than whilst he was in the world: And that from forgetfulness of his impolitick government, from whose entrance we may date the commencement of our trade's decay; and, through want of memory, in men's giving to him the cause of our former wealth and prosperity, which truly belongeth to others. But, what opinion soever Mazarin may have had of Oliver, he was, without all peradventure, a person of more than ordinary wit, and no otherwise a fool than as he wanted honesty, no man being wise but an honest man.

THE NICKER NICKED:

OR,

THE CHEATS OF GAMING DISCOVERED.

THE THIRD EDITION.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

Licensed November 4, 1668. Printed in the Year 1669. Quarto, containing nine Pages.

Leathermore's Advice concerning Gaming.

GAMING is an inchanting witchery *, begot betwixt idleness and avarice; which has this ill property above all other vices, that it renders a man incapable of prosecuting any serious action, and makes him unsatisfied with his own condition; he is either lifted up to the top of mad joy with success, or plunged to the bottom of despair by misfortune; always in extreams, always in a storm.

Hannibal said, of Marcellus, that *Nec bonam, nec malam ferre potest*, i. e. He could be quiet neither conqueror nor conquered. Thus (such is the itch of play) gamesters neither winning, nor losing, can rest satisfied; if they win, they think to win more; if they lose, they hope to recover.

One propounded this question, Whether men, in ships at sea, were to be accounted amongst the living or the dead, because there were but few inches betwixt them and drowning? The same query may be made of great gamesters, though their estates be never so considerable, whether they are to be esteemed poor or rich, since there are but a few casts at dice, betwixt a person of fortune (in that circumstance) and a beggar?

But speculation in this particular will not be convincing, unless we shew somewhat of the modern practice; we must therefore lay our scene at the ordinary, and proceed to our action.

Betwixt twelve and one of the clock, a good dinner is prepared by way of ordinary, and some gentlemen of civility and condition oftentimes eat there, and play a while for recreation after dinner, both moderately, and most commonly without deserving reproof.

Towards night, when ravenous beasts usually seek their prey, there come in shoals of hectors, trepanners, gilts, pads, biters, prigs, divers, lifters, kidnappers, vouchers, mill-kens, pyemen, decoys, shop-lifters, foilers, bulkers, droppers, gamblers, donnakers, crossbiters, &c. under the general appellation of rooks; and in this particular it serves as a nursery for Tyburn, for every year some of this gang march thither! One Millard was hanged in April 1664, for burglary; and others since.

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* See a letter from a minister to his friend, concerning the game of Chess, Vol. VIII. p. 361.

When a young gentleman or apprentice comes into this school of virtue, unskilled in the quibbles and devices there practised, they call him a lamb; then a rook (who is properly the wolf) follows him close, and engages him in advantageous bets, and at length worries him, that is, gets all his money, and then they smile and say, 'The lamb is bitten.'

Of these rooks some will be very importunate to borrow money of you, without any intention of repaying, or to go with you seven to twelve, half a crown, and take it ill if they are refused; others watch, if, when you are serious at game, your sword hang loose behind, and lift that away; others will not scruple, if they espy an opportunity, directly to pick your pocket; yet, if all fail, some will nim off the gold buttons of your cloke, or steal the cloke itself, if it lie loose; others will throw at a sum of money with a dry fist, as they call it, that is, if they nick you, it is theirs; if they lose, they owe you so much, with many other quillets; or, if you chance to nick them, it is odds they wait your coming out at night, and beat you, as one Cock was served in June, 1664.

Blaspheming, drunkenness, and swearing are here so familiar, that civility is, by the rule of contrarieties, accounted a vice. I do not mean swearing, when there is occasion to attest a truth, but upon no occasion; as, 'God damn me, how dost?' 'What a clock is it, by God?' &c. Then, before two hours are at an end some one who has been heated with wine, or made cholerick with loss of his money, raises a quarrel, swords are drawn, and perhaps the boxes and candlesticks thrown at one another; and all the house in a garboil, forming a perfect type of hell.

Would you imagine it to be true? That a grave gentleman, well stricken in years, insomuch as he cannot see the pips of the dice, is so infatuated with this witchery, as to play here with others eyes, of whom this quibble was raised, That Mr. —— such a one plays at dice by the ear. Another gentleman, stark blind, I have seen play at hazard, and sure that must be by the ear too.

Late at night, when the company grows thin, and your eyes dim with watching, false dice are often put upon the ignorant, or they are otherwise cosened with topping, or slurring, &c. And, if you be not vigilant, the box-keeper shall score you up double or treble boxes, and, though you have lost your money, dun you as severely for it, as if it were the justest debt in the world.

There are yet some genteeler and more subtle rooks, whom you shall not distinguish by their outward demeanor from persons of condition; and who will sit by, a whole evening, and observe who wins; and then, if the winner be bubbleable, they will insinuate themselves into his acquaintance, and civilly invite him to drink a glass of wine; wheedle him into play, and win all his money, either by false dice, as, high fullams, low fullams, 5, 4, 2, s. &c. Or by palming, topping, knapping, or slurring; or, in case he be past that classis of ignoramusses, then by crossbiting, or some other dexterity, of which they have variety unimaginable. Note by the way, that when they have you at the tavern, and think you a sure bubble, they will many times purposely lose some small sum to you the first time, to engage you more freely to bleed (as they call it) at the second meeting, to which they will be sure to invite you.

A gentleman, whom ill fortune had hurried into passion, took a box and dice to a side table, and there fell to throwing by himself; at length swears with an emphasis, ——'Damme, now I throw for nothing, I can win a thousand pounds; but, when I play for money, I lose my arse.'

If the house find you free to the box, and a constant caster, you shall be treated below with suppers at night, and cawdle in the morning, and have the honour to be styled, A lover of the house, whilst your money lasts, which certainly will not be long; for, as the Lamiæ destroyed men, under pretence of kindness, so it is here.

In a word, this course of life shall afford you so many affronts, and such a number of vexations, as shall, in time, convert both your soul and body into anguish; and anguish, in some, has turned to madness. Thus one Bull, a young fellow, not many years since, had, by strange fortune, run up a very small sum to fifteen-hundred pounds, and put himself into a garb accordingly; could not give over, plaid on, fortune turned, lost it all, run mad, and so died.

If what has been said, will not make you detest this abominable kind of life, will the almost certain loss of your money do it? I will undertake to demonstrate, that it is ten to one you shall be a loser at the year's end, with constant play upon the square.——— If then twenty persons bring two-hundred pounds a-piece, which makes four-thousand pounds, and resolve to play, for example, three or four hours a day, for a year; I will wager the box shall have fifteen-hundred pounds of the money, and that eighteen of the twenty persons shall be losers.

I have seen (in a lower instance) three persons sit down at twelve-penny In and In, and each draw forty shillings a piece; and, in little more than two hours, the box has had three pounds of the money, and all the three gamesters have been losers, and laughed at for their indiscretion.

At an ordinary, you shall scarce have a night pass without a quarrel, and you must either tamely put up an affront, or else be engaged in a duel next morning, upon some trifling insignificant occasion, pretended to be a point of honour.

Most gamesters begin at small game, and, by degrees, if their money, or estates, hold out, they rise to great sums; some have plaid first all their money, then their rings, coach and horses, even their wearing-cloaths and perukes, and then such a farm, and at last, perhaps, a lordship. You may read in our histories *, how

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* Stowe's Survey, p. 357.

Sir Miles Partridge plaid at dice, with King Henry the Eighth, for Jesus Bells, so called, which were the greatest in England, and hung in a tower of St. Paul's church, and won them; whereby he brought them to ring in his pocket, but the ropes afterwards catched about his neck, for, in Edward the Sixth's days, he was hanged for some criminal offences.

Consider how many persons have been ruined by play. Sir Arthur Smithouse is yet fresh in memory: He had a fair estate, which, in a few years, he so lost at play that he died in great want and penury. Since that, Mr. Ba——, who was a clerk in the six-clerks office, and well cliented, fell to play, and won by extraordinary fortune two-thousand pieces in ready gold; was not content with that, plaid on, lost all he had won, and almost all his own estate; sold his place in the office, and at last marched off to a foreign plantation, to begin a new world with the sweat of his brow: For that is commonly the destiny of a decayed gamester, either to go to some foreign plantation, or to be preferred to the dignity of a box-keeper.

It is not denied, but most gamesters have, at one time or other, a considerable run of winning, but (such is the infatuation of play) I could never hear of a man that gave over a winner (I mean, to give over so as never to play again;) I am sure it is *rara avis*: For, if you once break bulk, as they phrase it, you are in again for all. Sir Humphry Foster had lost the greatest part of his estate, and then, playing, as it is said, for a dead horse, did, by happy fortune, recover it again, then gave over, and wisely too.

If a man has a competent estate of his own, and plays whether himself, or another man, shall have it, it is extreme folly: If his estate be small, then to hazard the loss even of that, and reduce himself to absolute beggary, is direct madness. Besides, it has been generally observed, that the loss of one-hundred pounds shall do you more prejudice, in disquieting your mind, than the gain of two-hundred pounds shall do you good, were you sure to keep it.

Consider also your loss of time, which is invaluable, and remember what Seneca says——*Nulla major est jactura, quam temporis amissio.**.

Lastly, consider the great damage the very watching brings to your health, and in particular to your eyes (for gamesters work most by night) confirmed by this distich:

Allia, vina, Venus, fumus, faba, lumen et ignis,
Ista nocent oculis, sed vigilare magis.

A PENITENT SONNET,

Written by the Lord Fitz-Gerald (a great Gamester) a little before his Death, which was in the Year 1580.

BY loss in play, men oft forget
The duty, they do owe
To him, that did bestow the same,
And thousand millions moe.

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* The greatest loss is the loss of time. See The Improvement of Time, p. 376.

I loath to hear them swear and stare,
When they the main have lost,
Forgetting all the byes, that wear
With God and Holy Ghost.
By wounds and nails they think to win,
But truly 'tis not so;
For all their frets and fumes in sin,
They moneyless must go.
There is no wight, that us'd it more,
Than he that wrote this verse,
Who cries Peccavi now therefore,
His oaths his heart do pierce.
Therefore example take by me,
That curse the luckless time,
That ever dice mine eyes did see,
Which bred in me this crime.
Pardon me for that is past,
I will offend no more,
In this most vile and sinful cast,
Which I will still abhor.

A

DISCOURSE upon PRODIGIOUS ABSTINENCE *,

OCCASIONED BY THE

Twelve Months Fasting of Martha Taylor, the famed Derbyshire Damsel:

Proving that, without any Miracle, the Texture of Human Bodies may be so altered, that Life may be long continued without the supplies of Meat and Drink.

With an Account of the Heart, and how far it is interested in the Business of Fermentation.

BY JOHN REYNOLDS.

Humbly offered to the Royal Society.

London, printed by R.W. for Nevil Simmons, at the Sign of the Three Crowns
near Holbourn Conduit; and for Dorman Newman, at the
Surgeons Arms in Little Britain, 1669.

Quarto, containing thirty-seven Pages, besides the Title and Dedication.

To the deservedly famous and my honoured friend, Walter Needham, doctor of physick, as also a member of, and curator elect to the royal society.

SIR,

It were a solecism of the first magnitude to entertain you with any thing like a narrative of the superennial fast, under all the havocks and depredations whereof the Derbyshire damsel hath hitherto been sustained, though emaciated thereby into the ghastliness of a skeleton, to the great astonishment of the Vulgus. Your correspondencies are so faithful, and your circumstances so advantageous, as wholly to supersede the necessity of my engaging in, and the possibility of my gratifying you, by such a province. However, indulge me, while bemoaning myself, the liberty to tell you, that, concerning the Phænomena's attending this prodigious abstinence, my own thoughts have been so miserably ravelled, and my scanty intellectuals so much overmatched thereby, that I could not with any complacency look into those, nor with any delight consult these. A just reverence to reformed theologues, asserting a total cessation of miracles, forbade me to immure myself in any such supernatural asylum; and a prejudicate opinion of human bodies, in this animal state, allowed me not to eurefuge my fluctuating mind in physical causes clubbing together, by an anomalous copulation, to ingender so great an heteroclite. While thus lost in the chaos of confused apprehensions, and smarting under the hurricane of my own tumultuary thoughts, I hurry away to a very worthy and compassionate friend, who with a little deliberation runs through the diagnosticks of my malady, pitieth my case, and, after some sharp conflicts with his own modesty, affords the relief of a philosophical elixir (for so I call the ensuing discourse) wholly transferring the right, which he had in the happy results of his own contemplations, upon me. Now (Sir!) what, by much importunity, I extorted from him, for my own private satisfaction, I make bold to tender the world a view of, under the countenance and protection of your great name, which is not only able to secure it from the critical pharaphrases of an envious age, but also to command it the justice of an unprejudicate perusal, with such as know your worth. To my own grief, I have found it much an anodyne; or as a pleasant lullaby to my whimpering fancy; the issue of all hath been rest: Not knowing, but it may minister the like seasonable relief to others, who have not wit and philosophy enough to start any greater objections, than myself; I judged it worthy to travel the world. The confidence, wherein I seek to intitle you to the patrociny of it, is no less than an assurance of your benign nature, singular ingenuity, and obliging goodness, which have begotten and pupilled in me that persuasion, ever since I had the happiness and honour to know you. Besides, your clearer intellectuals, and your vast acquaintance with nature's recondite mysteries, made it wholly incongruous to adopt any other the object of this dedication. I do still remember, with the deepest resentments of a grateful heart, the happy distinction betwixt parts spermatick and parts hematick, wherewith in pity you relieved me, when anxiously enquiring, upon a religious account, after the principium individuationis in human bodies; a notion (as to me it seems) more able to rescue the grand article of our creed concerning the resurrection of the same individual body from under suspicion, and the many gross absurdities, that some philosophasters, and half-witted atheists, would fain clog it with, than any offerture of human reason, that I ever yet had the happiness to meet with! Here methinks I could break forth into an *εὕρηκα*, and congratulate my great, though late, felicity, that the *εἶδος χαρακτηρίζον τὸ σῶμα* (as Origen, in one sense or other, calls it) the principle maintaining a numerical identity in human bodies, through the whole series of vicissitudes, changes, and sanctorian transmutations, betwixt the uterine formation, and the ultimate reunition of soul and body, should, after many a tedious search, and frustraneous disquisition, at last, be suggested by an hand able, in the maintenance of it, to grapple with any contradictor. In this you have satified not only my reason, but my curiosity too; and therefore, sir, so great is my opinion of your skill (absit omnis adulationis suspicio!) that, whatever dogma steps abroad with your name written upon it, I could almost surrender up myself as a perfect captive to it, were I not a man, and, which is more, a protestant, upon an implicit faith! But I have, I know not well how, digressed, and stepped aside into things heterogeneous to the purport of this dedicatory address. I therefore return to my ingenious friend's discourse, upon which, were my judgment in these matters worth any thing, I could afford to be liberal in the bestowance of my encomiums. But, as it is shrouded under your patronage, so it is submitted to your censure; (this I am bold to do, knowing the author so much an admirer of you, that he cannot reluctate) whether more worthy of your pity or your approbation, none can better judge, than your discerning and deserving self. Therefore, such as it is, I leave it to your mercy; and beg leave to tell you, that I should presently fall out with myself, did I not, upon a faithful scrutiny, find myself in the number of those that really love and honour you.

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* This is the 59th number in the Catalogue of pamphlets, in the Harleian Library.

Farewel,

Worthy Sir,

YOUR requests to take into consideration the so much famed prodigious twelve-months abstinence of the Derbyshire maid, having the force of commands, have produced these lean results of the imposed meditations. It cannot be unknown to a person of your large endowments, and hot pursuit after substantial science, that both divines, medicks, historians, yea, poets and legenders, have presented the learned world with a great variety of wonderful abstinents, some whereof I shall briefly recite, as well to reserve your sliding time for more noble employments, as to manifest that our contemporary Derbense is not so singular as some may imagine.

Most certain it is, that the[*] learned Moses[†] fasted forty days, and as many nights, whilst he abode on the burning mount; the great[‡] Elijah went as long in the strength of a meal, and no less was the fast of the[§] holy Jesus. [¶] St. Austin reports, that, in his time, one survived forty days fasting: But most strange is the story fathered on[**] Nicephorus, of three brethren affrighted by persecution into a cave, where they slept three-hundred and seventy-three years, as was known by the coin they produced, when they awaked. The learned[††] Fernelius saith, he saw a pregnant woman that lived two months without meat or drink. [‡‡] Zacutus Lusitanus reports, that at Venice there lived a man that fasted forty days, another there forty-six days; and from Langius and Forstius, two considerable writers, another, full three years, and that with just stature, good habit, free countenance, and youthful wit. The famous[§§] Sennertus is copious in such stories; he relates from Sigismundus and Citesius, a person, he saith, worthy of credit, that the people of Lucomoria, inhabiting some mountains in Muscovy, do every year die, in a sort, or rather, sleep or freeze, like frogs or swallows, on November 27, and so continue in that rigid state till April 24; in which time they use no evacuation, save only that a tenuious humour, distilling from their nostrils, is presently condensed by the ambient cold, much like to isicles, by the which those patent pores are precluded, and the most endangered brain fortified against the fatal assaults of brumal extremities. The same Sennertus rehearses a story of a virgin at Padua, from Viguntia, professor there, who, Anno 1598, was afflicted with a fever, then a tumour, then arthritick pains, and pains in the ventricle, and whole abdomen; then with vomiting and nauseating of food, till, at last, she could take no food for two months; then, after another fit of vomiting, purging, and bleeding, she fasted eight months, and, after a little use of food, she fasted two months more. And, to be short, he stories it of three persons that fasted each two years, one three years, another four, one seven, another fifteen, another eighteen, and one twenty; yea, one twenty-nine, another thirty, another thirty-six, and one forty years. Famous is the story, perhaps fiction, being poetical, of[*] Epimenides (whose words St. Paul is thought to cite in his epistle to Titus, Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται) whom some report to have slept seventeen years, some seventy-seven years together: But enough of story; those, that are desirous to read more, are referred to Marcellus Donat. Lib. iv. de Med. Hist. Mirab. c. 12. Schenk Lib. iv. Observ. Guaguinus, Lib. iii. Hist. Franc. Petrarch. Lib. iii. de Mirabil. c. 22. Portius de Hist. Puellæ German. Uspergensis in Chron. Lentulus in Hist. Admir. Apol. Baccius Lib. de Vini Nutritione. Bozius Lib. xi. c. 4. de Signis Eccl. Fulgosius, Lib. i. c. 6. Lessæus, Lib. ix. Hist. Scot. Favorinus apud Gellium, Lib. xvi. c. 3. and especially Licetus that wrote a particular tract to solve the phænomena of this prodigy.

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[*] Καὶ ἐπαδεύθη Μωσῆς πάση σοφία Αἰγυπτίων. Acts vii. 22.

[†] Exod. xxxiv. 28.

[‡] 1 Kings xix. 8.

[§] Matt. iv. 2.

[¶] August. in Epist. 86. ad Casulanum.

[**] Nicephor. lib. xiv. Cap. 45.

[††] Fernel. Lib. vi. Patholog. Cap. 1.

[‡‡] Zac. Lusit. de Medic. Princ. Hist. p. 914.

[§§] Sennert. Pract. Lib. iii. Par. 1. Sect. ii. Cap. 2. de longâ Abstin. p. 383.

Now, sir, it would be our ambition to advance towards the same noble work, were it not our duty to serve those a while that blot all these stories with one dash of unbelief. That pen certainly drops blasphemy, that dares to rase the sacred records; and that uncharitableness which presumes to write falshood upon all human testimonies; they that assent to nothing, not confirmed by Autopsia, are unfit to converse in human societies; for how can I expect that any body should believe me, whilst I myself will believe no body? It is an argument of an empty brain, to presume to comprehend all things, and thereupon to reject those things, from an existence in the world, that have not their science in its intellectuals. Many things foreign and strange may well be admitted on good testimonies, since the most obvious objects are scarce pervious to the most eagle-eyed philosopher; witness the mistakes discovered by Descartes, Gassendus, &c. in Aristotle himself, one of the most sublimated wits in all the republick of Natural Philosophy; and likewise the spots in Hippocrates and Galen, those mirrors in medicine, modestly pointed at by our famous Harvey, Glisson, Willis, &c. but, further to satisfy these incredulous persons, it is affirmed, that some of these abstinents have been[†] watched by the most wakeful eyes and jealous ears, to detect their fraud, if guilty of any; as was that maid that refused all food, except only water, for three years, by Bucoldianus, with whom she abode for twelve days, at the command of Ferdinand the emperor; so that Apollonia Schrejerana was taken by the senate of Bern, and put into the hospital of their town, and there watched till they were satisfied in the truth of her total abstinence.

But enough to these that cut the knot to save the trouble of untying it; yet I may not step aside to those in the contrary extream, that believe a century of such reports, with a faith almost as miraculous as these miracles themselves, for so they seem to them. But, sir, as it is human infidelity to disbelieve all such reports, because some are false, so it is superstitious charity to believe all, because some are true. Some persons, as scant in their reading, as they are in their travels, are ready to deem every thing strange to be a monster, and every monster a miracle. True it is, the fast of Moses, Elijah, and the incarnate word, was miraculous, and possibly of some others; yet why we should make all miracles, I understand not; for what need have we now of miracles? Since such supernatural operations* are for them that believe not, not for them that believe, as witnesseth that † celestial philosopher St. Paul; and thence we infer, beings are not to be multiplied without necessity. Moreover, to what end are such miracles wrought? Certainly, the infinitely wise operator labours not for nought; therefore these abstinents, if miraculous, should confirm some doctrine rejected, or refute some error received; infranchise some saints oppressed, subvert some wickedness exalted, foretel some extraordinary events and issues of providence to be performed, or for some other end, at which miracles have been usually levelled; but not a cry of these from most of our abstinents. Moreover, the fast of our blessed Saviour and his Prodromi procured not the least detriment to their health, but it is otherwise with most of these.

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[*] Vid. Sennert. ubi supra. Zac. Lusit. ubi supra. Plutarch. in Sympos. & Lib. de Facie in Orb. Lunæ.

[†] Sennert. ubi supra.

Near of kin to these miracle-mongers are those that suppose these pretended fasters to be invisibly fed by angels. But it is incredible that such a favour should be shewn to persons of no known sanctity, as some of these (reported to be Ethnicks) were. Moreover, either this food was visible, or invisible; if visible, it is strange, that vigilant observers, and jealous suspecters, could neither discover the ingress at the fore-door, nor the excrementitious egress at the back-door; but, if it were invisible, then altogether incongruous to our bodies, and therefore miraculous; of which before. Neither is it of easy credibility, that food should be supplied by dæmons possessing them; for we read of no footsteps of such a possession in the story, and it would be strange if the devil should grow so modest as to content himself with a single trophy of a captivated rational; and as strange, that a cloven foot should make such inroads, and not leave a doubled, yea redoubled impression. Cousin-germans to these are the presumers that the fasters are dead, and acted by dæmons; but this notion is also incongruous, not only to their transmigration, from feeding to fasting, without any shew of a dissolution, but also to their regress from fasting to feeding (as it happened to some of these) and health again.

And as for the admirers of occult philosophy, who resolve these phrases into the effects of occult qualities, we only repose, that, though an antipathy to this or that food, and possibly to all food, may cause abstinence; yet, without food, I cannot understand how it gives sustenance. But others attribute all this to the influence of celestial bodies, whose operations I deny not to be great on sublunary wights; yet it is not imaginable, that this universal cause, diffusing its energy so promiscuously, should now and then in a century, here and there in a country, produce such stupendious effects, without some universal preparation and predisposition of bodies to determine its general efficacy to the production of such a prodigy. But, as the former affect darkness, and these an invisible light, we leave them to their retirements, whilst we hunt the more perceptible prints of nature's progress in these anomalous productions.

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* 1 Cor. xiv. 22.

† 2 Cor. xii. 2.

By this time, sir, I hope you will grant that the old inconvenient and tottering building is, in a measure, demolished, the rubbish removed, and the ground cleared; let us now propound the necessities and conveniencies, the ends and uses by our new building to be supplied and attained; and then we will fall to the architecture itself; I mean, let us consider, what the defect of aliment doth require for the support of human life. 1st. The natural evacuations, by urine, stool, salivation, terms, and transpiration, are so lavish, that, without reparation by feeding, it seems impossible to avoid a sudden dissolution. 2dly, How shall natural heat be preserved from extinction without a constant feeding on the radical moisture? And how shall this oleaginous humour be secured from a nimble consumption, if it receive not additions from feeding? 3dly, How shall fermentation be continued in the blood without new additions of chyle? And how shall chyle be added, if no food is received? 4thly, How shall there be a supply of vital spirits, and consequently of animal, without food or fermentation? 5thly, How can life consist without sleep? And how shall we attain sleep, without ascending fumes to the brain from ingested food?

For a foundation, I shall premise a few severals: 1. The long finger of powerful providence is undoubtedly to be observed in the production of these wonderful effects; though these be not advanced to the zenith of divine miracles, wrought by the immediate hand of omnipotency, yet the first cause must be acknowledged in the proportioning, marshalling, dividing, uniting, and actuating of concurrent subordinate second causes for such heteroclite productions. Plato himself could say, γεομετρεῖ ὁ Θεὸς, and the admirable Dr. Willis acknowledges, that nature's parent orders natural* principles as to their quantity and mixture, and consequently as to their operations.

2. It is very evident, that, when higher causes shall disjoin what nature usually conjoineth, and *vice versá*, and exalt one principle and depress another, then very astonishing results appear upon the stage of human bodies. Such is the stupendious voracity of some Helluo's, the monstrous digestion of your Lithophagi, the strange metamorphosis of your Sanguineans into midnight melancholy, and of lucid intellectuals into piceous mopishness, &c.

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* Si hujusmodi limitationis causa inquiratur, dicimus, quod naturæ parens posuit in primogenio cujusque rei semine talem spiritus salis & sulphuris copiam quæ producendis ultimis corporum staminibus, seu lineamenti, sufficeret. Willis de ferment. p. 48, 49.

1. Now to supply the defect of food in its most useful restoration of what by daily evacuations the body is deprived of; as I need not compute the vast expence of the microcosm by stool, urine, spitting, and terms, these being vulgarly known; so neither of the transcendent loss by transpiration, reckoned by* Sanctorius to preponderate all the rest; all which exact constant additions to be made by aliment, without which the body would quickly be depopulated. But 1. Let it be considered, that this person (as it is most credibly reported) empties nothing by urine or stool; and, it is probable, next to nothing by salivation or transpiration; not by salivation through a considerable defect of drinks; nor by transpiration, because, wanting food, there is a partial defect of fermentation in the blood, and thence of natural heat, and so, by the coldness of the parts, the pores are precluded, and the diaphoresis impeded; whence it will follow, that, where the parts are duly warm, and the pores patent, there the more active principles are apt to take flight; yet, where the parts are cold, and the pores corked up, there it is otherwise; as generous wines and subtle spirits, left in open vessels, will quickly bid adieu to their more volatile and brisk principles; yet, if shut up in safe vessels, these fugitives are imprisoned and kept to their daily offices. The same is verified in aqueous humours, which (our kitchens as well as laboratories experiment) quickly evaporate through intense subjacent heats, but not without, and so it is here. Thus, these plentiful evacuations being suppressed, restoration by food is rendered less necessary. Yet, lest you should dread from this hypothesis a suffocating mass of excrementitious humours to assault the heart, &c. I therefore subjoin, that a defect of nutritious assumptions must needs precede a defect of humours; moreover, the blood commands much of these remaining humours for its own chariot use; neither may it seem dissonant to reason, that the ventricle and some of the intestines are used as a receptacle of the more tartarous and terrestrial feculencies; as embryo's, though they receive large quantities of liquid nutriment, yet there is seldom observed the least excretion by the fundament, but a retention of a quantity of excrementitious terrestreities in the intestines, during their whole abode in their maternal cells. Likewise, in fermenting liquors, the more active principles do precipitate the more sluggish to the bottoms, chinks, and walls of their continents. Further it cannot be denied, that, by expiration, there is a considerable evacuation, as appears both by the heat of our breath, and its moisture, which is discovered by the reception of it into any concavous body. But 2. admit that there is some waste either by salivation or transpiration, yet these, being small, produce only a lingering consumption, which doth often consist for many years with a declining life: Such as our Virgin's is.

2. How shall natural heat be preserved, if not fed by oil, continually supplied and renewed by aliment? There are, sir, divers opinions touching human ignicles, and therefore it highly concerns

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* Sanctorius de Staticâ Medicina.

us to proceed cautiously. It cannot be denied, that there is a potential heat, more or less, in all human bodies, which is the *Calor mixti*, remaining, when we are dead and key-cold ; such as is the heat of sulphur, arsenick, &c. though in a great allay. This appears from chymical operations on man's blood, by which it is forced to acknowledge its endowments with spirits and volatile salts in great quantities, and some sulphur also. Likewise, it must be granted, that there is an actual heat abiding in us, whilst we live, and some while after death. This is obvious to the sense of feeling itself; this is the heat, as I conceive, joined with the primogenite humour, to which Aristotle ascribes life itself. But yet, sir, I am somewhat doubtful, whether this heat be properly called *Calor vivens*, though the great* Riverius term it so; or an immediate cause of life, though an Aristotle pronounce it so; for, certainly, holy Scripture ascribes life to the blood, The blood is the life thereof; and death to a dissolution of the compositum, The body returns to the dust, and the spirit to God that gave it. But of this dissolution, I suppose, the soul is not ordinarily the cause, but the body; and, what part of the body may more justly be challenged to be the parent, if I may so phrase it, of death, than the blood, which is, in a famous sense, the parent of life. So, then,† most killing distempers must arise from the excessive multiplication, consumption, or depravation of the blood, and the pernicious effects thereof. Yet, mistake me not, this hinders not other parts of the body, bowels, and humours to be often peccant, as undoubtedly they are, by infecting the blood, and receiving infections morbifick from it. Moreover, this heat continues some hours without life, even after the dissolution ; and, as it is without life, so is life often found without it, as, not only in some vegetables, as, lettuce, hemlock, cucumbers, &c. but in animals, as, frogs and fish, which are said to be actually cold, and the salamander, reputed cold in a high degree. This heat may, possibly, be but the effect of matter and motion, *i. e.* of the blood, or, before it, of the seed impregnated with active principles, which, through their activity and heterogeneity, suffer mutual collisions, or fermentations, whence ebullition; and thence this heat, which is, by circulation, not only promoted, but also conveyed to all parts of the body, and by the same causes preserved; which, possibly, may prove the sum of ‡ Riverius's implanted and influent heat. These things pre-supposed, it will not be impossible to guess, that this heat is no such celestial fire, as the most famous Fernelius would have it, but only the igneous result of the combinations and commotions of the most active elementary principles; and, if there be any other heat, it may prove to be, according to the conjecture of the great Riverius, the product of the immaterial soul. But of that I understand little; only this is unquestionable, that the celestial soul chuseth, for its more immediate organs, the most subtiliated, spirituous, and active parts of matter, such as the vital and animal spirits, and the heat before-mentioned, which seems to be of the same genius, and all but the mechanick productions of various fermentations, percolations, and distillations in the human engine: Wherefore I shall crave leave to dismiss this fire, till we come to discourse of fermentations.

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* Riverii Instit. Med. Lib. i. Sect. 4. c. 3. de Calido innato. Ἐστὶ μονὴ τῆς θρεπτικῆς σὺν τῷ θερμῷ. Arist. de Respirat. † Willis de Morb. Convuls. p. 175. Needham de formato Fœtu, p. 136. Loweri Diatribæ, p. 115. Fernel. de Abdit. Lib. ii. c. 7. ‡ Riverius, ubi supra.

And so I pass on to the next flame; which is the Biolychnium, or the actual flame of the blood kindled in the heart, asserted both by ancients and moderns of astonishing titles and tremendous veneration; which devouring flame, if once kindled, will quickly depredate all the oleaginous aliment, if not renewed by frequent and plentiful assumptions. But, therefore, it is greatly suspected to have no existence in our bodies, because, in these jejunants, it must needs extinguish, for want of sulphureous supplies, and produce death to those that have lived long enough to help to entomb it. It is strange to me, that provident nature should require such vast supplies, both of meat and drink, out of which to extract a small quantity of nutritious juice; which, with divers ferments, colatures, emunctories, and rapid motions, it endeavours to exalt and defæcate; and yet, after all, should expose what she hath attained of purity and activity, and consequently of noblest use, by her unparalleled artifices, cost, and toil, to the improvident disposal of wasteful flames; for, indeed, flames are great wasters, as appears in the preparation of the balsam of sugar, &c. No less wonderful is it, that a flame should continually burn in the heart, and yet the fleshly walls thereof not boiled, roasted, nor so much as a fuliginous, or cineritious colour imparted. But, lest, sir, you should be confident, that this perennial flame scorns an extinction by these few drops, I therefore commend to your observation those numerous and plentiful buckets, that are poured thereupon by the dexterous hand of the very learned and* candid Dr. Needham. But yet, lest you should be so far prepossessed, by the determinations of venerable antiquity, as to reject this new doctrine, and avowedly maintain this unseen fire, I shall therefore add, 1. That this flame can be but small, through the defect of bodily exercise, and freer ventilations (these fasters being mostly close prisoners) as also of strong fermentations; therefore, the less the lamp, the less oil will sustain it. 2. Through the defect of heat, the pores are bolted, and transpiration restrained; whence a scarce credible quantity of moisture is retained, which, returning both by veins and lymphaticks, gives no contemptible quantity of food to this fire. 3. Through the restraint of transpiration, the igneous particles are secured from their excursions, to the great increase of intestine heat; for, in feeders, the loss of transpiration often kindles in the blood a feverish fire. 4. The air (as impregnated sometimes especially) entering by the mouth, the nose, and pores, in parts passing the various concoctions, may be converted into a humour not altogether unapt to preserve the lingering life

* Needham de formato Fœtu, p. 129, &c.

of this dying flame. 5. In pituitous bodies, the abundance of phlegm, through the various concoctions which it undergoes in the body, may become useful, in the room of more proper aliment, to this analogous lamp in its table-supplies: Which phlegm though some reject as excrementitious, yet, I suppose, they do it only, when consideration is from home of its usefulness in the mastication of our food, wherein, as some say, lies the first concoction; at least, therein lies the main preparation for the grand concoction in the ventricle. The constant mixture of our food with our spittle, in the jaw-mill, may force some considering men to think, that it is nearer of kin to our natural moisture, than hath been formerly acknowledged. 6. The colliquation of the parts of these emaciated bodies may yield oil to these lamps, as it is usually affirmed in hectick fevers. Besides, if fire be nothing but an innumerable host of sulphureous atoms, breaking the prisons of their former compositions with other heterogeneities,* then, certainly, all fire is αὐτοφαγὸς, for nothing of that sulphur remains; it leaves only the heterogeneous principles, with which it was combined. 7. It is probable, that the moisture of these jejune bodies is much, not only condensed by their cold, but also, loaded with terrestreities, thro' the non-reception of aliment impregnated with active principles; whereby it is rendered more durable in this flame; as oils, the more impure, thick, and clammy they are, the less fiercely they burn; but, the more tenuious and spirituous, the more nimbly do they flame, and expeditiously consume: As my face and hair did sadly experiment, upon the unexpected and sudden conflagration of a quantity of the oil of turpentine, as I, not long since, drew it from the fire; I dare say, the turpentine itself would not, or rather could not, have served me so. 8. This moisture, being drawn from more jejune principles (as, air, phlegm, and lympha) †is the less impregnated with nitro-sulphureous particles, and therefore less inflammable; as, in oligophorous wines, where the spirit and sulphur are greatly exhaled, and with a quality abundantly dilated, there fire slowly burns. 9. It is probable, that the crasis of these bodies is so altered, by the predominancy of fixed salts not duly actuated by powerful fermentations, that they much retard the consumption of oil by this vital fire; as, if quick-lime, sope, or other saline concretes be added to wax, or tallow, they will (say chymists) make a candle of far greater duration than ordinary. Strange is that story of St. ‡ Augustine, who reports a lamp to be found in the temple of Venus, that no storms could extinguish; yet much more strange was that torch, reported § to have burnt fifteen-hundred and fifty years, in the tomb of Tullia, Cicero's daughter, which being exposed to the air, by the opening of the tomb, was quickly extinguished. Now, if our humours should chance to attain the disposition of these ancient oils, they might supply the Biolychnium long enough. 10. Or, if these fixed salts should attain fluidity, as it is probable they have done, because some of these abstinents were of melancholick complexions[*], then the sulphureous parts of the humours would be so fettered and oppressed thereby, that they could not so quickly burst from under the yoke into violent flames, but by degrees, and leisurably, as they could disentangle themselves; from whence will arise a more durable, though less forceable fire. Lastly, It seems probable, that extraneous particles of fire may be conveyed into a body, and therein lodged, which shall afterwards cause heats to kindle therein. That igneous particles pass from one body to another, seems a matter of daily experience; for it is not easy to demonstrate, how our bodies are warmed by their approach to the fire, if there be not fiery effluviums from the burning matter, that enters our bodies; and, that these fiery atoms, thus lodged in a foreign body, may afterwards, by water, air, or the like, break forth into a considerable heat, is very imaginable; as in quicklime, which, before it is burnt, is not at all subject to combustions by air, or water; but, when it hath endured the kiln-fire, then it is readily kindled by the addition of almost any humidity: Which humidities may not be supposed directly to contribute to the kindling of the atoms, but to the dissolving of the concrete, and, thereby, the disentangling of the atoms; whereupon they fly out into a considerable heat; like whereunto is that powder,[†] boasted by chymists, to take flame in your hands, by the only addition of spittle. Thus, sir, having tendered a slender repast for your antique lamp, I crave leave to attend the more modern hypothesis of famed fermentation.

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* Willis de Ferment. p. 66.

† Willis de Febr. p. 103. Idem, de Ferment. p. 866. French's Art of Distillation, p. 148. Joh. Baptist. Porta. Card. de Subtilitate.

‡ Ludovic. Vives, in Lib. xxi. c. 6. de Civitate Dei Augustin.

§ Guido Pancirollus.

Thirdly, How shall fermentation be continued in the blood, without the addition of chyle? And how can chyle be added, without food assumed? It is the opinion of ingenious [‡] Henshavius, that fermentation is caused by the addition of chyle to the blood in the heart, like that of wine by the adding of must; from whence doth arise (he saith) a necessity of frequent feeding: which the excellent [§] Dr. Needham seems much to approve. And both the incomparable [¶] Willis and ingenious [**] Castle cite Hogeland for ascribing heat to a fermentation in the heart, like to that which happens upon the pouring of spirit of nitre on butter of antimony. Resp. Now, sir, to help us out at this dead lift also, I shall take notice of the several opinions of the learned, touching the causes of fermentation. First, There is a ferment placed in the heart itself by the great [††] Willis and his Hypaspistes, the dexterous anatomist Dr. Lower,[‡‡] with Dr. Castle,[§§] and other renowned assertors of fermentation. This, sir, would serve us eximiously to supply the defect of new chyle, if it were but sufficiently evinced. But, I must confess ingenuously, though (as it is not unknown to you) I have laboured to advance the antique glory of the heart, yet I cannot satisfy myself, though I would, that there is any such implanted ferment therein; for I find not this ferment confirmed by any experiment, or other sufficient evidence, but *(absit invidia verbo)* too precariously asserted; nor any necessity assigned for such a ferment, the doctrine of fermentation being sufficiently demonstrated without it; and, though the honour ascribed to the heart may seem to require it, yet I cannot approve of conferring honours, which infer a necessity of multiplying beings above what the Opus and Usus of nature createth. Neither can I conceive where this ferment should be nested. It must be either in the walls of the heart, or in the chambers thereof: In the walls (saith Dr. Castle,* from Severinus, Danus, Des Cartes, and Hogeland) are mechanick spirits, seminal salts, or ferments; but yet, *pace tanti viri*, the heart, by its carnous fibres, membranes, colour, and consistence, seems to be but a muscle, as our worthy Dr. Needham † and acute Steno ‡ affirm; and, if so, how a ferment should be there generated, any otherwise than in other muscles, I do not understand: It hath not the parenchyma of the liver, spleen, or other parts which are colatures to the blood, whereby they easily separate, and, having separated, retain what may conduce to constitute ferments; but the walls of the heart seem only, like other muscles, to receive blood for their own private use, but none for a publick stock. Moreover, if there were such a salt ferment, it is a wonder it doth not discolour the rutilous fibres, as the salt in the spleen manifestly doth, but leave it of the same hue with other non-fermenting muscles. Neither are there any cavities, within these walls, capacious enough to contain these mechanick spirits for publick offices; nay, it is observable, that the heart is more firm, fast, hard, and less stored with porosities, than other muscles. Neither in the auricles, or ventricles, can these spirits keep quiet possession, by reason of that impetuous torrent, which many times in every minute washeth both floors and walls; and, though these cavities have their cellars, yet, by the so frequent constrictions of the omnimodous fibres causing the systole, there is not only a mixture of the blood at the bottom with that on the top, but also a violent extrusion of both, made in the same pulsation. Neither, in dissections, is there any considerable difference found betwixt that in the heart, and that in the veins, as famous Harvey observeth. Yet, with a *non obstante* to these premises, I must tell you, I opine that fermentation may, not abusively, be ascribed to the mechanick structure and operations of the heart, though not inriched with an innate ferment; of which hereafter more seasonably.

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[*] Sennert. Pract. Lib. iii. Part. 2. Sect. 2. de longa Abstinentia.

[†] French's Art of Distill. p. 130.

[‡] Henshav. in ἀεροχαλίνω.

[§] Needh. de form. Fœtu. p. 132.

[¶] Willis de Febr. p. 113.

[**] Castle's Chym. Gal. p. 81, 82.

[††] Willis de Ferment. p. 24, 25. De Febr. p. 101, 102, 103.

[‡‡] Loweri Diatr. p. 121, 124.

[§§] Castle's Chym. Gal. p. 81, 82.

Secondly, It is not unknown, that several liquors are self-sufficient to command a fermentation, and that perfective, as wines, cyder, with other like spirito-sulphuro-saline fluids; as also fruits of a more crass consistence, as apples, pears, plums, &c. whereof many are advanced, by lying, to a greater perfection, after pulled from their mother's breast: And it is, at least, a violent presumption, that the blood, confected by such self-fermenting bodies, and they exalted greatly by the various additional concoctions, percolations, and, as it were, distillations in the transcendently exquisite and proto-laboratories of human bodies, is crowned with the same diadem of self-fermenting principles. And, indeed, an ordinary analysis of blood, according to the rules of pyrotechny, will discover all those principles of spirit, sulphur, salt, water, and earth, lodged in its embraces, which are sufficient to elaborate fermentations: Which is further confirmed, in that, when some of the innate fermenting principles (as, suppose, salts) begin to languish, several artificial ferments prove highly useful. Under this notion, saith the sagacious Willis,* are the fixed salts of vegetables, chalybeates, &c. of such sovereign efficacy.

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* Ubi supra. † De formato Fœtu, p. 132. ‡ Steno de Musc. & Gland.

Thirdly, After various disquisitions touching the use of the spleen, some exalting it to the honour of sanguifying for the lower belly, others depressing it to the vile use of a sink, it is now, by many, upon consideration of its colour, site, and vessels, resolved to be a colature; wherein the more black and feculent juice is severed from the blood; and, being there reserved, it becomes a ferment to the scarlet liquor, even as a small parcel of dough, reserved in a saline condiment, grows acid, and so arrives to the dignity of a leven, or ferment, to the new farinaceous mass. The principles, which, in this bowel, are supposed to be regent, are salino-terrestrial; which, by over-long abode, attain fluidity, and so become acetous, like spirit of vitriol, nitre, and of other saline concretes: And that, which renders this the more probable, is, the sowre belchings of hypochondriack persons, the whiteness of their tongues, the soreness of their throats, the excess of their appetite, and the emaciating of their bodies; all which seem to proceed from a preternatural acidity: And, *vice versâ*, when the spleen hath lost its ferment, then the blood grows too insipid, as appears in cachexies, ascites, tympanites, &c. These things premised, it will be no difficulty to prove, that the blood is fermented by the spleen. It is but very lately that I added spirit of vitriol to a small quantity of the recent blood of a patient, which caused a visible fermentation, and such a coagulation, that it became almost of the colour and consistence of our table-mustard, only there remained some perfect black parts, but no red ones; from whence I conjecture, that it is an acid humour, which causes such a black sediment in the urine of many hypochondriack persons; and that the same humour it is, that coagulates the blood often, if not always, and renders it so unapt for circulation. Wherefore, by the way, I would offer it to your consideration, whether that sort of scorbute and melancholy, which is rooted in blood more than sufficiently hot, florid, and fluid, as oft-times they are, can ascribe its origination to a mere acidity, or to fluid salts? And, consequently, whether it be not a misapplication of the nitro-sulphureous plants, which renders them, of late, suspected of impertinency? For, to what end should these plants be given to those persons, whose blood exceeds with salt and sulphur already? Yet, in the colder, more cachectical sorts of scurvy and melancholy, nothing possibly may be found more proper; for it is well known, that fixed salts and fluid salts, or (which is the same thing) acid spirits, do highly ferment, and cause a considerable heat; as lately discovered itself to me, in the preparation of Tartarus Vitriolatus. Whence I further conjecture, that those preparations of chalybs, coral, and other saline concretes, which rob them of their salts, or (which is the same thing) that glut them with acidities so plentifully, as to leave no capacity to receive more acids, do spoil them, *co nomine*, of their fermenting virtue. But, lest I should seem to transgress, whilst I intend scarcely to digress, I return to remind you, that you have a third ferment, which, in these abstinents, is presumable to be highly useful; for several of them (not to say all) were spleneticks, before they were abstinents.

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* De Ferm.

Fourthly, It is probable, that the seminal humours, in these virgins, may, by a long abode in their vessels, grow acid, and thereby supply the blood with a more than ordinary ferment. Here are two things supposed: The first is, that the seed is impregnated with salt; and that is proved by the many arguments of the philosophical Dr. Ente.* The other is, that the seed, by its principles, may elaborate the blood: This is evident in females, whose seed being grown fecundate and vegete, it so levens the blood, that, except it purge itself by menstrual terms, it exposes to innumerable diseases; but much more manifest in men, by the eruption of their beards, the greatening of their voice, the heating of their blood, effeminate desires, &c. These things being evidently so, it will much strengthen our hypothesis to observe, that most of these damsels fall to this abstinence between the age of fourteen and twenty years, when the seed hath so fermented the blood, that various distempers will probably ensue, without due evacuations; except in our case, wherein, through the defect of fermenting food, we are enabled to bear the excess of these so much the better.

Fifthly, There are several other innate ferments, placed by nature in human bodies, as the learned testify; as, that ascribed by Dr. Willis † to the brain, for the freeing the spirits from the entanglements of other principles, to which they were married, whilst they abode in the blood, that so the brain's distillation might proceed the more prosperously: Likewise that in the reins, which is, like rennet to milk, to precipitate the serosities, that the ureters may exterminate them, as useless, burdensome excrements. There are many more assigned, yet more than can be numbered, if Dr. Willis's ‡ doctrine be true, of a fermentation through the habit of the body, caused by the concurrence of arterial blood and nervous juice. But these I lightly pass over, because, I conceive, they are not immediately intended for the elaborating of the bloody mass; yet I may not forget them, because, working upon the blood, it is not to be doubted, but the veins derive somewhat of their virtue with the retrieved blood.

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* Apologia pro Circulo.

† De Ferment. p. 27, 28.

‡ Anat. Cerebri, c. 20. p. 159.

Sixthly, But to approach yet nearer to our mark. I affirm, that, though there be no edibles received, yet it follows not, that there is no sort of new chyle to renew the blood's fermentation; for, first, in these cold bodies, there must of necessity be a far greater quantity, *consideratis considerandis*, of pituitous humours, than ordinary; for, if transpiration be denied to our bodies but a very small time, what a redundance of phlegm doth presently oppress us! Which phlegm, being led into the mouth by a great variety of salivating ducts, and thence conveyed into the ventricle, may take off the acidity, the edge of the appetite; by which they tolerate their abstinence with greater patience, and also suffer a sorry concoction, which is much advanced by the attendance of all the concoctive forces, to subact this sluggish matter, which, in other bodies, are variously diverted by the great variety of food frequently admitted. Secondly, It is probable, that some of these fasters were more than ordinarily addicted to phlegm before their abstinence; which is usual with those whose concoctions are low; and, with these, it is more than an even lay they were not very high, which must needs be augmented by the defect of urine and stool; which, if granted, adds somewhat to our purpose. Thirdly, The air, received continually into the stomach by the mouth and nose, and also into the blood more directly, though sparingly by the pores, and virtually, if not formally, by the lungs, may contribute much to this humour, but more to the fermentation of the blood. That the air is impregnated with salts, the learned Dr. Ente* affirms, and ascribes vegetation, as also the production of various animals thereunto, as the worthy Willis doth frost and ice. And it is asserted by chymists, that Caput Mortuums lixiviated, if exposed to the open air for a good space, they shall re-attain their saline principle; and, that salts cause fermentation in the blood, hath been already noted. Yet one step further I may advance upon good ground, and that is, these salts may much renew the ferment of the stomach also, in lieu of other condiments. Moreover, the liver being an ample bowel,† instructed with a great variety of vessels, inriched with constant traffick from most of the corporations in the microcosm, so curious in its elections and collections of the sulphuro-saline commodities, so diligent in reconding them in a peculiar cell, and thence transmitting them to the intestines, upon all occasions: These severals, I say, considered, it may be rationally inferred, that it is not only helpful to the guts in their excretions, but also in their fermentations; whereby the chyle is rendered not only fermentiscible in the blood, but also more fermentescent thereunto. Yet, sir, lest this lean meat should not satisfy your more delicate palate, I must advertise you, that the blood in these persons must needs be sparing, and therefore the lesser chyle may ferment it; especially considering, that their fermentations are but small, as appears by the smallness of their heat; and, therefore, pray do yourself the right not to expect an account of robust ones.

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* Apolog. de Ferment. p. [illegible].

† Glisson, Anatom. Hepatis.

Seventhly, The heart itself contributes much to the fermentation. It is acknowledged by all, that the circulation of the blood, being a rapid motion through the indefatigable pulsation of the heart, adds much to the fermentation. We see that motion given to wine, ale, cyder, or cream of milk, though sufficiently fermented, will yet, without a new ferment, give a new fermentation. But, sir, lest you should mistake me, when I stumbled at an innate ferment in the heart, and yet stood upon it, that fermentation may be ascribed thereto, let me unbosom myself, that you may see what the heart contributes thereunto. First, The heart is as it were a cistern, into which the blood veins, milky veins, and water veins, or lymphæducts, by mutual consent, deposit their multiform juices. Secondly, It hath the force of a mill, by its quaquaverse fibres, continually busied in their constrictions and dilatations to grind and make small the more crassy particles of the juices. Thirdly, Of a mortar, wherein the more exact mixture of these different juices is highly promoted. Fourthly, Of a gin, expelling the blood sufficiently subacted, and then, to the further execution of its offices, but too too troublesome; and, by the way, the burden of the blood may be one cause of its pulsation; for it is said, if a live heart be taken out of the body, the prick of a pin will renew its pulsation. Fifthly, Of a pump to give motion, and, according to the sanguiterious ducts, to the several parts, distribution of this juice adapted to nutrition.* Sixthly, Of a loom, wherein the blood is fermented. Seventhly, Of a kind of philosophical furnace, wherein a spiritual Biolychnium is kindled; I intend only a heat perchance, caused only by the motion and fermentation aforesaid. Eighthly, Of a Pelican, to rarefy and exalt the vital spirits. Ninthly, Of an alembick, not vulgar, whereby the spirits receive a kind of separation, though yet they run with the blood, which being condensed in the refrigeratory of the habit of the body, as the learned Walæus expresseth it, are the more easily subject to the brain's philtration, and the nerves preservation. Tenthly, Of a potential philtre, whereby there is made such a segregation of homogeneous particles into their proper classes, as renders the blood much more obedient to the colatures and emunctories of the body; as rennet in the milk potentially separates the whey, and prepares it for an actual separation by the sieve; and, in chymical preparations, the acid liquor, or diluting a large quantity of weakening water, provokes a kind of fermentation, whereby the suspended atoms, in the strong menstruums, are precipitated, and so prepared for a more facile separation; so that, indeed, all the engines, in nature's shop, depend mainly upon, the right tone, texture, and operation of the heart. From which it seems apparent to me, which yet I submit to clearer minds, that the heart is further serviceable to fermentation, and other offices of nature, than, meerly pump-like, to conciliate motion; which may be further confirmed, by the site of the heart in the center of the body; as also, by its firmest muniments, by which it is garisoned on its back by the spine, on its face by the sternum, on its sides by the ribs, under its feet by the diaphragm, and over its head by the canopy of the pyramidal thorax, and, lastly, by its buff-coat, the pericardium; and, which is not nothing, the curious fabrick, with various camerations, the retiform fibres, and various passages, the uniform procedure of nature, in the formation of the hearts of animals, whilst often it sports itself in the building of other parts, and its primogeniture, as appears by the Vesicula palpitans first formed in eggs, according to the renowned Harvey, the rudiment of the heart, and the blood's constant flux and reflux to and from the heart, even then when the liver and lungs, though famous bowels, are passed by unsaluted in the circulation of embryo's; as also nature's great care to supply the defective passages of those viscera by a foramen ovale in the septum of the heart, lest the intercourse of the blood with the heart should be impeded; which hole is yet afterwards precluded, when the infant is midwived into a new world. Much of this curiosity of nature, about the heart, seems utterly unnecessary, if it served only for motion; but we are sure that God and nature does nothing frustraneously. Neither am I yet satisfied, that the whole of the blood's motion is to be ascribed to the heart's pulsation; for Conringius affirms, that, in live dissections, the blood strongly circulates a long time after the left ventricle hath lost its pulse; yea, though the heart be taken out, yet presently is not the motion of the blood destroyed; which seems to be confirmed by the experiment upon frogs, which leap so nimbly, and swim so freely, after their hearts are exempted, that they cannot be known from unwounded frogs, that exercise in their company;* the story whereof that most dexterous anatomist, Dr. Needham, hath published. Moreover, if a ligature be applied to a vein or artery, whereby the pulse is intercepted with the undulation of the blood also, yet the blood, beyond the bond, runs its course toward the heart; and which is so much the more strange, because it is the motion of a heavy body, contrary to its natural tendency, upward. Moreover, if the pulse of the heart were the only cause of the motion of the blood, why then is not the menstrual blood thrust into other parts, as well as into the uterine? Since the other parts, equally with these, receive the constant force of the heart's even pulsations and impartial distributions. Likewise we see, that the animal spirits in the nerves, with their juice, the lympha in its ducts, the chyle in its thoracicks, the seed in its seminals, the urine in the ureters, and the phlegm in its pituitary vessels are all in motion, without the force of any such engine to give the origin thereto. Whereupon, I am apt to conjecture, that nature hath furnished several parts with an attractive power, the blood with fermentation, and several vessels with a kind of vermicular motion of their own, no doubt excited by the nerves, the porta with asinus in the liver, which serves for a pump, and the cava, or one part of it, with a pulsifick energy (by which blood is thrust into the right ventricle, as the learned Walæus asserts) by which the motion of humours is promoted; and consequently, that the rareness of the structure, unweariedness of the pulsations of the heart, &c. are designed to some higher ends, than merely, and as such, to give motion, though that it doth with an emphasis.

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* Walæus in Meth. Medend.

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* De format. Fœtu.

Fourthly, How can spirits, both vital and animal, be prepared and separated without food, and frequent fermentations? R. 1. Whether there be a flux of animal spirits through the Genus nervosum seems yet not fully resolved; and, if no flux, then the waste is small, and a small reparation may supply a small waste. But, I confess, I understand not how narcotick fumes, nor redundant humours, restagnating in the brain, can cause an apoplexy, epilepsy, palsy, &c. in the whole body, if there be no flux of spirits from the brain; nor how the hurt from a coach in the seventh vertebre of the back, mentioned by great Galen, could cause a palsy in three fingers; nor why we anoint the vertebres of the back for palsies in the extreme parts, if there be no flux of spirits. 2. Supposing a flux of animal spirits through the nervous system, yet, according to the doctrine of famous Dr. Wharton,* much of the nervous juice, separated by the glandules, is returned by the veins and lymphaticks, and so not lost, though infeebled by its peregrination; and more yet deposited, according to Dr. Willis, the great reformer of physick, by the extremity of the nerves in the habit of the body, is again retrieved by the lymphaticks, which, serving in our abstinents little or nothing to assimulation, only somewhat to the cherishing of the implanted spirits, is the more plentifully returned, and so the loss, thus far forth, less considerable than ordinary. 3. It is apparent, that there is a decay of these spirits, as well as an obstruction, in most of these abstinents, as witnesseth their great inability to motion. 4. The fermentations, mentioned before, though small, may contribute something to the increase of these spirits: for chymists know that there are few juices so insipid, so sterile, but, by the help of fermentation, may yield a not contemptible spirit. 5. Those spirits that pass from the brain to the extremity of the body, and thence returned, as before, by the lymphaticks, and that more forceably and plentifully, being reflected by the impervious cold and constipated skin, seem rather tired than exhausted, which may, by the small ferments aforementioned, the contritions, mixtions, and exaltations of the heart, and the perpetual motions of the scarlet liquor, be rarefied and volatilised, to do, at a dead lift, further good service. 6. It is notorious, that scents do hugely affect the brain; as to instance in apoplexies, hysterical passions, and in some sort of syncopes and cephalalgies, common practice doth demonstrate. So then, if feeding animals perceive such strange alterations, by odoriferous exhalations, as of Assa fætida, Galbanum, Verrucæ Equinæ, &c. which, according to the prodigious invention of the most philosophical Dr. Willis, are able to restrain the most violent explosions (like those of gunpowder, than which none more violent) of the nitro-sulphureous atoms, with which, in spasmodick distempers, the nervous juice is impregnated, and by which it is reduced to the greatest disorders, why may not these abstinents be relieved by such inriched fumes also?

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* De Glandulis.

Fifthly, Without sleep no long life, and, without food, no sleep; for, say the ancients,* sleep is the binding up of the first sensorium, or common-sense, caused by the food digesting in the stomach, elevating its fumes to the brain, which, there condensing, stop the passages of the animal spirits, whereby they are detained from their just visitations, whence the senses are disabled for the execution of their offices. R. 1. It is not certain, that sleep is absolutely necessary to life, for we read of many that lived waking: It is said that Ramus studied philosophy so incessantly, that he became blind, or deaf, or both, through defect of sleep. Rhasis watched so long at his study of physick, until, at last, he could not sleep at all; likewise a doctor of the law studied so indefatigably, that he never laid his eye-lids together for four months; yet all recovered by the use of hypnoticks. The most inquisitive Galenist, Fernelius, reports a certain man to have survived fourteen months waking. The grave Heurnius relateth a story from, he saith, a truly learned man, Jerom Montuus, of a noble matron that lived thirty-five years without sleep, nor hurt thereby; and of another that lived ten years waking. Seneca reports, that Mæcenas lived three years without sleep, and at last was recovered by musick. 2. But I affirm not that our jejunants are vigilants, and therefore add, that, though these persons receive no external food, yet airy condensations and concretions, the phlegmatick humours, colliquations of the parts, &c. afford matter for such vapours; and so much the more plentifully, because they are environed with a thick wall, whose very crevices, and much more gates, and publick outlets, are so close shut up and barricadoed, that these troops of exhalations, that were wont to be dispersed, are now crouded together, which, assaulting the brain, may do much to bind up her common-sense. 3. It seems probable, by apoplectical dormitators, that a cold humour, lodged in the brain, is a great causer of sleep; and why such a humour may not lodge in a sufficient proportion, in these constipated brains, to procure intermitting sleeps, I see not. 4. It is apparent that narcoticks, as opium, and in their measure, wines, tobacco, &c. provoke sleep; not by any cold quality, for they are all proved to be hot, but, it is probable, by adding such a ferment to the blood, as renders the spirits, separated in the brain, more torpid, ignave, and, consequently, unapt to motion, and the execution of their offices; or, which is almost the same thing, as renders the blood unapt for separation of spirits in the brain's alembick, whence the wearied spirits, for want of fresh supplies, are becalmed and quiescent. So then, if the humours, in the bodies of these abstinents, should happily partake of these narcotick sulphurs, they may prove somniferous, without the elevation of fumes from digesting food. But, sir, lest you should be startled at this unphilosophical discourse, in representing sleep rather as a non-emission of spirits from the brains, than a non-immission of them to the brain from the external senses, and consequently, as a negation of action, rather than of passion, I crave leave to mind you, that I am not only deficient in the beard, but much more in the brain, of some very great philosophers, who rank not only the external senses, but the first internal, or common-sense, in the predicament of passions; which, I confess, I cannot understand, because I know, that when devout persons are taken up in divine services, though their eyes be wide open, and presented with various objects, yet they see them not, because they mind them not; likewise, when diligent students are intent upon their books, they hear not the clock that strikes at their ears; and sound sleepers, with lethargical persons, feel not the pulling and hauling of their friends that would awake them, &c. From whence I conjecture, that, though objects act *ad ultimum virium* upon the external senses in imprinting their species, yet that causeth not sensation, except there be an actual attendance of the sensitive spirits upon the sensible objects, a framing of their effigies or species, and a conveyance thereof to the understanding. Can you imagine that Columbus's journey to the Indies, his surveying that unknown world, and returning a map thereof to his own countrymen, was a mere passion of his, and only the action of a novel jig of American atoms? Or, Camden's perambulation through all the coasts of this island, with his observations thereon, which he digested into a valuable volume, was merely his suffering, but wholly the doing of subtile spirits, and æthereal globules magically charmed into a once happy combination? But to return, 5. Cold juices, as of housleek, lettuce, violets, &c. will conduce to our sleep, and, it is not to be doubted, but the juices in these bodies may be cold enough to effect the same. 6. The animal spirits, in these persons, being but languid, are the less active, and, consequently, can give the fewer repulses to the insinuating courtships of somniferous causes. 7. The spirits of these languishers, it is probable, are scant and defective, and, therefore, easily tired by their constant operations, and consequently easily persuaded, either by a command of the heaven-born soul, or an exhalation from the earthy body, to yield to this temporary death. 8. Great security of mind, pleasing fancies, either from imagination, such as some of these are said to be swelled withal, or from the senses affected by musick, dropping waters, gliding rivers, whistling winds, &c. are usual promoters of insensation. By all which you may perceive, that there are more doors to our bed-chamber than one.

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* Aristot. de Somn. & Vigil. c. 3. Ἡ τοῦ πρώτου αἰσθητηρίου κατάληψις πρὸς τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐνεργεῖν. Galen. de Sympt. Caus. c. 8. & de Motu Muscul. c. 4. Zacut. Lusitan. de Med. Princ. Hist. p. 23, 24, 25. Lib. v. Patholog. Lib. de Morb. Cap. c. 16. Lib. de Providentia.

Thus, sir, to satisfy your curiosity, I have traveled somewhat an unbeaten, yet not altogether unpleasant path; and, that I might not return these fruits of my travels as jejune and sterile as the country visited, I have, therefore, taken a slight view of some of the monuments of antiquity, as also of the stately superstructures of the new model, that occurred in our journey. Yet there is one thing remaining, that should have been premised, and that is, an exact history of our damsel; but that you cannot expect, because you did not demand; and, I suppose, you did not demand, because you knew I was unable to perform. Yet, that I might not seem to build on the sands, I shall present you with a short narrative, received since I began this discourse, from a person of known ingenuity and honesty, and therefore most worthy of credit:

'This abstinent is one Martha Taylor, a young damsel, born 'of mean parentage, inhabiting not far from Bakewell in Derby-'shire; who, receiving a blow on the back from a miller, became 'a prisoner to her bed for several days; which being expired, she 'obtained some enlargement for a time, but, by increasing dis-'tempers, was quickly remanded to her bed-prison again; where 'continuing some time, she found, at last, a defect in her gula, 'and, quickly after, a dejection of appetite, so that, about the 'twenty-second of December, Anno 1667, she began to abstain 'from all solid food, and so hath continued (except something so 'small, at the seldom ebbings of her distemper, as is altogether 'inconsiderable) till within a fortnight before the date hereof, 'which amounts to thirteen months and upwards; as also from all 'other sorts, both of meats and drinks, except now and then a 'few drops of the syrup of stewed prunes, water and sugar, or the 'juice of a roasted raisin, &c. but these repasts are used so seldom, 'and in such very small quantities, as are prodigiously insufficient 'for sustentation. She evacuates nothing by urine, or stool; she 'spits not, that I can hear of, but her lips are often dry, for which 'cause she takes water and sugar with a feather, or some other 'liquids; but the palms of her hands are often moist, her coun-'tenance fresh and lively, her voice clear and audible, in discourse 'she is free, her belly flapped to her back-bone, so that it may be 'felt through her intestines, whence a great cavity is admitted 'from the Cartilago ensiformis to the navel; and, though her 'upper parts be less emaciated, though much too, yet her lower 'parts are very languid, and unapt for motion, and the skin 'thereof defiled with a dry pruriginous scurf, for which, of late, 'they have washed them with milk. She sleeps so sparingly, that 'once she continued five weeks waking. I hear nothing of any 'extraordinary previous sanctity, though, since her affliction, 'being confined to her bed, which lieth in a lower room, by the 'fire-side, she hath learned to read; and being visited so plentifully by the curious from many parts, as also by the religious of 'all persuasions, she hath attained some knowledge in sacred 'mysteries, but nothing of enthusiasm, that she pretends unto. 'And, lest she should prove a cheat, she hath been diligently 'watched by physicians, surgeons, and other persons, for, at 'least, a fortnight together, by the appointment of the noble 'Earl of Devonshire, as is already published by Mr. Robins B. of 'D. that is, ballad-maker of Derby, whose ballad, they say, doth 'much excel his book. Likewise several other persons, at other 'times, have been pleased to watch for their own satisfaction, who, 'detecting no fraud, have given the account above-mentioned; 'which was, for the main, confirmed to me by a sophy, the 'renown of whose wisdom hath often made England to ring, who 'assured me, that he had an exact account of her.'

This story being born thus out of due time, it may seem necessary to make some reflexions therefrom on the precedent discourse. And 1. Her age confirms the probability of a ferment in the seminals. 2. An antipathy to meat was not the promoter of the tragedy, but an inability to swallow. 3. Her assumptions of liquors, though seldom and slender, contributed not only to a petite concoction in the ventricle, but also to a fermentation in the heart. 4. Her restrained evacuations, by urine and stool, add much to her moisture, as well as to our trouble to render the assumption and non-evacuation consistent; to the performance whereof, let it be remembered, that, in this respect, she was formerly compared to embryo's, who use no excretion by the fundament, but retain, in their intestines, the more crass feculencies, till the time of their exclusion, the uterine embraces; which is the rather to be admitted, because she, as well as they, receives nothing but liquids; only in this she differs, they evacuate, by the urachus, into the allantoides their urinal excrement, but she hath no excretion of urine at all; the defect whereof may yet be supplied by these three advantages, which she hath above them, as are her expiration, extraordinary transpiration in the palms of her hands, and the far smaller quantity of liquors that she receives. 5. Her non-excretion, and the dryness of her mouth, argue the remanding of the humours to the further services of nature. 6. The atrophy of the parts, and inability to motion, seem to argue a defect of nervous juice and animal spirits; which weakens the necessity of our giving a perfect account, how nature may be completely sustained in the absence of food. 7. Her impetiginous eruptions argue the saltness of her blood, which adds the greater probability to the several saline ferments mentioned before. 8. Her sparing sleep shews not only the no necessity of the ordinary measures of healthful dormitators, but also that sleep may be conciliated otherwise, than by the powerful mediation of fuming food. 9. There is no cause, from any antecedent sanctity, to ascribe this mirandous production to miraculous causes. 10. Her abode, in a lower room, doth accommodate her with a moister air, which is more generative of humours. 11. Her propinquity to the fire conduceth to the extraneous reception of igneous atoms. 12. Her non-pretensions to revelations, and the constant visits she receives from persons of all forms, may serve to occlude, not only the mouths, that are so unevangelical, as to cry her up for a miracle, but those also, that are so unphilosophical, as to cry her down for the cheat of a faction.

Now, sir, should I take my hand from the table, did I not suspect, that some one may possibly reply upon me and say, if I take it to be possible to live without food, it is a wonder I fall not myself to this piece of frugality; I therefore add, though with this jejune table one may possibly live, yet it follows not that I can; for, according to the old saying, 'That, which is one man's meat, is another man's poison;' and, even in physick, it is affirmed by that noble philosopher, Esquire Boyle* (a worthy fellow of the Royal Society, of whose admirable designs I would you should know that I am a great admirer) that some medicines, as particularly salt of amber, is effectual for epileptical children, not so for adult epilepticks; and the deserving Dr. Castle affirms † that Mercur. dulc. is more safe for children, than grown persons, especially if irrigated with acidities. But, sir, I find myself launching into a wide sea; I shall therefore tack about to do my devoir, and crave your acceptance of this slender offering, and your Quietus est for the present, giving you assurance, that, in so doing, you may hereafter command, Sir,

Your observant Servant,

JO. REYNOLDS.

King's-Norton, Feb. 22, 1668.

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* Scept. Chym. p. 251.

† Chym. Gal. p. 26.

A BRIEF RELATION[*]

OF

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S TROUBLES.

WITH THE

Taking away the Lands and Castle of Sherburn in Dorset from him and his Heirs, being his indubitable Inheritance.

London, printed for W. T. 1669.

Quarto, containing Eleven Pages.

To the Right Honourable, the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament. The humble Petition of Carew Raleigh, Esq. only Son of Sir Walter Raleigh, late deceased,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT whereas your petitioner conceiveth, that his late father, Sir Walter Raleigh, was most unjustly and illegally condemned and executed; and his lands and castle of Sherburn wrongfully taken from him and his, as may more at large appear by this brief narrative hereunto annexed; the particulars whereof your petitioner is, upon due proofs, ready to make good: Your petitioner, therefore, humbly submitting to the great justice and integrity of this house (which is no way more manifested, than by relieving the oppressed) humbly craveth, that he may receive such satisfaction, for these his great oppressions and losses, as to the wisdom and clemency of this honourable house shall seem fit.

And your petitioner shall humbly pray, &c.

WHEN King James came into England, he found Sir Walter Raleigh (by the favour of his late mistress Queen Elisabeth) Lord Warden of the Stannaries, lord lieutenant of Devonshire and Cornwall, captain of the guard, and governor of the Isle of Jersey; with a large possession of lands both in England and Ireland. The king for some weeks used him with great kindness, and was pleased to acknowledge divers presents, which he had received from him being in Scotland, for which he gave him thanks. But finding him (as he said himself) a martial man, addicted to foreign affairs, and great actions, he feared, lest he should engage him in a war, a thing most hated, and contrary to the king's nature. Wherefore he began to look upon him with a jealous eye, especially after he had presented him with a book, wherein, with great animosity, he opposed the peace with Spain, then in treaty, persuading the king rather vigorously to prosecute the war with that prince, then in hand, promising, and that with great probability, within few years to reduce the West-Indies to his obedience. But Sir Walter Raleigh's enemies, soon discovering the king's humour, resolved at once to rid the king of this doubt and trouble, and to inrich themselves with the lands and offices of Sir Walter Raleigh. Wherefore they plotted to accuse him, and the Lord Cobham, a simple passionate man, but of very noble birth and great possessions, of high treason. The particulars of their accusation I am utterly ignorant of, and I think all men, both then and now living; only I find in general terms, they were accused for plotting with the Spaniard, to bring in a foreign army, and proclaim the infanta of Spain, Queen of England; but without any proofs, and the thing itself as ridiculous as impossible. However, Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned without any witness brought in against him, and the Lord Cobham, who was pretended to have accused him barely in a letter, in another letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, upon his salvation, cleared him of all treason, or treasonable actions either against king or state to his knowledge; which original letter is now in the hands of Mr. Carew Raleigh, son of Sir Walter, to be produced at any time. Upon this condemnation, all his lands and offices were seized, and himself committed close prisoner to the Tower; but they found his Castle of Sherburn, and the lands thereunto belonging, to be long before entailed on his children, so that he could not forfeit it, but during his own life. And the king, finding in himself the iniquity of Sir Walter's condemnation, gave him all what he had forfeited, again, but still kept him close prisoner. Seven years after his imprisonment, he enjoyed Sherburn; at which time it fell out, that one Mr. Robert Car, a young Scotch gentleman, grew in great favour with the king; and having no fortune, they contrived to lay the foundation of his future greatness upon the ruins of Sir Walter Raleigh. Whereupon they called the conveyance of Sherburn in question, in the Exchequer chamber, and for want of one single word (which word was found notwithstanding in the paper-book, and was only the oversight of a clerk) they pronounced the conveyance invalid, and Sherburn forfeited to the crown; a judgment easily to be foreseen without witchcraft, since his chiefest judge was his greatest enemy, and the case argued between a poor friendless prisoner, and a king of England.

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[*] This is the 100th Number in the Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

Thus was Sherburn given to Sir Robert Car (after Earl of Somerset;) the Lady Raleigh* with her children, humbly and earnestly petitioning the king for compassion on her, and her's, could obtain no other answer from him, but that he mun have the land, he mun have it for Car. She being a woman of a very high spirit, and noble birth and breeding, fell down upon her knees, with her hands heaved up to heaven, and in the bitterness of spirit, beseeched God Almighty to look upon the justice of her cause, and punish those who had so wrongfully exposed her, and her poor children, to ruin and beggary. What hath happened since to that royal family, is too sad and disastrous for me to repeat, and yet too visible not to be discerned. But to proceed: Prince Henry, hearing the king had given Sherburn to Sir Robert Car, came with some anger to his father, desiring he would be pleased to bestow Sherburn upon him, alledging that it was a place of great strength and beauty, which he much liked, but indeed, with an intention to give it back to Sir Walter Raleigh, whom he much esteemed.

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* She was the only daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who was arraigned, in Queen Mary's time, and acquitted. See Fox's Acts and Monuments.

The king who was unwilling to refuse any of that prince's desires, (for indeed, they were most commonly delivered in such language, as sounded rather like a demand than an intreaty) granted his request; and, to satisfy his favourite, gave him five and twenty-thousand pounds in ready money, so far was the king or crown from gaining by this purchase. But that excellent prince, within a few months, was taken away; how and by what means is suspected by all, and I fear was then too well known by many. After his death, the king gave Sherburn again to Sir Robert Car, who not many years after, by the name of Earl of Somerset, was arraigned and condemned for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury, and lost all his lands. Then Sir John Digby, now Earl of Bristol begged Sherburn of the king, and had it. Sir Walter Raleigh, being of a vigorous constitution, and perfect health, had now worn out sixteen years imprisonment, and had seen the disastrous end of all his greatest enemies; so that, new persons and new interests now springing up in court, he found means to obtain his liberty, but upon condition, to go a voyage to Guiana, in discovery of a gold mine. That unhappy voyage is well known, almost, to all men, and how he was betrayed from the very beginning, his letters and designs being discovered to Gondamore, the Spanish Ambassador, whereby he found such opposition upon the place, that though he took and fired the town of St. Thoma, yet he lost his eldest son in that service, and being desperately sick himself, was made frustrate of all his hopes.

Immediately upon his return home, he was made prisoner, and by the violent pursuit of Gondamore, and some others, who could not think their estates safe, while his head was upon his shoulders, the king resolved to take advantage of his former condemnation sixteen years past, being not able to take away his life for any new action; and though he had given him a commission under the broad-seal to execute martial law upon his own soldiers, which was conceived, by the best lawyers, a full pardon for any offence committed before that time, without any further trouble of the law, cut off his head.

Here justice was indeed blind, blindly executing one and the same person upon one and the same condemnation, for things contradictory; for Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned for being a friend to the Spaniard, and lost his life for being their utter enemy. Thus kings, when they will do what they please, please not him they should, God, and, having made their power subservient to their will, deprive themselves of that just power whereby others are subservient to them. To proceed: Mr. Carew Raleigh, only son of Sir Walter, being at this time a youth of about thirteen, bred at Oxford, after five years, came to court, and, by the favour of the right honourable William Earl of Pembroke, his noble kinsman, hoped to obtain some redress in his misfortunes; but the king, not liking his countenance, said, he appeared to him like the ghost of his father; whereupon the earl advised him to travel, which he did until the death of king James, which happened about a year after. Then coming over, and a parliament sitting, he, according to the custom of this land, addressed himself to them by petition to be restored in blood, thereby to inable him to inherit such lands, as might come unto him either as heir to his father, or any other way; but, his petition having been twice read in the lords house, King Charles sent Sir James Fullerton (then of the bed-chamber) unto Mr. Raleigh, to command him to come unto him; and, being brought into the king's chamber by the said Sir James, the king, after using him with great civility, notwithstanding told him plainly, that, when he was prince, he had promised the Earl of Bristol to secure his title to Sherburn against the heirs of Sir Walter Raleigh; whereupon the earl had given him, then prince, ten-thousand pounds, that now he was bound to make good his promise, being king; that therefore, unless he would quit all his right and title to Sherbourn, he neither could nor would pass his bill of restoration. Mr. Raleigh urged the justice of his cause; that he desired only the liberty of a subject, and to be left to the law, which was never denied any free-man. Notwithstanding all which allegations, the king was resolute in his denial, and so left him. After which Sir James Fullerton used many arguments to persuade submission to the king's will; as, the impossibility of contesting with kingly power; the not being restored in blood, which brought along with it so many inconveniencies, that it was not possible without it to possess or enjoy any lands or estate in this kingdom; the not being in a condition, if his cloke were taken from his back, or hat from his head, to sue for restitution. All which things being considered, together with splendid promises of great preferment in court, and particular favours from the king not improbable, wrought much in the mind of young Mr. Raleigh, being a person not full twenty years old, left friendless and fortuneless, and prevailed so far, that he submittted to the king's will.

Whereupon there was an act passed for his restoration, and, together with it, a settlement of Sherburn to the Earl of Bristol; and, in shew of some kind of recompence, four-hundred pounds a year pension, during life, granted to Mr. Raleigh after the death of his mother, who had that sum paid unto her, during life, in lieu of jointure.

Thus have I, with as much brevity, humility, and candour (as the nature of the case will permit) related the pressures, force, and injustice committed upon a poor oppressed, though not undeserving *, family; and have forborne to specify the names of those,

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* Sir Walter Raleigh discovered Virginia at his own charge, which cost him forty-thousand pounds. He was the first, of all the English, that discovered Guiana in the West-Indies. He took the Islands of Fayall from the Spaniard, and did most signal and eminent service at the taking of Cadiz. He took from the Spaniard the greatest and richest Carick, that ever came into England: And another ship laden with nothing but gold, pearls, and cochineal.

who were instruments of this evil, lest I should be thought to have an inclination to scandalise particular, and perchance noble families.

Upon the consideration of all which, I humbly submit myself to the commons of England, now represented in parliament; desiring, according to their great wisdom and justice, that they will right me and my posterity, according to their own best liking; having, in my own person (though bred at court) never opposed any of their just rights and privileges, and, for the future, being resolved to range myself under the banner of the commons of England; and, so far forth as education and fatherly instruction can prevail, promise the same for two sons whom God hath sent me.

THE

MEMOIRS of MONSIEUR DU VALL,

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF HIS LIFE AND DEATH.

Whereunto are annexed his last Speech and Epitaph. Intended as a severe Reflection on the too great Fondness of English Ladies towards French Footmen, which, at that Time of Day, was a too common complaint.

——————Si quis
Opprobriis dignos latraverit, integer ipse,
Solventur risu tabulæ.—————— Horat.

London: Printed 1670. Quarto, containing nineteen pages.

CLAUDE du Vall was born, anno 1643, at Domfront in Normandy, a place very famous for the excellency and healthfulness of the air, and for the production of mercurial wits. At the time of his birth, (as we have since found, by rectification of his nativity, by accidents) there was a conjunction of Venus and Mercury, certain presages of very good fortune, but of a short continuance. His father was Pierre du Vall, a miller; his mother Marguerite De la Roche, a taylor's daughter. I hear no hurt of his parents, they lived in as much reputation and honesty, as their conditions and occupations would permit.

There are some that confidently aver he was born in Smock-alley without Bishopsgate; that his father was a cook, and sold boiled beef and porridge. But this report is as false as it is defamatory and malicious, and it is easy to disprove it several ways; I will only urge one demonstrative argument against it: If he had been born there, he had been no Frenchman, but if he had been no Frenchman, it is absolutely impossible he should have been so much beloved in his life, and lamented at his death by the English ladies.

His father and mother had not been long married, when Marguerite longed for pudding and mince pye, which the good man was fain to beg for her at an English merchant's in Rouen, which was a certain sign of his inclination to England. They were very merry at his christening, and his father, without any grumbling, paid also then the fees for his burial; which is an extraordinary custom at Domfront, not exercised any where else in all France, and of which I account myself obliged to give the reader a particular account.

In the days of Charles the Ninth of that name, the curate of Domfront (for so the French name him whom we call parson and vicar) out of his own head, began a strange innovation and oppression in that parish; that is, he absolutely denied to baptise any of their children, if they would not at the same time pay him also the funeral fees; and what was worse, he would give them no reason for this alteration, but only promised to enter bond for himself and his successors, that hereafter all persons, paying so at their christening, should be buried gratis: What think ye the poor people did in this case? They did not pull his surplice over his ears, nor tear his mass-book, nor throw crickets at his head; no, they humbly desired him to alter his resolution, and amicably reasoned it with him; but he, being a capricious fellow, gave them no other answer, but, 'What I have done, I have done, Take your remedy where you can find it; 'tis not for men of my coat to give an account of my actions to the laity.' Which was a surly and quarrelsome answer, and unbefitting a priest. Yet this did not provoke his parishioners to speak one ill word against his person or function, or to do any illegal act. They only took the regular way of complaining of him to his ordinary, the Archbishop of Rouen. Upon summons, he appears; the Archbishop takes him up roundly, tells him. He deserves deprivation, if that can be proved which is objected against him: And asked him, What he had to say for himself? After his due reverence, he answers, That he acknowledges the fact, to save the time of examining witnesses; but desires his Grace to hear his reasons, and then do unto him as he shall see cause. 'I have been,' says he, 'curate of this parish these seven years; in that time I have, one year with another, baptised a hundred children, and buried not one. At first I rejoiced at my good fortune, to be placed in so good an air; but, looking into the register-book, I found, for a hundred years back, near the same number yearly baptised, and not one above five years old buried: And, which did more amaze me, I find the number of the communicants to be no greater now than they were then: This seemed to me a great mystery; but, upon further enquiry, I found out the true cause of it; for all that are born at Domfront were hanged at Rouen. I did this to keep my parishioners from hanging, encouraging them to die at home, the burial duties being already paid.'

The Archbishop demanded of the parishioners, Whether this was true or not? They answered, That too many of them came to that unlucky end at Rouen. 'Well then,' said he, 'I approve of what the curate has done, and will cause my secretary, *in perpetuam rei* *memoriam*, to make an act of it;' which act the curate carried home with him, and the parish chearfully submitted to it, and have found much good by it; for, within less than twenty years, there died fifteen of natural deaths, and now there die three or four yearly.

But, to return to Du Vall, it will not, I hope, be expected that I should, in a true history, play the romancer, and describe all his actions from his cradle to his saddle, telling what childish sports he was best at, and who were his play-fellows; that were enough to make the truth of the whole narration suspected; only one important accident I ought not to omit.

An old friar, accounted very expert in physiognomy and judicial astrology, came on a time to see old Du Vall and his wife (for so we call him to distinguish him from his son). They had then, by extraordinary good fortune, some Norman wine, that is, cider, in their house, of which they were very liberal to this old friar, whom they made heartily welcome, thinking nothing too good for him.

For those silly people, who know no better, account it a great honour and favour, when any religious person, as a priest or friar, are pleased to give them a visit, and to eat and drink with them. As these three were sitting by the fire, and chirping over their cups, in comes Claude, and broke the friar's draught, who fixed his eyes attentively upon him, without speaking one word for the space of half an hour, to the amazement of Claude's parents, who, seeing the friar neither speak nor drink, imagined he was sick, and courteously asked him, 'Brother, what ails you? Are you not well? Why do you look so upon our son?' The friar, having roused himself out of his extasy, 'Is that stripling,' says he, 'your son?' To which, after they had replied, Yes, 'Come hither, boy,' quoth he; and, looking upon his head, he perceived he had two crowns, a certain sign that he should be a traveller. 'This child,' says he, 'will be a traveller, and he shall never, during his life, be long without money; and, wherever he goes, he will be in extraordinary favour with women of the highest condition.' Now, from this story, the certainty of physiognomy and judicial astrology is evidently proved; so that from henceforward whoever shall presume to deny it, ought not to be esteemed a person in his right wits.

Pierre and Marguerite looked upon the friar as an oracle, and mightily rejoiced at their son's good fortune; but it could not enter into their imagination, how this should come to pass, having nothing to leave him as a foundation to build so great a structure upon.

The boy grew up, and spoke the language of the country fluently, which is lawyers French, and which (if I should not offend the ladies, in comparing our language with theirs) is as much inferior to that at Paris, as Devonshire or Somersetshire English to that spoken at White-hall.

I speak not this to disgrace him, for, could he have spoke never so good French, it is not in such high esteem there as it is here; and it very rarely happens, that, upon that account alone, any great man's daughter runs away with a lacquey.

When he was about thirteen or fourteen years old, his friends mustered their forces together to set him up in the world. They bought him shoes and stockings, for (according to the laudable custom of that country, of inuring their youth to hardship) till then he had never worn any. They also bought him a suit of the brokers, gave him their blessing and twenty sous in his pocket, and threw an old shoe after him, and bid him go seek his fortune. This throwing of an old shoe after him was looked upon as a great piece of prodigality in Normandy, where they are so considerable a merchandise; the citizens wives of the best quality wearing old shoes chalked, whence, I suppose, our custom of wearing white shoes derives its original.

His friends advised him to go to Paris, assuring him he would not fail of a condition there, if any could be had in the world; for so the French call Paris. He goes to Rouen, and fortunately meets with post-horses, which were to be returned, one of which he was proffered to ride *gratis*, only upon promise to help to dress them at night. And, which was yet more fortunate, he meets several young English gentlemen, with their governors, going to Paris, to learn their exercises, to fit them to go a wooing at their return home; who were infinitely ambitious of his company, not doubting but, in those two days travel, they should pump many considerable things out of him, both as to the language and customs of France, and, upon that account, they did very willingly defray his charges.

They arrive at Paris, and light in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, the quarter wherein generally the English lodge, near whom also, our Du Vall did earnestly desire to plant himself. Not long after, by the intercession of some of the English gentlemen (for in this time he had indeared himself to them) he was admitted to run on errands, and do the meanest offices at the St. Esprit, in the Rue de Boucherie: a house, in those days, betwixt a tavern, an alehouse, a cook's shop, and a bawdy-house, and, upon some of these accounts, much frequented by the English his patrons. In this condition he lived unblameable, during some time, unless you esteem it a fault to be scabby, and a little given to filching qualities, very frequent in persons of his nation and condition.

The restoration of his majesty, which was in 1660, brought multitudes of all nations into England, to be spectators of our jubilee; but, more particularly, it drained Paris of all the English there, as being most concerned in so great a happiness. One of them, a person of quality, entertained Du Vall as his servant, and brought him over with him.

What fortunes he ran through afterwards, is known to every one, and how good a proficient he was in the laudable qualities of gaming and making love. But one vice he had which I cannot pardon him, because it is not of the French growth, but northern and ungenteel, I mean that of drinking; for, that very night he was surprised, he was overtaken.

By these courses (for I dare not call them vices) he soon fell into want of money, to maintain his sport. That, and his stars, but chiefly his own valour, inclined him to take the generous way of padding; in which he quickly became so famous, that, in a proclamation for the taking several notorious highway-men, he had the honour to be named first.

This is the place where I should set down several of his exploits; but I omit them, both as being well known, and because I cannot find in them more ingenuity than was practised before by Hind and Hannum, and several other mere English thieves.

Yet, to do him right, one story there is that savours of gallantry, and I should not be an honest historian, if I should conceal it.

He, with his squadron, overtakes a coach, which they had set over night, having intelligence of a booty of four-hundred pounds in it. In the coach was a knight, his lady, and only one serving-maid, who, perceiving five horse-men making up to them, presently imagined that they were beset; and they were confirmed in this apprehension, by seeing them whisper to one another, and ride backwards and forwards. The lady, to shew she was not afraid, takes a flageolet out of her pocket, and plays: Du Vall takes the hint, plays also, and excellently well, upon a flageolet of his own, and in this posture he rides up to the coach-side. 'Sir,' says he, to the person in the coach, 'your lady plays excellently, and I doubt not but that she dances as well; will you please to walk out of the coach, and let me have the honour to dance one currant with her upon the heath.' 'Sir,' said the person in the coach, 'I dare not deny any thing to one of your quality and good mind; you seem a gentleman, and your request is very reasonable:' which said, the lacquey opens the boot, out comes the knight, Du Vall leaps lightly off his horse, and hands the lady out of the coach. They danced, and here it was that Du Vall performed marvels; the best master in London, except those that are French, not being able to shew such footing as he did in his great riding French boots. The dancing being over, he waits on the lady to her coach. As the knight was going in, says Du Vall to him, 'Sir, you have forgot to pay the musick:' 'No, I have not,' replies the knight, and, putting his hand under the seat of the coach, pulls out a hundred pounds in a bag, and delivers it to him; which Du Vall took with a very good grace, and courteously answered, 'Sir, you are liberal, and shall have no cause to repent your being so; this liberality of yours shall excuse you the other three-hundred pounds,' and, giving him the word, that, if he met with any more of the crew, he might pass undisturbed, he civilly takes his leave of him.

This story, I confess, justifies the great kindness the ladies had for Du Vall; for in this, as in an epitome, are contained all things that set a man off advantageously, and make him appear, as the phrase is, *much a gentleman.* First, here was valour, that he and but four more durst assault a knight, a lady, a waiting-gentlewoman, a lacquey, a groom that rid by to open the gates, and the coachman, they being six to five, odds at football; and besides, Du Vall had much the worst cause, and reason to believe, that whoever should arrive, would range themselves on the enemy's party. Then he shewed his invention and sagacity, that he could *sur le champ*, and, without studying, make that advantage of the lady's playing on the flageolet. He evinced his skill in instrumental musick, by playing on his flageolet; in vocal by his singing; for (as I should have told you before) there being no violins, Du Vall sung the currant himself. He manifested his agility of body, by lightly dismounting off his horse, and with ease and freedom getting up again, when he took his leave; his excellent deportment, by his incomparable dancing, and his graceful manner of taking the hundred pounds; his generosity, in taking no more; his wit and eloquence, and readiness at repartees, in the whole discourse with the knight and lady, the greatest part of which I have been forced to omit.

And here (could I dispense with truth and impartiality, necessary ingredients of a good history) I could come off with flying colours, leave Du Vall in the ladies bosoms, and not put myself out of a possibility of ever being in favour with any of them.

But I must tell the story of the *sucking-bottle;* which, if it seem to his disadvantage, set that other against it which I am come from relating. The adventure of the sucking-bottle was as follows:

It happened another time, as Du Vall was upon his vocation of robbing, on Black-heath, he meets with a coach richly fraught with ladies of quality, and with one child, who had a silver sucking-bottle; he robs them rudely, takes away their money, watches, rings, and even the little child's sucking-bottle: Nor would he, upon the child's tears, nor the lady's earnest intercession, be wrought upon to restore it; till at last one of his companions (whose name I wish I could put down here, that he may find friends when he shall stand in need of them) a good-natured person (for the French are strangers both to the name and thing) forced him to deliver it. I shall make no reflexions upon this story, both because I do not design to render him odious, or make this pamphlet more prolix.

The noise of the proclamation, and the rewards promised to those who should take any therein named, made Du Vall retire to France. At Paris he lives highly, makes great boastings of the success of his arms and amours in England, proudly bragging, he could never encounter with any of either sex that could resist him. He had not been long in France, but he had a fit of his old disease, want of money, which he found to be much augmented by the thin air of France; and therefore, by the advice of his physicians, lest the disease should seize upon his vitals, and make him lie by it, he resolves to transport himself into England; which accordingly he did, for, in truth, the air of France is not good for persons of his constitution, it being the custom there to travel in great companies well armed, and with little money; the danger of being resisted, and the danger of being taken is much greater there; and the *quarry* much lesser than in England: For, if by chance a dapper fellow, with fine black eyes, and a white peruke be taken there, and found guilty of robbing, all the women in the town do not presently take the alarm, and run to the king to beg his life.

To England he comes, but, alas! his reign proves but short, for, within a few months after his return, before he had done any thing of great glory or advantage to himself, he fell into the hands of justice, being taken drunk at the Hole in the Wall in Chandois-street; and well it was for the bailiff and his men that he was drunk, otherwise they had tasted of his prowess; for he had in his pocket three pistols, one whereof would shoot twice, and by his side an excellent sword, which, managed by such a hand and heart, must, without doubt, have done wonders. Nay, I have heard it attested by those that knew how good a marksman he was, and his excellent way of fencing, that, had he been sober, it was impossible he could have killed less than ten. They farther add, upon their own knowledge, he would have been cut as small as herbs for the pot, before he would have yielded to the bailiff of Westminster; that is to say, he would have died in the place, had not some great person been sent to him, to whom he might with honour have delivered his sword and himself. But taken he was, and that too *a bon marche;* without the expence of blood or treasure committed to Newgate, arraigned, convicted, condemned, and on Friday, January the 21st, executed at Tyburn, in the twenty-seventh year of his age (which number is made up of three times nine) and left behind him a sad instance of the irresistible influence of the stars, and the fatality of climacterical years.

There were a great company of ladies, and those not of the meanest degree, that visited him in prison, interceded for his pardon, and accompanied him to the gallows; a catalogue of whose names I have by me, nay, even of those who, when they visited him, durst not pull off their vizards, for fear of shewing their eyes swoln, and their cheeks blubbered with tears.

When I first put pen to paper, I was in great indignation, and fully resolved, nay, and I think I swore, that I would print this muster-roll. But, upon second thoughts, and calmer considerations, I have altered my fierce resolution, partly because I would not do my nation so great a disgrace, and especially that part of it to whom I am so intirely devoted. But principally, because I hoped milder physick might cure them of this French disease, of this inordinate appetite to mushrooms, of this degenerous doating upon strangers.

After he had hanged a convenient time, he was cut down, and, by persons well dressed, carried into a mourning-coach, and so conveyed to the Tangier Tavern in St. Giles's, where he lay in state all that night, the room hung with black cloth, the hearse covered with escutcheons, eight wax tapers burning, and as many tall gentlemen with long black clokes attending; *mum* was the word, great silence expected from all that visited, for fear of disturbing this sleeping lion. And this ceremony had lasted much longer, had not one of the judges (whose name I must not mention here, lest he should incur the displeasure of the ladies) sent to disturb this pageantry. But I dare set down a mark whereby you may guess at him. It is one betwixt whom and the highway-men there is little love lost, one who thought the fellow had honour enough done him, that he was not buried under the gallows.

This story of lying in state seemed to me so improbable, and such an audacious mockery of the laws, that, till I had it again and again from several gentlemen, who had the curiosity to see him, I durst not put it down here, for fear of being accounted a notorious lyar.

The night was stormy and rainy, as if the heavens had sympathised with the ladies, and ecchoed again their sighs, and wept over again their tears.

As they were undressing him, in order to his lying in state, one of his friends put his hands in his pocket, and found therein the speech, which he intended to have made, written with a very fair hand; a copy whereof I have, with much cost and industry, procured, and yet do freely make it publick, because I would not have any thing wanting, in this narration.

DU VALL'S SPEECH.

I SHOULD be very ungrateful (which, amongst persons of honour, is a greater crime, than that for which I die) should I not acknowledge my obligation to you, fair English ladies. I could not have hoped, that a person of my nation, birth, education, and condition could have had so many and powerful charms to captivate you all, and to tie you so firmly to my interest, that you have not abandoned me in distress, or in prison; that you have accompanied me to this place of death, of ignominious death.

From the experience of your true loves I speak it, nay, I know I speak your hearts; you could be content to die with me now, and even here, could you be assured of enjoying your beloved Du Vall in the other world.

How mightily, and how generously, have you rewarded my little services! Shall I ever forget that universal consternation amongst you, when I was taken? Your frequent, your chargeable visits to me at Newgate? Your shrieks, your swoonings, when I was condemned? Your zealous intercession and importunity for my pardon?

You could not have erected fairer pillars of honour and respect to me, had I been a Hercules, and could have got fifty sons in a night.

It has been the misfortune of several English gentlemen, in the times of the late usurpation, to die at this place, upon the honour-ablest occasion that ever presented itself, the endeavouring to restore their exiled sovereign: Gentlemen, indeed, who had ventured their lives, and lost their estates in the service of their prince; but they all died unlamented, and uninterceded for, because they were English. How much greater, therefore, is my obligation, whom you love better than your own countrymen, better than your own dear husbands? Nevertheless, ladies, it does not grieve me, that your intercession for my life proved ineffectual; for now I shall die with little pain, a healthful body, and, I hope, a prepared mind. For my confessor has shewed me the evil of my way, and wrought in me a true repentance; witness these tears, these unfeigned tears. Had you prevailed for my life, I must, in gratitude, have devoted it wholly to you; which yet would have been but short; for, had you been sound, I should have soon died of a consumption; if otherwise, of the pox.

He was buried with many flambeaux, and a numerous train of mourners, most whereof were of the beautiful sex. He lies in the middle isle, in Covent-Garden church, under a plain white marble stone, whereon are curiously engraved the Du Vall's Arms, and, under them, written in black, this epitaph.

DU VALL'S EPITAPH.

Here lies Du Vall: Reader, if male thou art,
Look to thy purse! if female, to thy heart.
Much havock has he made of both; for all
Men he made stand, and women he made fall.
The second conqu'ror of the Norman race;
Knights to his arms did yield, and ladies to his face;
Old Tyburn's glory, England's illustrious thief;
Du Vall, the ladies joy; Du Vall, the ladies grief.

The Author's Apology, why he conceals his Name.

Some there are, without doubt, that will look upon this harmless pamphlet, as a libel and invective satire, because the author has not put his name to it; but the bookseller's printing his true name, and place of abode, wipes off that objection.

But, if any person be yet so curious, as to inquire after me, I can assure him, I have conjured the stationer not to declare my name so much as to his own wife; not that I am ashamed of the design, no, I glory in it; nor much of the manner of writing, for I have seen books, with the authors names to them, not much better written; neither do I fear I should be proud, if the book takes, and crest-fallen, if it should not; I am not a person of such a tender constitution:

——— Valeat res ludicra, si me
Palma negata macrum, donata reducat opimum.

But, upon other pressing and important reasons, though I am resolved not to be known, yet I intend to give you some account of myself, enough to exempt me from being so pitiful and inconsiderable a fellow, as, possibly, some incensed females may endeavour to represent me.

I was bred a scholar, but let none reproach me with it, for I have no more learning left, than what may become a well-bred gentleman. I have had the opportunity, if not the advantage, of seeing all France and Italy very particularly; Germany and the Spanish Netherlands *en passant*. I have walked a currant, in the hands of Monsieur Provosts, the French king's dancing-master; and several times pushed at the *plastron* of Monsieur Filboy le Vieux. Now, I hope, these qualities, joined with a white peruke, are sufficient to place any person *hors de la portèe*, out of the reach of contempt.

At my return from France, I was advised by my friends to settle myself in the world, that is, to marry. When I went first amongst the ladies upon that account, I found them very obliging, and, as I thought, *coming*. I wondered mightily, what might be the reason could make me so acceptable; but afterwards found it was the scent of France, which was then strong upon me; for, according as that perfume decayed, my mistresses grew colder and colder.

But that, which precipitated me into ruin, was this following accident. Being once in the company of some ladies, amongst other discourses, we fell upon the comparison betwixt the French and English nations: And here it was, that I, very imprudently, maintained, even against my mistress, that a French lacquey was not so good as an English gentleman. The scene was immediately changed; they all looked upon me with anger and disdain; they said I was unworthy of that little breeding I had acquired, of that small parcel of wit (for they would not have me esteemed a mere fool, because I had been so often in their company) which nature had bestowed upon me, since I made so ill use of it, as to maintain such paradoxes. My mistress for ever forbids me the house, and, the next day, sends me my letters, and demands her own; bidding me pick up a wife at the plough-tail, for it was impossible any woman well bred would ever cast her eyes upon me.

I thought this disgrace would have brought me to my grave; it impaired my health, robbed me of my good humour. I retired from all company, as well of men as of women, and have lived a solitary melancholy life, and continued a batchelor, to this day.

I repented heartily, that, at my return from my travels, I did not put myself into a livery, and, in that habit, go and seek entertainment in some great man's house; for it was impossible, but good must have arrived to me from so doing. It was *a la mode* to have French servants; and no person of quality, but esteemed it a disgrace, if he had not two or three of that nation in his retinue; so that I had no reason to fear, but that I should soon find a condition.

After I had insinuated myself into one of these houses, I had just reason to expect, if I could have concealed myself from being an Englishman, that some young lady with a great portion should run away with me, and then I had been made for ever. But, if I had followed bad courses, and robbed upon the highway, as the subject of this history did, I might have expected the same civilities in prison, the same intercessions for my life, and, if those had not prevailed, the same glorious death, lying in state in Tangier Tavern, and being embalmed in the ladies tears. And who is there, worthy the name of a man, that would not prefer such a death before a mean, solitary, and inglorious life?

I design but two things in the writing this book: One is, that the next Frenchman that is hanged may not cause an uprore in this imperial city; which I doubt not but I have effected.

The other is a much harder task: To set my countrymen on even terms with the French, as to the English ladies affections: If I should bring this about, I should esteem myself to have contributed much to the good of this kingdom.

One remedy there is, which, possibly, may conduce something towards it.

I have heard, that there is a new invention of transfusing the blood of one animal into another, and that it has been experimented by putting the blood of a sheep into an Englishman. I am against that way of experiments; for, should we make all Englishmen sheep, we should soon be a prey to the *loure*.

I think I can propose the making that experiment, a more advantageous way. I would have all gentlemen, who have been a full year, or more, out of France, be let blood weekly, or oftener, if they can bear it. Mark how much they bleed; transfuse so much French lacquey's blood into them; replenish these last out of the English footmen, for it is no matter what becomes of them. Repeat this operation *toties quoties*, and, in process of time, you will find this event: Either the English gentlemen will be as much beloved as the French lacquies, or the French lacquies as little esteemed as the English gentlemen.

But to conclude my apology: I have certainly great reason to conceal my name; for, if I suffered so severely for only speaking one word in a private company, what punishment will be great enough for a relapsed heretick publishing a book to the same purpose? I must certainly do as that Irish gentleman that let a scape in the presence of his mistress; run my country, shave my head, and bury myself in a monastery, if there be any charitable enough to harbour a person guilty of such heinous crimes.

THE

ROYAL FISHING REVIVED.

Wherein is demonstrated, from what Causes the Dutch have upon the Matter ingrossed the Fishing Trade in his Majesty's Seas, wherein the Principles of all the Trades they drive in the World are chiefly founded: As also from what Causes the English have lost the Fishing Trade, to the Endangering the small Remainder of the Trades they yet enjoy. Together with Expedients by which the Fishing Trade may be redeemed by the English; and Proposals for Carrying on so great a Work. Humbly offered to the Consideration of the King and Parliament.

London: Printed by Thomas Ratcliffe for the Author, 1670. Quarto, containing twelve Pages.

Here we are presented with the State of the Fishery in the British Seas, when King Charles II. seemed inclined to maintain the Right of his Subjects, and to protect them in the Employment of that valuable Branch of Trade. It is but short, but it methodically and rationally gives us the Advantages which the Dutch gain by that Trade, with the Reason of those Advantages: The Hinderances, which obstruct the English in the Prosecution thereof: The Means whereby the English may redeem the Fishing Trade: And so concludes with Proposals for carrying on this great Work.

ADVANTAGES the Dutch have in the fishing trade, with the reasons of them; viz.

1. Multitudes of men, above any other nation.
2. Cheapness of building all sorts of ships for this trade, above any other place.
3. Their convenient building ships for this trade, above any other place.
4. Greatness of vent in foreign trade for all sorts of commodities, returned in barter for their fish, above any other place.
5. Their excellency in packing and curing all sorts of fish (except red-herrings) above any other place.

THE REASONS.

First, Their multitudes of mariners and fishermen proceed not from the conveniency of their coasts, for all the fish they take are generally upon the coasts of England, Scotland, and the Orcades; and so might be more conveniently caught by us: Nor from the conveniency of their harbours, ours in number and excellency far exceeding theirs: But from the freedom that they give people of all nations, above any other place; whereby those people enjoying what they desire, and being kept in constant employment, are no way subject to sedition or murmur against the state; to the incomparable strengthening as well as inriching thereof.

Secondly, The cheapness of their building ships for this trade proceeds: 1. From the great quantities and cheapness of timber they have down the Rhine and Maeze, as also out of Norway, and the Baltick Sea, in return of the fish and other commodities vented there by them. 2. Cheapness of pitch, tar, hemp, and iron, &c. above any other place, which are in great measures returned upon the product of their fish. 3. Lowness for interest of money, above any other place.

Thirdly, Their convenient building of ships for this trade, is from the encouragement and freedom they give to all sorts of builders of all nations, whereby ingenuity and industry is improved, as also the builders, above any other place.

Fourthly, The greatness of vent of all sorts of commodities, returned in product of the fish, is from the lowness of their customs for the same, and lowness of interest money; conveniency and cheapness of shipping, above any other place.

Fifthly, The excellency and reputation of curing and packing their fish, proceeds from the careful inspection of the States of the United Netherlands, above any other place; and their curing on ship-board, and then repacking.

These advantages have been in process of time so well improved by the Dutch, that they have not only gained to themselves almost the sole fishing in his majesty's seas; but principally upon this account have very near beat us out of all our other most profitable trades in all parts of the world. Nor have the English any reason to hope to retain the residue of those trades, which they yet enjoy, unless they may be relieved in the fishing trade, from these disadvantages and inconveniences following; which are,

First, Scarcity of people: Although the coast of England, with a limitation of five miles from it, will maintain more people than all the United Netherlands.

Secondly, Dearness of building ships for this trade; so that a Dutch ship, of equal dimension, is built for half the price.

Thirdly, Inconvenient building of shipping; so as a Dutch ship, of equal bigness, is sailed with half the hands.

Fourthly, Want of vent for all sorts of commodities, returned in barter for the fish in foreign trade.

Fifthly, The negligent and corrupt curing of fish by the English (except red-herrings) whereby their reputation is far less than those that are cured by the Dutch.

THE REASONS.

First, Scarcity of people upon the coast of England, is occasioned by our peopling the American plantations, the re-peopling Ireland, since the great massacre there, the late great plague in the year 1665, and the law against naturalisation, which permits no foreigner to partake equal freedom with the English in this trade; and corporations, which restrain the freedom of this trade, to the very few freemen of them.

Secondly, Dearness of shipping for this trade proceeds: 1. From the dearness and scarcity of timber in England. 2. From the act of navigation, which not only restrains the importation of timber, pitch, tar, hemp, and iron, to these dear built ships, and the ships of the natives of the places, from whence they are had, whether they have ships or not, but also it gives freedom to the Dutch to import all sorts of manufactories made of these growths, which they acquire for half the price the English can; whereby the English nation have wholly lost the trade for fitting up ships, for this, or any other trade.

Thirdly, The inconvenient building of ships for this trade, is from restraining the building of ships to the English only, who are very few, and know no other way.

Fourthly, The want of vent for all sorts of commodities, returned in barter for fish, proceeds: 1. From the greatness of the customs upon those commodities, which are twenty times more than in the United Netherlands. 2. The dearness of the ships in which they must be vented. 3. The inconveniency of those ships, compared with the Dutch, for any foreign trade with those commodities. 4. The height of interest of money here in England, above the United Netherlands; so as, besides the height of customs, those ships of the English being twice so dear, and sailed with double the hands that those of the United Netherlands are, and paying above one third interest more, the English merchant is here necessarily incumbent to a three-fold charge, more than the Dutch merchant.

Fifthly, The negligent and corrupt curing of fish, caught by the English, proceeds from the want of a constant council of trade, which may inspect and govern the fishing-trade.

The Expedients whereby the English may redeem the Fishing-Trade.

First, For a supply of men, upon all occasions, to carry on this great work, it is proposed, that it may be free for all sorts of foreigners to partake and enjoy equal freedom, with the natural subjects of England, in their persons and estates, in the fishing-trade; and that all possible security and encouragement be given to all sorts of foreigners who shall assist us therein.

Secondly, That all restraints by the freedom of corporations be taken away, and no person excluded in this trade.

Thirdly, That all sorts of begging persons, and all other poor people (not sick, or impotent) may be employed therein.

Fourthly, That all people, condemned for less crimes than blood, be compelled to redeem their crimes, and in some measure to make compensation by extraordinary labour in this trade.

Fifthly, That all persons in prison for debt, and not able to pay, may be employed therein.

Sixthly, That the act of navigation be repealed, whereby all sorts of foreign ships may be employed in this trade: And that it be free to import pitch, tar, hemp, iron, and timber, whereby the English may be enabled to employ all those hands in fitting up ships for this trade, as well as the Dutch.

Seventhly, That all customs for commodities, returned for the fish, vented in foreign parts, be taken off, and an equal excise to be imposed in lieu thereof; so that, as multitudes and concourse of people increase, and by consequence a greater consumption, his majesty's revenue will thereby be proportionably increased, without any prejudice to this trade.

Eighthly, That the statute, *de Donis Conditionalibus*, may stand in force, so that fines shall be no bar to the heirs in tail, nor recoveries to those in remainder; whereby a stock, as well in this trade as others, of all those monies, which are spent in buying and mortgaging land, will generate into a common bank of trade; and those numerous companies of other bankers, usurers, scriveners, and sollicitors, will be necessitated to seek better means of living, and thereby the vanity of luxurious persons, restrained to the bounds of their estates: As also the interest of money will become as low here, as in the United Netherlands.

Ninthly, Yet, for encouraging foreigners to inhabit and plant, as well as trade with us, it may be lawful for all foreigners to purchase lands here, to them and their heirs; whereby the nation would be inriched as well as peopled; and whereby vast sums of money, which are now employed by the Dutch at interest, to the impoverishing the nation, might be converted to the inriching of it.

Tenthly, That all possible encouragement be given as well to foreigners as natives, for building ships for this trade, in Ireland, Virginia, and New-England.

Eleventhly, That a constant council of trade be erected by parliament, which may inspect this trade; and during the intervals, with his majesty's approbation, may make by-laws until the next session of parliament.

Proposals for carrying on this great Work.

First, That commissioners be impowered by act of parliament, to enquire into all abuses and deceits in the management and government of hospitals, and of all concealments and mis-conversions of any part of the revenues thereof; and that care be taken for the future to improve the revenues of the said hospitals to the best advantage; and that all such monies, concealed or mis-employed, together with the improvements and overplus (over and above what shall be necessarily laid out for the maintenance and repairs of the said hospitals, &c.) may be brought into his majesty's bank for carrying on the royal fishing.

Secondly, That the said commissioners enquire what sums of monies at any time have been given to charitable uses and are concealed, or have been mis-employed by any persons to whose trust the same were committed: And that all such monies may be brought into the bank, for carrying on the royal fishing.

Thirdly, That one year's value of the annual assessments to the poor, may be advanced by the respective parishes of England, to be employed in buying and building convenient houses, and for a stock in setting the poor at work, to carry on the royal fishing:

By means whereof the charge of maintaining the poor, in all parishes, will proportionally lessen, to the universal easement and benefit of the whole nation.

Fourthly, That some reasons for altering or repealing the statute of 43 Elis. c. 2. intituled, *Who shall be Overseers for the Poor, their Office, Duty, and Accounts*, may be considered, for the benefit of the royal fishing.

Fifthly, That the children of all lazy and idle persons, living upon forests, wastes, and chaces, may be employed in the royal fishing, and that those wastes may be improved for a publick good, and the revenue arising thereby employed, for carrying on the royal fishing.

Sixthly, That all victuallers, higlers, badgers, &c. formerly licensed by mayors and justices of the peace, &c. may be hereafter licensed by commissioners impowered by act of parliament, and the fees and profits, arising thereby, be likewise employed for carrying on the royal fishing.

Seventhly, Whereas there was obtained, beyond sea, a grant from his majesty for thirty-one years, of the home-vent of coals from the river of Tyne, upon pretence of five-hundred pounds fine, and 1838 pounds 12 shilling annual rent, when as the same might have been leased out by his majesty for near 10000 pounds, per annum, if his majesty had been rightly informed of the value thereof; wherefore, it is proposed, that, by his majesty's permission, the said grant may be vacated in parliament; and his majesty be at liberty to let it for the best advantage. And that his majesty will be graciously pleased, that the improvement of the rent thereof may go towards the support of the royal fishing.

Eighthly, That like duties may be imposed upon the vent of coals from Sunderland, as are at Newcastle, to be employed in the royal fishing.

Ninthly, That all such sum or sums of money, which since his majesty's restoration have been raised and collected upon subscriptions and benevolences for the use of the fishery, and do still remain in the hands of the collectors, treasurers, and others, who ought to account for the same, may be forthwith reduced into his majesty's bank, for carrying on the royal fishing.

Tenthly, That his majesty will be graciously pleased to grant, that all discoveries within his majesty's gift, not yet discovered nor granted away by his majesty (after a reasonable and fitting reward secured to the discoverer or discoverers out of the same) shall go towards the support of the royal fishing.

Eleventhly, That all houses built upon new foundations within the city and suburbs of London, since the year 1657, except such houses as have been consumed by fire, may pay a fine to the value of one year's rent, to be employed towards the carrying on the royal fishing.

Twelfthly, That his majesty will be pleased to grant, that all fines and forfeitures, not already granted away by his majesty, may go towards the carrying on the royal fishing.

It is humbly desired, that these proposals may be examined and debated, and, if all or any of them may be found useful for carrying on this great and profitable work, further means shall be humbly offered for promoting the same.

THE CLOUD OPENED*:

OR,

THE ENGLISH HERO.

BY A LOYAL AND IMPARTIAL PEN.

Quam facile fit cœcus dux vitæ, et obscura lux temporum Historia? Si non amentiæ, rarus est qui non ineptiæ litavit, Unicus sit qui Deo et veritati obtulit.

London, printed, A. D. 1670. Quarto, containing forty-eight Pages.

ONOGYROS is an herb worthy of asses, a lactuce like their lips, rough and prickly; yet, if herbalists are to be credited, a counter-poison. Adulation, though smooth as oil, is no alexipharmick. The tame beast, a flatterer, is more spotted, nor less cruel than the leopard or a tyger. And with the gayety of a serpent, the rich inamelling of an adder's skin hath no unequal poison.

In the late tyranny, when reason seemed the most extravagant freak, and religion and loyalty had the repute of such grand malignants, as a plague might be supposed to harbour less of contagion, a mercenary trifler would have the usurper Oliver, an Olive; sure after an happy revolution, no one can be master of more sense than the clenching panegyrist, or voluminous, nothing wanted; as much a stranger to wit, as to our nation; his appetite only sharpened invention, and the hungry gut vented oracles. Where the scripture on the rack was only taught to patronise impiety, by making bloody and blasphemous confessions; it can be no wonder, if Gotham's parable was forgot by an exotick whiffler, where the olive could yield no fatness to usurp, and out of a bramble only could come the fire to destroy the cedars of Lebanon; such an unhappy land, as made a forest, was inhabited by wild beasts.

In an age of lying wonders, where a more than ordinary antichrist brought fire down from heaven, it could be none of the least of the miracles, that a fisher could, by Pagan worship, translate the brazen image of a tyrant into gold, and make it equal an hundred Jacobusses or more pure Carolines in value.

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* This is the 212th number in the catalogue of pamphlets in the Harleian Library.

A doubly blind bard first in his own, and, as some fancy, since by God's judgment, would have him equalled by a kingfisher. But to have had such a king for his subject, in whose cause, christianity might seem engaged, sure could not need the temptation of a bribe, to him who had not renounced the christian profession, though pedantically florid, and less significant pens, served but as foils to his portraiture and sufferings; which were only to be taken from his own writings.

Virtue, which is content with her own reward, and loyalty, which expects no recompence below heaven, know not how to descend to that truckling and servile assentation, which has no better hieroglyphick, than the most impure of creatures, the sometimes fawning, and at others, snarling and biting cur.

The deceased general may merit some grateful epicediums, above such dismal ditties as attend upon executions, which seem more merciless than the extremities of the law; while the executioner in metre is more barbarous than the hangman. The muses have little to do with Mars; yet they must not permit a praise-worthy person to die, if they have any faith for their arch-priest the prince of Lyricks. It is a tribute due to allegiance, to commend him whom a king would honour. Commands, strong as mustard, may seem unnecessary to make the nation's eyes water into elegies for his loss, who was the supposed restorer of their sight; the blessed instrument of returning a king, who may be truly called, The light of our eyes. Who would not melt by a compassion, if obdurate for lesser losses, for the muses Helicon, what the poets might call, showers of tears, might seem expedient when it is grown so muddy, as it cannot furnish out so much clear wit as can sprinkle an hearse. Foolish versifiers, like to schismatical pulpiteers, by racked hyperbole's and tentered allegories, make the most sober truths discredited; folly dispraises those she would commend, and diminishes glory, by seeking to multiply it.

Who would not believe that a fable, which must have all the heathen Gods brought into the scene for the delivery? He who ariseth early, and praiseth his friend aloud, it shall be reputed to him for a curse, if the wisest of men is to be believed. That a too early and inconsiderate commendation can irritate envy and contradiction, which might have slept, if not awaked by rash and untimely bauling, may be easily now demonstrated from the discourses of folly.

Whether design or chance renders more famous, is uncertain. History can furnish us with a coward, who by the loss of his head, grew victorious; by a virtue inherent in the spurs of honour, the more generous beast, which is intitled to want of brains, transporting to noble atchievements. A defect in the noddle hath rendered not few strangely supereminent, whose excelling disposition, like that of an inraged horse, hath qualified for the rushing into a battle. The Psalmist will have an horse a vain thing to save a man; to raise one to a fair mount of honour, some can instance H. B.

who for a knighthood and lordship would cry God-a-mercy to his beast.

Thomas Anello, is not the only example of a brutish valour attaining to a mushroom grandeur: Nor was the puny thief Du Val the first robber who lay in state, by pompous folly to be made more inglorious.

The Aerian stalking nag (on whom the subtle fowlers of phanaticism set their aim to shoot at game royal) had his image ordered to be made by the grand bogglers at ceremonies, and decryers of superstition; which intended for an honour, made him to suffer in effigy for a traitor; while a freak-inspired sectary cut off an head equally stupid, with that which he had devoted to the vain idol of a foolish reformation.

The protector of flies, carried in state like to a Pagan deity, might seem worshipped by an heathenish idolatry; while our Gentiles, schism's fly-blows, having gained wings by the warmth of his bounty, with buzzing acclamations attended on their Beelzebub.

Zisca would have a drum made of his skin; and our glorious Edward would have his victorious corpse carried for a terror to his enemies; but nothing can be more vain than to take a pleasure in the hovering of those dire vapours above ground, who might seem to have cleft it for contagion.

Vainly the dead are embalmed with spices, whose lives can contribute no odours in good works to perfume their memories.

The survivors worship of the dead was the wild superstition of heathen. A commemoration of saints and benefactors deceased, has been neither the irreligious nor impolitick custom of sober christians. The honour given to good men is a tribute rendered to God, who will be honoured in his saints; the praises of the bad are so many acknowledgments to Satan, who is thus worshipped in his images.

The mysterious riddle of loyal grandeur, whom some will have a parent to his mother, and his father's father, a prince the father of his country, the supererogating Monk, G. Duke of Albemarle, may worthily challenge that surviving honour, by which he seems triumphant over fate; if not a principal, an adjuvant, or such a cause without which our felicity could not be effected; if to vast piles of living honours were superadded mountains of wealth, and after death he is placed among kings, who seemed the restorer of kingdoms, no wise or good man can repine, but rather congratulate the felicity of that age, in which a servant, esteemed faithful, found a master truly royal. Honour was not made dishonourable in our general's superadditional titles; the atchievements of his ancestors, if not superior to most, inferior to few coats of arms borne by our English nobility; what might give a supereminence, and fools will be always the most apt to blazon, the only blot in the escutcheon. Honour must be fair written; even the fountain of it, a prince, cannot wash away the blemishes of his own making.

The generous heroe, who disdained to bring in a king fettered like a royal slave, or such a beast as must not be allowed the use of reason, whose crowning is in relation to the making of him a sacrifice, by not attending to that rigid zeal, which, inseparable from envy of any greatness, which might exceed her own, would have kings bound in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron; the intolerable gives of a Scottish league, by making princes parties, can dethrone, not only level with a peasant, but equal to a brute; if giddy fame was only constant to this report, none could think honour or riches misplaced with our general, except such who can believe cruelties exceeding these of the Goths, Huns, and Vandals, conferred on the preserver of his country, a recompence worthy of a Bellizarius. The devouring of a serpent would be thus thought to produce a dragon. Our George might not have seemed to conquer a monster, but to have introduced one, in ingratitude equalling that most monstrous piece of barbarism, the mischief-brooding part, which venting nothing but noise and stench, in the opinion of buffoons, could be esteemed more honourable than the head.

Him, who restored the fountain of honour untainted, none can justly envy a liberal benefit of the streams; or, who would deny some larger clusters of grapes to him, by whose beneficence they seem to have the uninterrupted enjoyments of their vines?

Necessity renders the proudest titles contemptible. When an Emperor became a soldier to our Eighth Henry, it might seem a timely magnificence, which made a prince's bounties shine in a tent made with cloth of gold. The prince who undervalues himself, or benefactors, by becoming cheap, his kingdoms and armies rarely want purchasers.

The drums must beat, trumpets sound, and images of gold be reared to make the people fall down and worship; yet, where worldly pelf is the only motive, wise men can rather suffer the fiery furnace of affliction, than pay a devotion to such foolish idols.

Speede's chronicle hath a remark, That he who thought himself a match for princes, the Low-country prince, or truer king of gypsies, the arch-canter and chief idol of the Aerians, who patronised holy hypocrites as sure friends to religion, as he was to the most bosom-friend, whose neck they could, well contented, break, to make way for the espousing of a whimsey, the great Earl of Leicester, that so much celebrated favourite living, unmasked by death, could want a commendation.

Death only makes true confessions. A little loss of air (or as much breath as can furnish out a bubble vanished) leaves the most wind-imposthumed bladder shrivelled. What equals all men, lends an impartial view, and unlearns the mannerly distinctions betwixt a prince and peasant. Homer, though the father of fictions, may gain a sober belief, while he will have hares to insult over dead lions; but envy cannot blast just actions, which (as a minor poet) in the dust, can smell sweet and blossom.

Who undervalued life in his country's cause, lillies and roses may be said to spring from the tomb of a no less renowned hero, who dared to do as much in the sea, as Curtius in the land, for his country.

Some will have the first degree of revived loyalty commenced at the Three-tuns, and can dare publickly to aver, That there is a knight, who, being inspired by the same spirit of loyal sack, will swear himself the author of our so happy restoration, and that loyalty or ruin were the only choice left to the general.

The serpent, which gave us the sting, must afford us the cure. Some will not be persuaded, that the Juncto, which made him a cypher in commission, contributed no vote to their own ruin, by putting a period to his, gave a date to their own supereminent power; and thus the cunning were catched in their own snare: Yet he, who infatuates the counsel of the worldly wise, hath the least returns of honour or praise, where those, forgetting God, can suppose a sacrifice due to every foolish net.

The Lord F. (anagrammed by *Hei! fax fato Mars*) if not the greatest, no slender persuasion will allow, none of the meanest instruments, by rising on the back of Lambert, and thus to have nobly expiated that brutish folly (not to give it a worse name) which suffered us to be deprived of the best of princes.

I have been no infrequent, though, for the most part, an incredulous auditor of a baronet, who would have the general, at his enlargement from the Tower, crave a benediction from Bishop Wren, and assured him, when opportunity was propitious, he should not be averse to the royal service. Neither was this a single tradition which he had received from his loyal father, but another must be attendant on it equally irrefragable, a promise to his loyal comrades, viz. never to bear arms in England against his prince. This not a few will have most exactly to be performed, and, hence, by no action of his loyalty to be impeached. What he acted in the first Dutch engagement, and what was performed in the Caledonian war, must, by a milder gloss, be interpreted a zeal for his country, and no disaffection to his king; but the more rigid censors will not allow him, who wounds in hands and feet, no enemy, though not equally mortal with him who transpierces the heart.

A superintendent lord would be a privado to those proceedings, which might call the wisest brains into question to imagine; but, coming from so supereminently knowing a statist, and told in parliament, he may seem wanting to all reason, who could be deficient in the belief of our general's intention for a restoration. I have heard a kinsman and retainer to his lordship aver the sight of the letter.

Whether O. C. L. &c. have not complimented with vain hopes such as they never intended should reap any benefit above that of a deluded imagination, is the discourse of no unwary, if none of the wisest heads.

The supplement of a chronicle (which, some can think, might want a stout Peter Heylin, who, blind, might best guess at dark intrigues) must be incontroulable to evince the truth of those intents. A chronicle's name passes, with some graver noddles, for an authority equalling that which the vulgar creed hath for a ballad, which their wisdoms conceive as authentick as the divinest writ.

There are vast disproportions, if not a gulf equalling that which separated the rich man from an Abraham's bosom, betwixt such who write to give God the honour, and those who arrogate divine honour to their foolish imaginations. The hero, in the romance, must pass strange dangers, encounter monsters, magicians, and giants in difficulties, and be at a precipice for ruin, before miracles are called in for his deliverance.

Cæsar, who writ commentaries on his own actions, though none of the worst, might not be the truest of historians. Opinion puts false spectacles on our eyes; both self-interest and self-conceit rarely not disease our sights, and make us resemble ictericks, who can apprehend no colour beside their own.

Some will have it to be numbered among those rarely numerable infelicities of loyalty, to be huffed by every braggart, not only out of the tributes which should be inseparable from virtue, but must be ever incapable of worldly compassion, unless lost to that reason which should difference from brutes. The foolish things of this world, thus, in no christian sense may seem to confound the wise; but they, who, with a grain of salt, have only a mite of charity, may pity, not envy giddiness advanced to slippery precipices.

Though a sober doctor, in the languishing state of the body politick, might not be useless, some will not allow the metamorphosed apothecary, by the addition of honour, lost to one, while he provided sauce, with sippets of his own, to make an harsh parcel of chronicle be more easily digested. A merry transformed surgeon, who pretends an equal intimacy in transactions about state-ulcers (if truth is in wine) might be believed, who would have a broomstick, with a rag at the end of it, to have been of sufficient efficacy for the miracle of a revolution.

The fanatick O. whose name might imply his doctrine fit for lighter grounds, having been baffled about a misquoted piece of the Apocalypse, was sarcastically asked by a lord, at the general's table, whether he was converted out of the Revelations? To which he boldly replied to the grandee, equally through all times giddy, That it was not the Revelation, but the happy Revolution, to which they all owed their conversions.

That nature should produce nothing more reserved, than our English hero, will seem not the least of our nation's wonders, when some can impute that crime to him, which makes all things more perlucid than glass; and others will have such not infrequent perturbations impetuously moving in giddy passions, as not to permit the greatest secrets inconspicuous.

The marrying of a niece to a regicide's son might call loyalty in question, did we not live in such an age of wonders, where nothing can seem strange. Some can cast away, what others can think a foolish pity, on a lady born of loyal parents, who apprehend not the mysteries of flesh and blood, or rather those transcendent ones of the late times.

It is not the least piece of charity (if some may be credited) to believe he never intended that restoration, of which he was made an happy instrument. His own pristine loyalty, and that of his untainted brothers (by consanguinity, not alliance) might predispose the re-imbibing of so long estranged allegiance: But many swim with the stream, who dare not oppose an adverse torrent.

Report will have the E. of L. drolling to have told the D. that he could never have heartily cursed him in his life, except once; and that was, when he beat down the city gates. To whom he merrily replied, That, while he was doing the work of his masters, they turned him out of commission; but he conceived himself to have been even with them. *Ridentem dicere verum, quid vetat?* Can be the question of more than a single Horace.

A person of great and sober honour (who rarely could find a peer in that unhappy juncture, either in estate, or loyally engaged relations) assured with voice and gesture expressing horror and indignation, that nothing of good could be expected from this man; neither by his agents in Scotland, by homebred or exotick intelligence, the least glimpse of hopes could arise: But a sudden revolution taught a palinode; he had long expected nothing less from so worthy a person. The shepherd, who would be reputed weather-wise, by telling one it would be fair, and another foul, in all weathers kept his reputation. Our late times can shew no few successful imitators of this trifling impostor, who to this foolish craft owe the opinion of their grand wisdom.

In the so much celebrated march from the north, nigh Dunstable, having an opportunity of treating some of his commanders, one of them, a person neither unsociable, nor of that rigidly morose humour, which is inseparable from faction, informed me he could not sufficiently admire at the universal kindness which they encountered in the march from Scotland. If a king was in the design, nothing could be more vain than the people's imaginations; since neither the general, nor his followers, could think of it without horror; and, that I might relinquish vain and fruitless hopes, thought himself obliged in civility and conscience to inform of the oath taken in Scotland, nothing differing from that which, since put by fanaticks, I have perused in print, not without a new impression of horror.

Christianity will induce us to believe, that neither the general, nor his army, were guilty of that atheistical policy, which calls God in for a witness to a lye. Success instils new thoughts: Men have the changes of mind with the vicissitudes of fortune. Factions, like all other traders, inriched by unexpected returns, disdain all partnership, divide and drive different interests. How easily do those speculations, which seemed as high as heaven, stoop to the lure of every fancied profit?

Cromwell, though he snatched at a crown in the comedy, could not expect to gain one by the tragedies acted over three nations. The Earl of Essex, who would seem clear from the suspicion of treason against Queen Elisabeth, would not deny that success might have made a traitor.

They, who feared not man, might suppose it in vain to contest with the Deity. The general and his army heard, in their expedition, the voice of the people, like that of God; they found the sinews of war were wanting; and, though the chains, gates, and posts of the city were cast down, the spirits of the citizens were indejected; who had engaged to restore a parliament to freedom and honour, it had been perjury not to have performed it, though some will have the act a high violation of faith, deserted first to relinquish the patched piece of folly with the appellative.

The army introduced no king; but, having settled a more rationally supposed parliament in freedom, acquiesced in the determinations of their superiors: And, thus, the true soldiers of king and parliament finished, without their cruel aid, the war so long protracted by perjury, rapine, and blood.

It may seem a cruel piece of charity to deprive of christianity, for the better intitling to grace and excellency. Who came, at the last hour in the gospel, was allotted a reward equalling that of the first comers. Such converts, as are the joy of angels, should not be the envy of men.

Some will have the Low-country a nursery for soldiers, but the most unsuccessful academy for religion and loyalty; who exposed their souls and bodies mercenaries, in the cause of a rebellious commonwealth, were vainly expected good subjects to a prince.

Generous persons, that are apt to entertain their title in their beliefs, can suppose our general no ignoble soldier of fortune, who, fighting long under her colours, attained the giddy idol for his constant mistress. He deserted no masters, till they deserted him; a Low-country religion both obliged him to a party, and disobliged; when he wanted an exchange for loyalty, he exchanged it; and, when giddy patriots of the then espoused cause were returned fairly to take away his commission, he as honourably relinquished the deserters of themselves and him.

It is a blasphemy to affirm him a deity, though we may justly allow him an Hannibal, a Fabius, an Hercules, a worth equalling, if not superexcelling all the antient heroes. Some foolish sycophants will intitle to more wisdom, than God ever intrusted to mere human nature; yet, while they strive to deify, make him the fool that said in his heart, There is no God. He who can take oaths, with an intention to violate them, it must be a strange excess of charity which can allow him a God in his creed.

General Lesly told Potter a trumpeter, sent to him by the royal martyr, That he would serve his majesty as faithfully as he had done the parliament. The Scot gained an easy belief, and, in charity, we may believe intended what he promised; he served them for money, and for gain (which was his religion) would have exposed to sale his masters. But, while a necessitated prince could not go to the price, a king, not to be equalled by millions, is passed in exchange for two-hundred thousand pounds.

Nothing is more pleasant than the junior story of this bonny Jocky, who ran away with blith Jenny, stealing sixteen shillings sterling from an old mistress at Edinburgh, to defray charges; yet, by temptation of so vast a sum, though much mowing, and many bearns, she reaped not matrimony, till, her fingers being as light as her heels, a plundered portion made up the match; which was a muckle day of joy, as the good countess told the right honourable Lady of Oxford, when her husband from a common soldier arrived to be a Scotch general, and, by heading a rebellion, became an earl, to give a reputation to his future villainies. Snakes, though warmed in the most royal bosoms, will requite their entertainment with a sting. Though factions may seem to lose their heads, which are taken off by honour, yet they are rarely wanting to fresh opportunities for mischief.

Our generous champion, when he had espoused loyalty, and acquired deserved honour, by the evil principle of no mercenary spirit, made conscience a prostitute to the lusts of faction.

Who would wound our hero, in the weakest part, find him there most impregnable. Honour, conscience, and gratitude appear in his vindication; and that cruel necessity which can make batteries on the strongest resolutions: None will fancy it brutish sottishness, or that the most daring of men would be affrighted out of reason, by an inconsiderate huffer; the great tie of christianity which enjoins satisfaction, and the preserving of a generous family, famous through a long series of ancestors, might be no lesser inducements to marriage. If in some things he resembled an Alexander the Great, in others he exceeded the more victorious Julius Cæsar, an husband for all men's wives; excellent above his famed ancestor a Fourth Edward, or a Philip, who, sirnamed the good, wanted his virtue. Our hero was not captivated by that which inslaves the proudest victors; and made him, whose labours filled all the world, ridiculously to truckle to a distaff: In this a more than Hercules, who, by an invincible fortitude, endured a confinement which might intitle to a quotidian encountering of monsters, and not less frequent triumphs over wild beasts in passions.

In requital, if he found a wife not rich, she made herself so. Some can fancy the riches accruing to her husband, and heir, by this frugal woman's means, made the proudest dowry in three nations scarce a parallel for a match. It was a rare felicity in ages, when the parents virtue was the child's dowry; who neither gain by inheritance nor acquisition, are only reputed contemptibly poor: Where money answers all things, riches; where worth, virtue may seem the best portion, and most acquirable of perfections.

Though Lycurgus's dogs seem to make an infallible demonstration, they are too uncharitable in their censures, who can believe that no temptation either of gain or profit could intervene, in which, with the transformed cat in the fable, the humour of mousing not returned.

It is reported of Theophilus, that he burnt a rich ship of his wife's, disdaining that the covetous folly of a woman should exchange the title of an emperor to that of a merchant. Some can hope a more cruel traffick found no acceptation from our induperator; others can fear an Harpy's talons laden were never an ungrateful oblation.

He who plucked the thorns out of the crown, it is charity to believe he would plant no new pricks, or Canaanites resembling them, in his side, whom he had returned to a land of promise.

Who moved in so high a sphere of glory, as our hero, could not but attract clouds of envy, which, by their blacker interposure, might veil that lustre which they could not obscure. Envious folly, the most obnoxious to mistakes, rarely makes not more bright what she intends most to darken. A sober scrutinist may find our general the least conscious of what the rabble's idol, report, the common lyar, broaches from frothing hogsheads, either for advantage or impairing of glory. The giddy strumpet, fame, which is every idiot's prostitute, makes no stop betwixt the extreams of honour or infamy; she cherishes that which we intend to blast by the cold wind of an envious displeasure; and, while active as fire, she would gratify grandeur, consumes what she intends only to inliven by a warmer commendation.

The selling of a prince was a fatal prognostick; may the sale of loyalty be more propitious! The God of this world did so dazzle foolish eyes, that nothing was to be seen in the most execrable traitor, beside unparalleled excellence. Treason was only a subtle reservedness, or a pious fraud for royal advantage. The mammon of unrighteousness was not employed to provide heavenly places, but to promote earthly interests. Some can think the greatest Judas, here, might have found no cause of desperation, where so many pieces might have intitled to honour and office. M's case may serve out of many centuries of observations, who (a constant servant to his royal master through all changes) proved a setter of Oliver's, pearched high by mammon, in this last and more happy revolution defaming him for disloyalty; to have been so grand a virtuoso on record, as might evidence to have received no lesser stipends for annual courses of treason.

Though he, who makes haste to be rich, cannot be innocent; yet who would guess the greatness of guilt, by the vastness of a contracted treasure, may be mistaken in their arithmetick. The general's offices of profit, and places of honour, none can justly deny him, nor a wise man the frugal improvement; his retinue was rather beneficial than chargeable, who put neither to the expences of wages or diet.

The courtiers, and his own servants, who revenge, by their tongues, the loss which they have sustained by their teeth, rarely speak well of him, whom they will have the author of board-wages at court, and to have saved half in his own daily allowance; the poulterer's ware, as sacred, must be untouched; if it met no maim at his table, was injoined, new-roasted, to revisit it next day in company. All excesses are equally dangerous; if he observed the truly golden mean to inrich a family, it could not be dishonourable. The story of Actæon may seem no fable, where the blood of families hath been swallowed for their healths, and the merciless teeth of a fawning retinue have devoured their masters. But, among giddy reports, none can be more incredible, than the menacing of an only child, with disinheriting, for expending five shillings at supper; in which sum, a capon, a bottle of wine, beer, ale, rolls, must be included; though, perhaps, wine might lend the only occasion to the passion, which he, who allows to children, adds fire to fire, and, by a fond indulgence, contributes to the ruin of a name, when debauched nature, to quench the preternatural heat, renders them such sponges, as, overcharged by liquor, serve only to expunge their own and ancestors glory. The philosopher would have cracked his spleen, to have seen vast piles of muck provided, and the ground left unmanured, where nothing could be wanting that, well employed, might have rendered it fertile. I knew a pedant, of so strangely scrupulous a conscience, that he could number it amongst his sins, to make a boy more learned than his father, which he could suppose might unlearn him that duty which hath the promise of long life. It must be a larger portion of knowledge, which can edify for perfection; the traders, in small parcels, gain only some windy inflations which can puff up; some will not allow it above a windy distemper, which so long discomposed our body politick, and made that duty forgot, which is a just tribute to the parent of a country.

Not a few think of learning, what Machiavel says of religion, That it is an impediment to great actions. Blindness begets boldness, and folly must be intitled to fat and fortunate, or else the plump schismatick could not gain so great an harvest of foolish ears, which every blast of false doctrine can teach to bow in compliance to the most pernicious ignorance.

Folly may be pearched high, like the fabler's crow, yet not secure from a fox's craft. Our schismatical reynards, by provoking fools to cant, make the meat in their mouths a purchase, or fail not thus to gain themselves food.

Though the general had a mighty spirit, as I heard one phrase it, the woman was not so narrow-souled as her husband; if of any religion, she was a presbyterian; in the time of the plague, sent five pounds to a non-conformist sermon-maker; bestowed twelvepence a piece on fifty poor widows; caused her son to send two broad-pieces for plaisters, to the gouty versifier of the gang, whose feet were more deservingly nimble for her lord's honour in the northern expedition. They will not allow him a dram of charity, who cast no mite into the treasury of the saints; but we can hope, though a soldier, he needed not the hypocrite's trumpets, and the alms, he gave in secret, will be rewarded openly. However, while there are churches, colleges, hospitals, or any publick monuments of charity, he will be acknowledged a benefactor, who seemed to rescue them from the jaws of that sacrilegious wolf, who would have glibly swallowed all things sacred, under the pretence of zeal and reformation.

He could not be ignorant of the six-thousand pounds his wife had, intentionally, devoted to an alms-house, which he made his own act, by an approbation. It may be imputed to an improved religion and loyalty, if he, grown wiser by time, was a less zealous patron of those pernicious house-creepers, who lead silly females captive, to whom a paradise would be displeasing, without the taste of prohibited fruit. If he took no care of what some can call the houshold of faith, none can deny, worse than an infidel, by taking no care of his own family. What some can call sordidness, if equally considered, may be found a noble frugality, which would not leave so vast a pudding, contemptible for want of suet.

Some will affix to a greater statist than our general the maxim, on which the Indians ground the neglect of God, and the worshiping of the devil; but evil counsel is ever worst to the counsellor; the cunning are rarely not catched in their own snare, and he, who digs a pit for loyalty, may fall so deeply in, as the most loyal may find no resurrection.

There are, who will not allow the greatest pretenders to loyalty, to have had an equally obliging nature with that of the pikes, who devour their own kind last. Where the proverb will have a dog loved for his master's sake, he who could but snarl and bark in the cause, and knew never how to fawn on his enemies, to be lost to all respect, might call the grand monopolisers of loyalty's truth into question. Many could have been content to have died, that others might enjoy that right, to whose enjoyment they owed a cruel death. It can be no paradox to aver, That sincere loyalty can never want either a friend or reward; and yet, what is most strange, that contradictory assertion may seem equally true, That to no fucated loyalists the most wished-for of restorations, by the extirpation of more loyal families, hath proved a more fatal enemy than the war. In a baptismal vow, we renounced the world, the flesh, and the devil: Engaged in the royal cause, we might seem to fight against those three grand antagonists; if the younger brothers in loyalty, who had wasted their patrimonies on the harlots of schism, and could be content, like the swine, to be fed with the husks of every false doctrine; if the returned prodigals are received into favour, Why should the elder brothers repine, having the assurance of a promise? No wise man would trifle away time to gather cockles on the shore, when he may set sail to another country, where are no fickle joys, hopes, or fears, but an *Euge Beate* is made the prologue to an eternal felicity.

Nothing is more comical, than to see our apes of loyal grandeur. How stately are the deportments of foolish mimicks, till the scrambling for nuts exposes ridiculous? Lucretius would have it no lesser pleasure, secure on the shore, to contemplate afar off men tossed on the sea. Who will be laden with this world's merchandise, are the subjects of winds and waves, which seem to sing and sport in their ruins; they are the objects of a fool's envy, but the wise man's pity, who expose frail barks to encounter all storms.

Some can fancy our hero, the wheel to which we owe all the vicissitudes of giddy greatness, say alternately, he was an enemy to the two super-eminently loyal statists; and will have a third, with the loss of land, which he ever valued, like to itself, dirt, purchase, with a place, the delusion of a pleasing dream.

The gordian-knot, which none could unty, an Alexander could cut. It is reported of an angry lord, E. of P. that, being in office, he made it his business to break wiser heads than his own. Though some praise our general's conduct, to the making of hyperbole's modest; others will have his head-piece the worst part of his armour. Who pretend to be most knowing in those affairs, to think that Oliver either could fear there, or be ignorant how to remove him from his command in Scotland, is accounted the most ridiculous part in his story: To C. he must have been like one of the centurion's servants; a mutinous seaman must have found it true, by the experiment of a lost nose, which, to patch up, cost him and Oliver ten pieces.

Our hero never wanted resolution, which is the best sword in war. Had his head been as good as his heart, the nick-named protector told C. Okey, England would have been too little to have contained a Nol and a Jack; but, heads and hearts holding so unequal a correspondence, the secure tyrant might domineer over three distracted nations. Some, like chymists, by the advantage of other men's heads, may do miracles, who are useless with their own; not above tunnels for smoke, yet, by fumes inspired, pretend to all things.

Whom not a few have called a delaying Fabius, many can think he would have fought with a daring Hannibal, upon any disadvantage; when neither the odds of number, nor a contradictory commission, could hinder from the disadvantageous engagement with the Dutch. *Militemus*, was an emperor's motto; Let us fight, boys, our more undaunted generals; war was his element, and, out of it, he might seem like a fish out of water.

The opinion of the stoicks can animate Turks to brave death in war, and, in peace, intrepid to converse with the most fatal contagion. Our hero, by stranger revolutions, might be easily induced to embrace the doctrine of an inevitable wheel, who could, dreadless, look down on dangers, fear neitherof those bug-bears to mankind, a plague, or war; so much a proselyte to the predestinarian principle, as to think it most ridiculous to fly that fate which is unavoidable.

A knight related to our G. dehorted him from the Belgick war, as having done already enough for the immortality of a name. To whom he replied, he was sent into the world upon an errand which must be performed; and, whether it might end at the bottom of the sea, as it was uncertain, so it should not find him concerned. Some will have our hero, like the poet's Ajax, who disdained to be vincible by any except himself, and will have it so near the finishing his errand in the sea, as guns were placed to sink so great a weight of glory.

Who conquered the world, could not subdue his passions; those mutinying rebels can domineer over the reputed invincible. Some will have thunder and lightning in our incensed hero's breath; and that he was least, what he persuaded others to be, in his journey from the North, of a sedate temper: Rather than peace should be with the Dutch, he said he would never wear a sword. A more sober statesman is reported to have replied, He had rather lay aside his gown, than that so unnecessary a war should be commenced; informed him of our want of allies abroad, and moneys, war's sinews, which can give strength to the most infeebled arms, make firm friends at home, and as sure foreign alliances. The wise man knew, though God and a good cause makes a great sound, it is the tinkling noise of coin doth the soldier's business; and, however justice is pretended in all engagements, it is to gold, the world's great idol, men are content, not only to make the sacrifice of fools themselves, but even their nearest relations.

War is not only sweet to them who never tried it, but to such who have reaped a benefit by it; a soldier can love his harvest. Some cannot arrive to his wisdom, who went out of the world with a 'Thou Fool;' with full barns he should have been contented, his soul should have took her ease.

We have had the war, by which the kingdom is so many millions in debt; our hero, in probability, might have lost his sword, and, if he had been a Dutchman, might have forfeited his head, which renounced not only reason, but even loyalty, by rashly exceeding of his commission; yet the extremity of law might thus have proved the supreme injury. If it was treason in our general (as in the case of an Earl of Essex) it was a venial delinquency; if a traitor, he was the best meaning; whose superabundant or zeal or valour concluded of an engagement, by the mistaken proposition of the accruing honour and safety to his prince and country, in whose cause his noble, though here not best informed spirit, could have been content to have finished an errand in waves, the best emblems of inconstant greatness, and giddy fortune's favours. The method by which he seemed to restore, he might have secured his country: Here a Fabius, he might have effected by delays, what he could not by fighting, and have seemed a double restorer of this nation, whose rashness might have intitled the demolisher.

It cannot be the least wisdom not to think to do always the same things. Empirical, or valour, or medicine, not rarely successless.

Storms succeed the clearest sun; which a wise man foreseeing, like to the victorious Charles the Fifth, quits the stage.

When Cromwell had fallen from his coach, a confident of his was overheard to complain, that he who had raised would ruin them, if a timely care was not taken to prevent the exposure of his wild freaks. Death was a timely friend, nigh to the end of his wits, was near to the end of his life; and thus finished what Mazarine called the most fortunate piece of folly.

Some will have him who would be content to resign his gown, rather than there should have been a war, to be forced to resign, because it proved successless.

Men rarely can be pleased with his company, whose looks may upbraid their miscarriages. The incensed rabble, like to heathen idols, must have human blood for a sacrifice, though the foolish overflowings of their gall can be pacified by no more grateful oblation than that, by which they express all ills, ingratitude; seldom not gratified by his ruin, who might most seek their preservation.

Though Strafford was allowed to be no precedent, yet some will ever propose him for an example; and no act of oblivion will make us so lost to our memories, that the most unfortunate earl will be forgot, who, incomparably loyal, was impeached by such arch-rebels, as, by introducing the Scots, were guilty of the highest treason, and the most implacable enemy of traytors fell their sacrifice.

When putrid members were to be cut off, the body politick was deprived of the sounder part, which might have secured it from incroaching mischiefs, while an unparalleled prince's clemency, which gave fears to none, and left not the greatest villainies destitute of hopes, administered, in the grand statesman's ruin, if not a just, an unhappy cause of his own untimely period.

The gratifying of the weakest heads, with the loss of the wisest, as a most bloody, so is rarely not a most successless policy.

The Athenians might be thought to have a veneration for an owl only, who could estrange worth by an ostracism.

Some will have the greatest of English statists to have perished by their own weapons. One wise head, like Galba's wit, not ill placed, may exceed in value not only many millions of money, but armies of men.

Good intelligence, and bold truth, some say, could unfix a no undeserving relation of the general's, whom nothing, except his displeasure, unriveted from the greatest office of trust; in which the successor may seem not the least of state riddles; but mysterious grandeur is such an abyss, as fools will fondly guess at the depth of that which the plummets of the most comprehensive reasons can never fathom.

Some, who are uncapable of the diviner mysteries, can put themselves to the troublesome admiration how the extemporary trash of a canting and long-winded schismatick, in a chamber, can be preparatory to the more sober devotion of the chapel-royal? Or how the true loyal and religious grandees, our incomparable converts, can keep chaplains to assert with paper pellets that schism to which they must be greatest strangers, if not estranged to their allegiance; and to defile their new honours have not licked up their old vomits? The actors on the world's theatre, by shifting clokes and beards, act different parts, and interchangeably fill up the play of life with calamitous scenes of misery, or ridiculous interludes.

Nothing is more pleasant in our revolutions than to hear the grand enemies of the prerogative, and the lordly branches, the most confident assertors of the privileges which the king and lords may most justly challenge; and the same persons formerly could most unjustly impugn; who deprived the throne of supporters will ever stand in need of one to cleave to, and secured by the unicorn can be dreadless of the lion. The least friends of the loyal clergy will ever want the benefit of it in a psalm of mercy. How appositely is the prince's prerogative pleaded in the favour of schism by the protosticklers of it, which would allow him none in religion? And yet thus they can hope a privilege for such as, void both of tenderness and conscience to a prince, could deny him a liberty they would have indulged to the meanest subjects.

There may be no improbable conjecture, as well as other grandees, a confident ignorance might easily impose on our hero. The intrusting so valued a body with such an illiterate quack, as some would have disdained to have made the farrier to a beloved or generous beast, can lend no small suspicion; the patronage of the stroaker some will have a too pregnant example.

Age, in itself an invincible disease, might assure no easy conquest of a concomitant distemper, which might be intitled old; yet twenty years of superannuation, and twelve of deafness, were esteemed inconsiderable in a nonagerian woman, when a wonder-working hand could appear for the recovery, the stroaker G, sent by the general to restore her so long estranged hearing.

Simon Magus, Apollonius, Peregrinus Philosophus, and Alexander Paphlago, who appeared with lying wonders to give a disrepute to primitive christianity, could not be more confident than this gracious babe of the presbyterian reformation; while the puritans accuse the Papists for their holy maid of Kent, Elisabeth Barton, they forget Elisabeth Crofts, their wench in the wall: As if stroaking could secure the wildest adversaries, every party hath been provided by a thus trifling impostor.

Men in power should not make themselves conscious, by such a brutish connivance as calls God's and his vicegerents honours into question.

The bold folly of stroakers may seem a mocking of majesty, and the intrenching on that prerogative, which, conferred by a St. Edward the confessor, and a St. Lewis, on the kings of England and France, to cure by touch, must be reputed sacred, such a jewel as cannot be alienated from a crown.

Miracles need not be called into the scene, where natural causes can be ascribed: Stronger frictions can cure some intercutaneous maladies, should the balsam of a sweating palm be denied conducive by the effluviums of wonder-working atoms.

A knight, a relation to the duke, and son to the grandeve patient of the stroaker, gratifying my curiosity with the converse of the trifler, I heard him as confidently propose Moses an example for his doing of miracles, as if he had been to lead the Jewish tribes of pharisaical presbyterians through a Red Sea into a land of promise; and, the invasion of France being then noised, the English by a cunning man might hope the recovery of what they had lost by a wise woman. If the braggart, or a vouching comrade, were to be believed, the general was so indeared by the recovery of his kinswoman's eye, that he would not allow him a night's absence to gratify the importunity of relations.

Sinking men will take hold of reeds. Stroaking, which could hear abominable superstition and jesuitical contrivance in the Papists, must give a reputation to the declining cause of presbyterians: The wonder-working lieutenant was the most affecting discourse of that party, which had he been of a different fancy, for his lying wonders they would have intitled him an anti-christ.

Whom some would have a candidate for a cardinal's cap, others will have probationer for a fool's, while he could countenance a stroaking friar to enter contest with a prince, and shew a chapel less efficacious for miracles than a banqueting-house.

It not a little perplexed Sir K. D. and made not a few merry, that an eminent churchman, with an honourable title, and the not disingenuous son of a grand virtuoso, exposed an innocent to danger, and themselves to be ridiculous. The solemn pageantry, which attended the simple Irish priest's stroaking, to wiser heads of their own proſeſſion, seemed a discretion rivalling theirs, who with kettles afford their tinkling charity to the moon in an eclipse.

Who, since the restoration, gained to his right honourable title a blue ribband, and, in some opinions, was intitled to a refined wit, and grand politician, the late times report the patient and admirer of a stroaking lunatick, the unhappy stroaker, whose disturbed brains for their recovery might want more drugs than an Anticyra could furnish, which so long deluded the most active endeavours of medicine, attended by the severest discipline of Bedlam.

Who can wonder if nature's rude draught, a soldier polished by no art, imposed on by proud ignorance and giddy fame, might give a stroaker's folly a Commendamus? where the wisest heads might have their judgments called in question by their hands. Desert is not only unattended on by a Mandamus, but rarely encounters an unbribed commendation. Empty heads make the greatest sound, and full purses the most significant noise for preferment. A fanatick trooper, who might be lost to all knowledge if he had not plundered it from loyalty, whose library was not above a Barrow's Method, and an Almanack, two doctors hands required for the granting of a license to practise physick, he produced an obsolete Mandamus from the grand protector of ignorance, Cromwell, which, in the worst of times, had not the confidence to visit Oxford, in the best durst encounter the most learned Bishop Saunderson, who in vain could resist it; ten angels, powerfully appearing to his chancellor, were satisfactory motives to make by the golden rule of practice a true licentiate.

The schools can make it disputable, whether what was intended the greatest encourager of virtue, hath not been the least acquainted with merit. Learning and loyalty put beyond all dispute, brought to the test, would be rarely found above in the fees and Mandamus of not a few booted fishermen for degrees (as they call them which are catched by a golden hook). Losers may have a prating license: If a few complain, many have cause to praise this golden age. He must be wise who is rich, or some whose mercenary spirits can give so glib a commendation to the most deplorable pieces of folly, may be questioned for that wisdom which makes fools and themselves equally fortunate.

Worldly grandeur, with the not misbecoming attributes of right honourable and right worshipful, sometimes can have a too unhappy resemblance to Pagan idols, which, having eyes and ears, neither hear nor see.

Whose wisdom lies in another man's head (who can be blind and deaf for interest) may make a comment on that text, which will have a man, being in honour, compared to the beasts which perish without understanding.

Some will have our English Solomon in pain, to have listened to a woman for a remedy. There are who guess by the touchstone of physick, whose ignorance might exceed a fanatick's sermon, not the only empirick who attended our hero. France, France, often repeated in the opinion of a Francis, could equal the titles of an emperor: To excuse his mistakes, and make a parallel for all worthies, we may repeat the Soldier, Soldier. Some think they honour most in making no soldier, but an uncommissioned and peaceable spectator to the most happy of revolutions.

When the stinking part, offensive to most nostrils, had her presbyterian appurtenances adjoined, which, long laid aside for sweetening, had not deposited their rankness to clear noses, one of their prime votes was, that no man should be capable of office, who would not subscribe rebellion lawful; for by a necessary illation it is deducible, if a war against the king was just. I have heard some, not of so ill-informed judgments, as to believe the levelling of a war against a prince not treason, yet so loose-principled in religion, that they would assert all oaths and subscriptions lawful, which might render capable of serving the royal interest; such tools were as profitable to loyalty, as the gnosticks to christianity. He, who dares not trust God. in vain may be credited by man. 'To play the devil for God's sake' hath been a common proverb, but was never entered for an article in a sober belief.

Who could glory in being confessors, and could think to suffer, in the cause of God, their king, and country, martyrdom, air, and dirt, life and fortune were contemptible trifles to them, proposing white robes in confession, and purple in their sufferings, which might be prologues to crowns and immortality; but such, who followed deserted loyalty, as the people our Saviour into the wilderness for the miracle of loaves, seeking worldly advantages, might pawn their souls for trash, and sin for a morsel of bread.

It is an atheistical piece of folly to disown omnipotency, that we may gratify weak surmisers.

The custom of swearing and forswearing hath, in our unhappy land, took away the sense of perjury; by the no infrequent use of poison, it went into the opinion of such nutriment, as might seem necessary for their constitutions. In a wilderness of apes and monkies, none could dread, by an oath, to take in a spider.

That oaths may make a land mourn, we have religion to assure, and reason to instruct us; but, how they can be instruments to our rejoicing, may be an article of that creed only, which could exchange a Christ for an Adonis, and make religion truckle to every darling folly.

In such an apostasy, as might make an unhappy land sigh, and wonder at herself so soon turned leper, some believe a thundering legion to have secured our Theodosius; we received a Charles by the grace of God, not favour of men. No quirks nor intrigues of giddy politicians, but he alone, who rules the wheel of human vicissitudes, produced this happier revolution; the best of physicians, and no worm-brained mountebank of state, subvened to our distractions; when the twisting of sand by foolish combinations was found a successless folly, and the brain-sick hopes of fondest royalists might pass for phrensy. God derided from heaven, and, by dividing their councils, who were enemies to our David, turned the wisdom of our Achitophels into a rope.

When the bricks were doubled, a Moses came; our task-masters grown intolerable, God raised us up deliverers. The stars in their courses, which fought against, fight for us; the most inauspicious planets, by happier conjunctions, deposit their malevolence, and seem to have friendly aspects for loyalty, by a more propitious revolution. Sure this was the Lord's doing, and should be marvellous in our eyes. God scattered the men who took delight in war, and, by a bloodless victory, gave us peace; the prayers and tears of a poor and distressed party, the weapons of the church militant, prevailed over the loud-crying blasphemy and perjuries of their enemies.

The war begun from Scotland, a nation fatal to princes. A region of darkness can give light; and the north, infamous for ill, must be celebrated for good, since from that place we received the first part of our cure, to which we owed the beginning of mischief.

The lord, who, being a general, gave way to a prince's ruin, without which it could not have been effected; now a private man opens a way for a general, which led for a king's restoration, without which it might have been vainly hoped.

The dragon's tail, which gave royalty the fatal wound, cures it by an antimonarchical note; by seeking to introduce a plurality of generals, brings in one king.

The members, which an army secluded, an army restores. Now better restored to their senses, than to believe a king, though intitled to the name of a Solomon, when he called them all princes, they could not now fancy the members eternal (who, by the loss of that unhappy head, which, intrusted with power for its own ruin, might find themselves mortal); they could no longer dream of being omnipotent, when, as a debt due to vengeance for denying the just tribute of allegiance, they had encountered the curse of curses, been servants of servants, and, what might be the highest aggravation, enslaved by their own vassals.

An antesignane of schism seems a precursor of loyalty. He, who, by imposing on factious ears, had justly lost his own, now might seem worthy of the reserved head, which, in its lucid intervals, could be so beneficially sober.

Loyal reason was such a miracle from the self-contradicting author, as could produce a self-denying ordinance, which might be as instrumental to a happy restoration, as that was to the utter extinguishing of faint and glimmering loyalty.

The Sampsons, who had been bound and blinded by deceitful Dalilahs, false oaths, and foolish engagements, though with their own dissolution, can be content to pluck down the house of the Philistines so long devoted to the idol's folly.

A sober council met; the heart of the kingdom votes for an head, that it might be no longer a senseless nation: by whose returned command a loyal body is legally summoned, which may truly hear patriots, restorers, an healing senate, sanctuaries, not slaughter-houses of innocents; who, by contributing religious and loyal votes, have expiated there the cruel follies, where irreligious and disloyal suffrages changed an happy land into a field of blood.

The merry Dr. Collins desired his taking of the covenant might be deferred till the day of judgment, when it would be clearly known what became of covenanters.

Wise men will suspend rash censures; while the curtain is drawn, the best of prophets are but probable conjecturers.

Nothing of earthly glory hath been wanting to grace our hero, even to the Apotheosis of an emperor.

Our patron George interred, a solemnity was intended to a tutelar saint of the name; which had it been performed, an hot-brained zealot, who had perused a Tertullian, or a St. Cyprian de Spectaculis, might be more dangerously troublesome, to the discomposure of weak and scrupulous noddles, than the poly-pragmatick lawyer in his less significant and more ridiculous misquoting of them against stage-plays. That, which is not evil in itself, may be sometimes not well advised.

The order of the garter may defend itself by its motto, ‘Evil to him who evil thinketh.’

Theognis will have Jupiter neither with rain, nor without it, to please all men. Neither a close fist, nor an open hand, can want a misconstruction. What was wanting to nearest relations was conferred on the general, without whom all might seem unavailable for a crown.

Wise men can be pleased with the most excellent gratitude, and fools can be gratified with the gaiety of the sight.

It was the custom of heathens to destroy the living, under pretence of honouring the dead; not a few, made close mourners by a civil death, seemed to follow the corpse of an usurper.

Some can fancy, that an Essex, Ireton, and a Cromwell lay in their beds of blasphemed honour with more fond state; none are supposed to have equalled his funeral-pomp, inferior alone to that of princes by a diadem. The defects of earth may heaven supply, by changing a fickle coronet into a never-fading crown.

Mars, in most opinions, is best pictured reeking in blood; a general rendered inglorious, if not exposed in the purple of war; to bring in our hero with the white robes of a confessor, and disengaged from the bloody camps of a rebellious schism, to make a soldier of the church militant, which can only lead to the truly triumphant paths of glory, if an error is more venial than by intitling to the craft to bestow on him the prey of foxes; a great, rather than a good renown, unworthy of a Christian champion. Let Mahometans glory in praises common to wolves, bears, and tygers, who expect in Paradise no pleasure above that of goats, by the enjoyment of brutish sensuality.

Foolish historians, like fond heralds, make the most savage of beasts supporters to the arms of the highest grandeur; butcheries and debaucheries the prime parts in the tragedies of their heroes. What, but named, might turn Christians blood into a congealed cake of ice, is affixed to the story to make a more horrible Polyphemus.

Discretion should lay aside the bloody shirt. The famed conqueror of the East, who, instead of all the vain pomp of proud funerals, would have a shirt carried aloft in triumph, to shew how small a portion was left a Saladine, after his mighty acquisitions, surely had a cleanly shift, and no bloody emblem exposed of human inconstancy. The cruel piece of duty, which sacrificed a man to revenge for an injured father, though some can fancy generous, heroick, and a prophetick action, which first made the soldier, who was to restore the common parent, may it ever be forgot, whilst the bloodless conquest, for a country's father, never wants a grateful commemoration.

May the bloody atchievements in a Belgick, Irish, Scottish war be ever silenced, and after so honourable a death, be introduced by no puny historian, who, while he fancies the erecting of trophies, by accumulating the dangerously acquired conquests of an hero, exposes a brutish valour, and baffled reason, for marks of honour, by a mistake of objects, affixes indelible notes of infamy. While the lion is forgot, may the triumphs of the lamb be celebrated, who unlearned us the fierceness of savages, and by attending to the voice of peace, became a Gratioso to a most peaceable prince on earth, and hath the promise of the blessing which attends upon peace-makers, and thus may be intitled a favourite to the King of Kings, who disdains not the title of the Prince of Peace.

It was no cruel victory to which our hero owed his honours, and three nations their preservation. God appeared not in the thunder and lightning of war, but in the soft whisperings of peace, for the most happy of restorations.

The general can never want the encomium of a Fabius, will be ever intitled, by delays, the restorer. To attribute our restoration to the church's prayers, though an heterodox, can be no culpable opinion, which cannot dishonour God by ascribing all to his mercies, nor the king to have his cause owned by heaven, nor the general, by being made an instrument in the hand of the Almighty, when his own arm was withered by the loss of strength in a commission.

The Psalmist's fool said in his heart there was no God; and he said that all men were lyars. May wars, plagues, nor fires, be the cruel remembrancers to instruct that truth, which we are so apt to forget! To God only belongeth salvation.

Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us but to thy name be the glory. Who would rob God of his glory on earth, may fall short of being glorified in heaven.

To God alone, as ever due, be ever glory, whose fame only can make an history everlasting.

TWO LETTERS

WRITTEN BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,

LATE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND:

One to his Royal Highness the Duke of York: The other to the Duchess, occasioned by her embracing the Roman Catholick Religion.

As these Letters serve to rescue the Memory of the worthy Earl, their Author, from all Imputation of Popery, or of being Popishly affected, and, as I can find, no where recorded, they are deservedly thus preserved from the Injury of Time, in the Vindication of that noble Personage.

SIR,

I HAVE not presumed in any manner to approach your royal presence, since I have been marked with the brand of banishment; and I would still with the same awe forbear this presumption, if I did not believe myself bound by all the obligations of duty to make this address to you. I have been too much acquainted with the presumption and impudence of the times, in raising false and scandalous reproaches upon innocent and worthy persons of all qualities and degrees, to give credit to those bold whispers, which have been too long scattered abroad, concerning your wife's being shaken in her religion. But when those whispers break out into noise, and publick persons begin to report that the duchess is become a roman catholick: When I heard that many worthy persons, of unquestionable devotion to your royal highness, are not without some fear and apprehension of it; and many reflexions are made from thence, to the prejudice of your royal person, and even of the king's majesty; I hope it may not misbecome me, at what distance soever, to cast myself at your feet, and beseech you to look to this matter in time, and to apply some antidote to expel the poison of it. It is not possible your royal highness can be without zeal, and intire devotion for that church, for the purity and preservation whereof, your blessed father made himself a sacrifice; and to the restoration whereof, you have contributed so much yourself, and which highly deserves the king's protection and yours, since there can be no possible defection in the hearts of the people, whilst due reverence is made to the church. Your wife is so generally believed to have so perfect duty, and intire resignation to the will of your highness, that any defection in her, from her religion, will be imputed to want of circumspection in you, and not using your authority; or to your connivance. I need not tell the ill consequence that such a mutation would be attended with, in reference to your royal highness, and even to the king himself, whose greatest security (under God) is in the affection and duty of his protestant subjects. Your royal highness well knows how far I have always been from wishing that the Roman Catholicks should be prosecuted with severity; but I less wish it should ever be in their power to be able to prosecute those who differ from them, since we well know how little moderation they would or could use.

And if this, which people so much talk of, I hope, without ground, should fall out, it might very probably raise a greater storm against the Roman Catholicks in general, than modest men can wish; since, after such a breach, any jealousy of their presumption would seem reasonable. I have written to the duchess, with the freedom and affection of a troubled and perplexed father. I do most humbly beseech your royal highness, by your authority, to rescue her from bringing a mischief upon you and herself, that never can be repaired; and to think it worthy your wisdom to remove and dispel those reproaches, how false soever, by better evidence than contempt; and hope you do believe that no severity I have, or can undergo, shall in any degree lessen or diminish my most profound duty to his majesty, or your royal highness; but that I do, with all imaginable obedience, submit to your good pleasure in all things.

God preserve your Royal Highness,
and keep me in your favour,
Sir,
Your Royal Highness's
most humble and obedient servant,
CLARENDON.

The Earl of Clarendon's Letter to the Duchess of York.

You have much reason to believe that I have no mind to trouble you, or displease you, especially in an argument that is so unpleasant and grievous to myself; but as no distance of place that is between us, in respect of our residence, or the greater distance in respect of the high condition you are in, can make me less your father, or absolve me from performing those obligations which that relation requires from me: So when I receive any credible advertisement of what reflects upon you, in point of honour, conscience, or discretion, I ought not to omit the informing you of it, or administering such advice to you, as to my understanding seems reasonable, and which I must still hope will have some credit with you. I will confess to you, that what you wrote to me many months since, upon those reproaches which I told you were generally reported concerning your defection in religion, gave me so much satisfaction, that I believed them to proceed from that ill spirit of the time that delights in slanders and calumny; but I must tell you, the same report increases, of late, very much, and I myself saw a letter, the last week, from Paris, from a person who said the English ambassador assured him, the day before, that the duchess was become a Roman Catholick; and which makes greater impression upon me, I am assured that many good men in England, who have great affection for you and me, and who have thought nothing more impossible, than that there should be such a change in you, are at present under much affliction, with the observation of a great change in your course of life, and that constant exercise of that devotion which was so notorious; and do apprehend, from your frequent discourses, that you have not the same reverence and veneration, which you used to have, for the church of England, the church in which you were baptized, and the church the best constituted, and the most free from errors, of any christian church, this day, in the world; and that some persons, by their insinuations, have prevailed with you to have a better opinion of that which is most opposite to it, the church of Rome, than the integrity thereof deserves. It is not yet in my power to believe that your wit and understanding, with God's blessing upon both, can suffer you to be shaken further, than with melancholick reflections upon the iniquity and wickedness of the age we live in, which discredits all religion, and which, with equal license, breaks into the professors of all, and prevails upon the members of all churches, and whose manners will have no benefit from the faith of any church.

I presume, you do not intangle yourself in the particular controversies between the Romanists and us, or think yourself a competent judge of all difficulties which occur therein; and, therefore, it must be some fallacious argument of antiquity and universality, confidently urged by men, who know less than many of those you are acquainted with, and ought less to be believed by you, that can raise any doubts and scruples in you; and, if you will, with equal temper, hear those who are well able to inform you in all such particulars, it is not possible for you to suck in that poison, which can only corrupt and prevail over you, by stopping your own ears, and shutting your own eyes. There are but two persons in the world, who have greater authority with you than I can pretend to, and am sure they both suffer more in this rumour, and would suffer much more, if there were ground for it, than I can do; and truly I am as unlikely to be deceived myself, or to deceive you, as any man who endeavours to pervert you in your religion; and, therefore, I beseech you, let me have so much credit with you, as to persuade you to communicate any doubts or scruples, which occur to you, before you suffer them to make too deep an impression upon you. The common argument, that there is no salvation out of the church, and the church of Rome is that only true church, is both irrational and untrue. There are many churches, in which salvation may be attained, as well as in any one of them; and were many even in the apostles time, otherwise they would not have directed their epistles to so many several churches, in which there were different opinions received, and very different doctrines taught. There is, indeed, but one faith, in which we can be saved, the stedfast belief of the birth, passion, and resurrection of our Saviour; and every church, that receives and embraces that faith, is in a state of salvation. If the apostles preached true doctrine, the reception and retention of many errors does not destroy the essence of a church; if it did, the church of Rome would be in as ill, if not in a worse condition, than most other christian churches, because its errors are of a greater magnitude, and more destructive to religion. Let not the canting discourse of the universality and extent of that church, which has as little of truth as the rest, prevail over you. They, who will imitate the greatest part of the world, must turn heathens; for it is generally believed, that above half the world is possessed by them, and that the Mahometans possess more than half the remainder. There is as little question, that of the rest, which is inhabited by christians, one part of four is not of the communion of the church of Rome; and God knows, in that very communion, there is as great discord in opinion, and in matters of great moment, as is between the other christians.

I hear you do, in publick discourses, dislike some things in the church of England, as the marriage of the clergy; which is a point that no Roman Catholick will pretend to be of the essence of religion, and is in use in many places, which are of the communion of the church of Rome, as in Bohemia, and those parts of the Greek church which submit to the Roman. And all men know, that, in the late council of Trent, the sacrament of both kinds, and liberty of the clergy to marry, was very passionately pressed, both by the emperor and king of France, for their dominions; and it was afterwards granted to Germany, though under such conditions, as made it ineffectual; which however shews, that it was not, nor ever can be, looked upon as matter of religion. Christianity was many hundred years old, before such a restraint was ever heard of in the church; and, when it was endeavoured, it met with great opposition, and never was submitted to. And, as the positive inhibition seems absolutely unlawful, so the inconveniences, which result from thence, will, upon a just disquisition, be found superior to those, which attend the liberty which christian religion permits. Those arguments, which are not strong enough to draw persons from the Roman communion into that of the church of England, when custom and education, and a long stupid resignation of all their faculties to their teachers, usually shuts out all reason to the contrary, may yet be abundant to retain those who have been baptised, and bred and instructed in the grounds and principles of that religion, which are, in truth, not only founded upon the clear authority of the scriptures, but upon the consent of antiquity, and the practice of the primitive church. And men, who look into antiquity, know well by what corruption and violence, and with what constant and continual opposition those opinions, which are contrary to ours, crept into the world; and how unwarrantably the authority of the Bishop of Rome, which alone supports all the rest, came to prevail, who hath no more pretence of authority and power in England, than the Bishop of Paris or Toledo can as reasonably lay claim to; and is so far from being matter of catholick religion, that the Pope hath so much, and no more, to do in France or Spain, or any other catholick dominion, than the crown, and laws, and constitutions of several kingdoms gave him leave, which makes him so little, if at all, considered in France, and so much in Spain. And, therefore, the English catholicks, which attribute so much to him, make themselves very unwarrantably of another religion than the catholick church professeth; and, without doubt, they who desert the church of England, of which they are members, and become thereby disobedient to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of their country, and therein renounce their subjection to the state, as well as to the church, which are grievous sins, had need have a better excuse, than the meeting with some doubts which they could not answer; and less than a manifest evidence, that their salvation is desperate in that communion, cannot serve their turn. And they, who imagine they have such an evidence, ought rather to suspect, that their understanding hath forsaken them, and that they are become mad, than that the church, which is replenished with all learning and piety requisite, can betray them to perdition. I beseech you to consider (which I hope will over-rule those ordinary doubts and objections which may be infused into you) that, if you change your religion, you renounce all obedience and affection to your father, who loves you so tenderly, that such an odious mutation would break his heart. You condemn your father and your mother (whose incomparable virtue, and piety, and devotion, hath placed her in heaven) for having impiously educated you; and you declare the church and state, to both which you owe reverence and subjection, to be, in your judgment, anti-christian. You bring irreparable dishonour, scandal, and prejudice, to the duke your husband, to whom you ought to pay all imaginable duty, and who, I presume, is much more precious to you than your own life, and all possible ruin to your children, of whose company and conversation you must look to be deprived; for God forbid, that, after such an apostasy, you should have any power in the education of your children. You have many enemies, whom you herein would abundantly gratify, and some friends, whom you will thereby, at least as far as in you lies, perfectly destroy, and afflict many others, who have deserved well of you.

I know you are not inclined to any part of this mischief, and therefore offer these considerations, as all those particulars would be the consequence of such a conclusion. It is to me the saddest circumstance of my banishment, that I may not be admitted, in such a season as this, to confer with you; when, I am confident, I could satisfy you in all your doubts, and make it appear to you, that there are many absurdities in the Roman religion, inconsistent with your judgment and understanding, and many impieties, inconsistent with your conscience; so that, before you can submit to the obligations of faith, you must divest yourself of your natural reason and common sense, and captivate the dictates of your own conscience to the impositions of an authority which hath not any pretence to oblige or advise you. If you will not, with freedom, communicate the doubts which occur to you, to those near you, of whose learning and piety you have had much experience, let me conjure you to impart them to me, and to expect my answer, before you suffer them to prevail over you.

God bless you and yours.

A MODERN ACCOUNT OF SCOTLAND:

Being an exact Description of the Country, and a true Character of the People and their Manners.

Written from thence by an English Gentleman.

Printed in the Year 1670. Quarto, containing twenty Pages.

IF all our European travellers direct their course to Italy, upon the account of its antiquity, why should Scotland be neglected, whose wrinkled surface derives its original from the chaos? The first inhabitants were some stragglers of the fallen angels, who rested themselves on the confines, till their captain Lucifer provided places for them in his own country. This is the conjecture of learned criticks, who trace things to their originals; and this opinion was grounded on the devil's brats yet resident amongst them (whose foresight, in the events of good and evil, exceeds the oracles at Delphos) the supposed issue of those pristine inhabitants.

Names of countries were not then in fashion; those came not in till Adam's days; and history, being then in her infancy, makes no mention of the changes of that renowned country. In that interval betwixt him and Moses, when their Chronicle commences, she was then baptised (and most think with the sign of the Cross) by the venerable name of Scotland, from Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt. Hence came the rise and name of these present inhabitants, as their Chronicle informs us, and is not to be doubted of, from divers considerable circumstances; the plagues of Egypt being entailed upon them, that of lice (being a judgment unrepealed) is an ample testimony, these loving animals accompanied them from Egypt, and remain with them to this day, never forsaking them (but as rats leave a house) till they tumble into their graves. The plague of biles and blains is hereditary to them, as a distinguishing mark from the rest of the world, which (like the devil's cloven hoof) warns all men to beware of them. The judgment of hail and snow is naturalised and made free denison here, and continues with them from the sun's first ingress into Aries, till he has passed the thirtieth degree of Aquary.

The plague of darkness was said to be thick darkness, to be felt, which most undoubtedly these people have a share in, as the word Σκοτινή, darkness, implies; the darkness being appliable to their gross and blockish understandings (as I had it from a scholar of their own nation). Upon these grounds this original is undeniably allowed them, and the country itself (in pyramids) resembles Egypt, but far exceeds them both in bulk and number; theirs are but the products of men's labours, but these are nature's own handy-work; and, if Atlas would ease a shoulder, here he may be fitted with a supporter.

Italy is compared to a leg, Scotland to a louse, whose legs and engrailed edges represent the promontories and buttings out into the sea, with more nooks and angles than the most conceited of my lord mayor's custards. Nor does the comparison determine here. A louse preys upon its own fosterer and preserver, and is productive of those minute animals called nits; so Scotland, whose proboscis joins too close to England, has sucked away the nutriment from Northumberland, as the country itself is too true a testimony, and, from its opposite a ——, has calved those nitty islands, called the Orcades and the Shetland *(quasi Shite-land)* islands.

The arms of the kingdom was anciently a Red Lion rampant in a field of gold, but, *anno domini* 787, they had the augmentation of the double Tressure, for assisting the French king; but his majesty's arms in Scotland is a mere *hysteron proteron*, the pride of the people being such, as to place the Scots arms in the dexter quarter of the escutcheon, and make the unicorn the dexter supporter, with the thistle at his heel, with a suitable motto, *Nemo me impune lacessit*, true enough; whoever deals with them shall be sure to smart for it. The thistle was wisely placed there, partly to shew the fertility of the country, nature alone producing plenty of these gay flowers, and partly as an emblem of the people, the top thereof having some colour of a flower, but the bulk and substance of it, is only sharp, and poisonous pricks.

Woods they have none; that suits not with the frugality of the people, who are so far from propagating any, that they destroy those they had upon this politick state maxim, that corn will not grow on the land pestered with its roots, and their branches harbour birds, animals above their humble conversation, that exceeds not that of hornless quadrupedes. Marry, perhaps, some of their houses lurk under the shelter of a plump of trees (the birds not daring so high a presumption) like Hugh Peters's puss in her majesty, or an owl in an ivy-bush. Some fir-woods there are in the high-lands, but so inaccessible, that they serve for no other use than dens for those ravenous wolves with two hands, that prey upon their neighbourhood, and shelter themselves under this covert; to whom the sight of a stranger is as surprising as that of a cockatrice. The vallies for the most part are covered with beer, or bigg, and the hills with snow; and, as in the northern countries the bears and foxes change their coats into the livery of the soil, so here the moor-fowl, called Termagants, turn white, to suit the sample, though the inhabitants still stand to their Egyptian hue.

They are freed from the charge and incumbrance of inclosures, the whole being but one large waste, surrounded with the sea. Indeed, in many places you may see half a rood of land divided with an earthern bank, into many differing apartments, according to the quality of beasts that are to possess them.

The whole country will make up a park, forest, or chace, as you will please to call it; but, if you desire an account of particular parks, they are innumerable, every small house having a few sodds thrown into a little bank about it, and this for the state of the business, forsooth, must be called a park, though not a pole of land in it.

If the air was not pure and well refined by its agitation, it would be so infected with the stink of their towns, and the steams of the nasty inhabitants, that it would be pestilential and destructive. Indeed, it is too thin for their gross senses, that must be fed with suitable viands, their meat not affecting their distempered palates, without having a damnable hogoe; nor musick their ears, without loud and harsh discord, and their nostrils (like a Jew's) chiefly delight in the perceptible effluviums of an old Sir R——.

Fowl are as scarce here as birds of paradise, the charity of the inhabitants denying harbour to such celestial animals, though gulls and cormorants abound, there being a greater sympathy betwixt them. There is one sort of ravenous fowl amongst them, that has one web-foot, one foot suited for land, and another for water; but, whether or no this fowl, being particular to this country, be not a lively picture of the inhabitants, I shall leave to wiser conjectures.

Their rivers, or rather arms of the sea, are short, few places in Scotland being above a day's journey from the sea; but they are broad, deep, and dangerous, pestered with multitudes of porpoises, or sharks (some of them, perhaps, amphibious too, that live more on land than water) and destroy their salmon, the great commodity of this country; which, being too good for the inhabitants, are barreled up, and converted into merchandise, &c. The banks and borders of these rivers, especially near their towns, are adorned with hardy amazons, though inverted, their valour being chiefly from the waist downwards; which parts they readily expose to all the dangers of a naked rencounter. The exercise of their arms (I should say, feet) is much about linnen; sheets are sufferers; a fit receiver is provided (not unlike a shallow pulpit to mind them of their idol sermons) wherein foul linnen is laid to suffer persecution; so they turn up all, and tuck them about their waists, and bounce into a buck-tub; then go their stock, and belabour poor lint, till there be not a dry thread on it: Hence came the invention of fulling-mills; the women taught the men, and they put in practice.

The country is full of lakes and loughs, and they well stocked with islands; so that a map thereof looks like a pillory coat bespattered all over with dirt and rotten eggs, some pieces of the shells, floating here and there, representing the islands.

Their cattle are only representatives, of what are in other countries; these being so epitomised, that it is hard to know what class they relate to. Their horses are hardy, and not without gall, as some say, other horses are, using both tooth and nail to mischief you; that they may not use more state than their masters, they go bare-foot, which preserves them from the gout; and, if Hudibrass's horse had been of this race, he had not needed a corn-cutter. Their furniture or harness, is all of the same matter, all wood from head to tail, bridle, saddle, girth, stirrups, and crupper, all wood; nothing but a withy will bind a witch, and, if these be called witches, I shall not oppose it, since, by their untoward tricks, one would guess the devil to be in them. Their bridles have not bits, but a kind of musroll of two pieces of wood; their crupper is a stick of a yard's length, put a-cross their docks, both ends thereof being tied with woven wood to the saddle. Their bed and board too, is all of the same dry straw, and when they have it up, whip on harness, and away. Their neat are hornless, the owners claiming sole propriety in those ornaments, nor should I deny them their necklace too, for methinks that hoisted wood would mightily become them. Their sheep too have the same preferment, they are coupled together, near their master's palace. Some animals they have by the name of hogs, but more like porcupines, bristled all over, and these are likewise fastened to the free-hold by the former artifice; all their quadrupedes, dogs only excepted, in which sort they much abound, are honoured with wooden bracelets, about their necks, legs, or arms, &c.

Their cities are poor and populous, especially Edinburgh, their metropolis, which so well suits with the inhabitants, that one character will serve them both, viz. High and dirty. The houses mount seven or eight stories high, with many families on one floor, one room being sufficient for all occasions, eating, drinking, sleeping, and shit——. The most mannerly step but to the door, and nest upon the stairs. I have been in an island, where it was difficult to tread without breaking an egg; but to move here, and not murder a t—, is next to an impossibility; the whole pavement is pilgrim-salve, most excellent to liquor shoes withal, and soft and easy for the bare-foot perambulators. The town is like a double comb, an engine not commonly known amongst them, one great street, and each side stocked with narrow allies, which I mistook for common-shores; but, the more one stirs in a t—, the more it will stink. The other cities and towns are copies from this original, and therefore need no commentators to explain them. They have seven colleges, or rather schools, in four universities. The regents wear what coloured cloaths, or gowns, they please, and commonly no gowns at all; so that it is hard to distinguish a scholar, from an ordinary man, since their learning shines not out of their noses. The younger students wear scarlet gowns, only in term time; their residence is commonly in the town, only at school-hours they convene in the college, to consult their oracle Buchanan. Their chief studies are for pulpit-preferment, to prate out four or five glasses, with as much ease, as drink them; and this they attain to in their stripling years, commencing Mr. of Arts (that is meant only Mr. of this Art) before one would judge them fit for the college; for as soon as they can walk as far as the school, which they will do very young, for like lap-wings they run, with shells on their heads, they are sent thither, where they find no benches to sit on (only one for the Mr.) but have a little heath and fadder strewed for them to lie upon, where they litter together, and chew the cud on their fathers horn-books, and, in good time, are preferred to the Bible. From this petty school, away with them to the grammar-school, viz. the college, where, in three or four year's time, they attain to (their *ne plus ultra*) the degree of A. M. that is, they can, *extempore*, coin graces and prayers for all occasions. If you crack a nut, there is a grace for that; drink a dish of coffee, ale, or wine, or what else, he presently furnishes you with a grace for the nonce; so if you pare your nails, go to stool, or any other action of like importance, he can as easily suit you with a prayer, as draw on a glove; and the wonder of all, is, that this prayer shall be so admirably framed, that it may indifferently quadrate with any occasion, an excellency no where so common, as in this country. Thus you see the young man has commenced, and got strength enough to walk to the kirk, and enter the chair; where we shall find him anon, after we have viewed the out-sides of their kirks, some of which have been of ancient foundations, and well and regularly built; but order and uniformity is in perfect antipathy to the humour of this nation, these goodly structures being either wholly destroyed (as at St. Andrews and Elgin, where, by the remaining ruins, you may see what it was in perfection) or very much defaced. They make use of no choirs, those are either quite pulled down, or converted into another kirk; for it is common here to have three, four, or five kirks under one roof, which, being preserved intire, would have made one good church, but they could not then have had preaching enough in it. Out of one pulpit now they have thirty sermons per week, all under one roof, plenty of spiritual provision, which gusts much better with a mixture of the flesh; as you may guess by their stools of repentance in every kirk, well furnished with whore-mongers and adulterers of both sexes. In Venice, the shadows only of curtezans are exposed to publick view only in effigie; but here the whore, in person, has a high place provided her in the view of the whole congregation, for the benefit of strangers, who, some think, need not this direction, but may truck for all commodities with the first they meet with. They use no service-book, nor whore of Babylon's smock, as they term a surplice, nor decency, nor order in their divine or rather contumelious service. Would a king think himself honoured by subjects, that petitioned him with bonnet veiled, but cocked his cap, while his request was granting; while precious Mr. Presbyter grimaces, prays, or howls, the monster rabble veils; but, as soon as text is taken, blue-bonnet takes place again, and this pulpit-prater is esteemed more than God's ambassador, having the holy spirit at his beck to prompt him every word he speaks, yet not three sentences of sense together, such blasphemy as I blush to mention.

Their christenings, as all other things, are without form, only water poured on the infant, and such words used as Sir John's Mephistophilus supplies him with, and so the child commences Christian, as good (or better) than the best of them. Some think marriage an unnecessary thing amongst them, it being more generous and usual amongst them to take one another's words: however, it is thus performed. The young couple, being attended with tagrag and bobtail, gang to kirk, where Mr. Scruple, like a good casuist, controverts the point in hand to them, and schools Mr. Bridegroom in his lesson; then directs his discourse to Mrs. Bride, who, being the weaker vessel, ought to have the more pains taken with her; he chalks out the way she is to walk in, in all its particulars, and joins their hands, and then let them fall to in God's name. Home they go with loud ravishing bag-pipes, and dance about the green, till they part by couples to repetition, and so put the rules in practice; and perhaps Sir Roger follows Mrs. Bride to her apartment, to satisfy her doubts, where he uses such pungent and pressing arguments, as she never forgets as long as she lives.

When any one dies, the bell-man goes about ringing their passing-bell, and acquaints the people therewith, in form following: 'Beloved brouthrin and susters, I let yau to wot that thir is an fauthful broothir lawtli departed awt of this prisant varld, awt thi plesuir of Aulmoughti Good (and then he veils his bonnet) his naum is Volli Voodcock thrid son to Jimmoy Voodcock acordinger; he ligs aut thi sext door vethin thi Nord Gawt, close on thi nawthwr Rawnd, and I wod yaw gang to hus burying on Thrusdau before twa a cloak, &c.' The time appointed for his burying being come, the bell-man calls the company together, and he is carried to the burying-place, and thrown into the grave, as dog Lyon was, and there is an end of Wolli. Few people are here buried in their kirks, except of their nobility, but in the kirk garths, or in a burying-place on purpose, called the Hoof, at the further end of the town, like our quakers, inclosed with a wall, so that it serves not only as a burying-place, but an exchange to meet in: Perhaps in one part of it their courts of judicature are kept; in another are butts to shoot at for recreation. All agree that a woman's tongue is the last member she moves; but the Latin proverb, *Mulieri ne credas*, &c. seems to prove it after death. I am sure the pride of this people never leaves them, but follows them to their long homes (I was about to have said to the devil) for the meanest man must have a grave-stone full fraught with his own praises, though he was the vilest miscreant on earth; and miserable *Memento mori's*, both in English and Latin, nay Greek too, if they can find a Greek word for Cordinger, the calling he was of; and all this in such miserable Scotch orthography, that it is hard to distinguish one language from another.

The castles of defence in this country are almost impregnable, only to be taken by treachery or long siege, their water failing them soonest. They are built upon high and almost inaccessible rocks, only one forced passage up to them, so that a few men may easily defend them. Indeed all the gentlemen's houses are strong castles, they being so treacherous one to another, that they are forced to defend themselves in strong-holds. They are commonly built upon some single rock in the sea, or some high precipice near the Mid-land, with many towers, and strong iron grates before their windows (the lower part whereof is only a wooden shutter, and the upper part glass) so that they look more like prisons than houses of reception. Some few houses there are of late erection, that are built in a better form, with good walks and gardens about them, but their fruit rarely comes to any perfection. The houses of the commonalty are very mean, mud-wall and thatch the best; but the poorer sort live in such miserable hutts as never eye beheld, it is no difficulty to piss over them; men, women, and children, pig all together in a poor mouse-hole of mud, heath, and such-like matter. In some parts where turf is plentiful, they build up little cabbins thereof, with arched roofs of turf, without a stick of timber in it; when the house is dry enough to burn, it serves them for fuel, and they remove to another. The habit of the people is very different, according to the qualities, or the places they live in, as low-land or high-land men. The low-land gentry go well enough habited, but the poorer sort go (almost) naked, only an old cloke, or a part of their bed-cloaths thrown over them. The highlanders wear slashed doublets, commonly without breeches, only a plad tied about their wasts, &c. thrown over one shoulder, with short stockings to the gartering-place, their knees and part of their thighs being naked; others have breeches and stockings all of a piece of plad-ware, close to their thighs; in one side of their girdle sticks a durk or skean, about a foot or half a yard long, very sharp, and the back of it filed into divers notches, wherein they put poison; on the other side, a brace, at least, of brass pistols; nor is this honour sufficient, if they can purchase more, they must have a long swinging sword.

The women are commonly two-handed tools, strong-posted timber. They dislike Englishmen, because they have no legs, or, like themselves, posts to walk on. The meaner go barefoot and bare-head, with two black elflocks on either side their faces; some of them have scarce any cloaths at all, save part of their bed-clothes pinned about their shoulders, and their children have nothing else on them but a little blanket. Those women, that can purchase plads, need not bestow much upon other clothes, these cover-sluts being sufficient. Those of the best sort, that are very well habited in their modish silks, yet must wear a plad over all for the credit of their country.

The people are proud, arrogant, vainglorious boasters, bloody, barbarous, and inhuman butchers. Cousenage and theft is in perfection amongst them, and they are perfect English haters; they shew their pride in exalting themselves, and depressing their neighbours. When the palace at Edinburgh is finished, they expect his majesty will leave his rotten house at Whitehall, and live splendidly amongst his nown countrymen the Scots; for they say, that Englishmen are very much beholden to them, that we have their king amongst us. The nobility and gentry lord it over their poor tenants, and use them worse than gally-slaves; they are all bound to serve them, men, women, and children. The first fruits are always the landlord's due; he is the man that must first board all the young married women within his lairdship, and their sons are all his slaves, so that any mean laird will have six or ten, or more followers. Besides, those of his own name, that are inferior to him, must all attend him (as he himself must do his superior, of the same name, and all of them attend the chief); if he receives a stranger, all this train must be at his beck, armed as aforesaid. If you drink with them in a tavern, you must have all this rubbish with you; and, if you offend the laird, his durk shall soon be sheathed in your belly, and, after his, every one of his followers, or they shall suffer themselves that refuse it, that so they may be all alike guilty of the murder. Every laird of note, hath a gibbet near his house, and has power to condemn and hang any of his vassals; so they dare not oppose him in any thing, but must submit to his commands, let them be never so unjust and tyrannical. There are too many testimonies of their cruelty amongst themselves in their own chronicles. Forty of their kings have been barbarously murdered by them, and half as many more have either made away themselves, for fear of their torturing of them, or have died miserably in strait imprisonment. What strange butcheries have been committed in their feuds, some of which are in agitation at this day, viz. Argyle with the Macclanes, and Mac Donnels about Mula island, which has cost already much blood, and is likely will cost much more before it will be decided. Their spirits are so mean, that they rarely rob, but take away life first; lying in ambuscade, they send a brace of bullets, on ambassy, through the traveller's body; and, to make sure work, they sheath their durks in his lifeless trunk; perhaps, to take off their fire-edges, as new knives are stuck in a bag-pudding. If an highlander be injured, those of his own name must defend him, and will certainly have satisfaction from the offenders. A late instance whereof was at Inverness, a considerable town, where one of the Macdonnels was slain, but, shortly, the chief of the name came down against the town with fifteen-hundred of his own name, and threatened to fire the town, but the inhabitants compounded with them for two-thousand pounds.

Their cruelty descends to their beasts, it being a custom, in some places, to feast upon a living cow; they tie in the middle of them, near a great fire, and then cut collops of this poor living beast, and broil them on the fire, till they have mangled her all to pieces; nay, sometimes they will only cut off as much as will satisfy their present appetites, and let her go, till their greedy stomachs calls for a new supply; such horrible cruelty, as can scarce be paralleled in the whole world! Their theft is so well known, that it needs no proving; they are forced to keep watch over all they have, to secure it; their cattle are watched day and night, or otherwise they would be overgrown by morning. In the highlands, they do it publickly before the face of the sun; if one man has two cows, and another wants, he shall soon supply himself from his neighbour, who can find no remedy for it. The gentry keep an armory in their own houses, furnished with several sorts of fire-arms, pikes, and halberds, with which they arm their followers, to secure themselves from the rapine of their neighbourhood. The lowland language may be well enough understood by an Englishman, but the highlanders have a peculiar lingua to themselves, which they call Erst, unknown to most of the lowland men, except only in those places that border on them, where they can speak both: Yet, these people are so currish, that, if a stranger inquire the way in English, they will certainly answer in Erst, and find no other language than what is forced from them with a cudgel. If Cornelius Agrippa had travelled Scotland, sure cookery had not been found in his vanity of sciences; such is their singular skill in this art, that they may defy the world to rival them. King James's treat for the devil, that is, a poll of ling, a joll of sturgeon, and a pig, with a pipe of tobacco for digestion, had been very complete, if the ordering thereof had been assigned to a cook of this country, who can suit every dish, with its proper hogoe, and bring corruption to your table, only to mind men of mortality. Their meat is carrion when it is killed, but, after it has been a fortnight a perfuming with the aromatick air, strained through the clammy trunks of flesh-flies, then it passes the trial of fire under the care of one of those exquisite artists, and is dished up in a sea of sweet Scotch butter, and so covered and served hot up to the table. O how happy is he that is placed next to it, with a privilege to uncover it, and receive the hot steams of this dainty dish, almost sufficient to cure all distempers. It will be needless to instance, in particulars so plain and evident to all that have travelled through the country, that they may certainly bear away the bell from all their neighbouring nations, or, indeed, from the whole world. Their nobility and gentry have tables plentifully enough furnished, but few or none of them have their meat better ordered. To put one's head into their kitchen-doors, is little less than destructive; to enter hell alive, where the black fairies are busied in mangling dead carcases, and the fire and brimstone, or rather stew and stink, is ready to suffocate you; and yet, which is strange, these things are agreeable to the humours of the people. The poorer sort live of haddock, whiting, and sowre milk, which is cried up and down their streets, 'whea buyes sawer milk,' and upon the stinking fragments that are left at their laird's table. Prodigious stomachs, that, like the Gulon, can feed on their own excrements, and strain their meat through their stomachs, to have the pleasure of devouring it again!

Their drink is ale made of beer-malt, and tunned up in a small vessel, called a cogue. After it has stood a few hours, they drink it out of the cogue, yest and all. The better sort brew it in larger quantities, and drink it in wooden queighs, but it is sorry stuff, yet excellent for preparing birdlime. But wine is the great drink with the gentry, which they pour in like fishes, as if it were their natural element. The glasses, they drink out of, are considerably large, and they always fill them to the brim, and away with it. Some of them have arrived at the perfection to tope brandy at the same rate. Sure these are a bowl above Bacchus, and of right ought to have a nobler throne than a hogshead.

Musick they have, but not the harmony of the spheres, but loud terrene noises, like the bellowing of beasts. The loud bagpipe is their chief delight; stringed instruments are too soft to penetrate the organs of their ears that are only pleased with sounds of substance.

The highways in Scotland are tolerably good, which is the greatest comfort a traveller meets with amongst them. They have not inns, but change-houses (as they call them) poor small cottages, where you must be content to take what you find, perhaps eggs with chucks in them, and some lang-cale; at the better sort of them, a dish of chopped chickens, which they esteem a dainty dish, and will take it unkindly if you do not eat very heartily of it, though, for the most part, you may make a meal with the sight of the fare, and be satisfied with the steam only, like the inhabitants of the world in the moon. Your horses must be sent to a stabler's (for the change-houses have no lodging for them) where they may feed voluptuously on straw only, for grass is not to be had; and hay is so much a stranger to them, that they are scarce familiar with the name of it.

The Scotch gentry commonly travel from one friend's house to another, so seldom make use of a change-house. Their way is to hire a horse and a man for two-pence a mile. They ride on the horse thirty or forty miles a day; and the man, who is his guide, foots it beside him, and carries his luggage to boot. The best sort keep only a horse or two for themselves and their best friend, all the rest of the train foot it beside them. The commonalty are so used to worship and adore their lairds, that, when they see a stranger in any tolerable equipage, they honour him with the title of laird, at least, 'An't please you, my laird such a one, or an't please you, my laird Dr.' at every bare word, forsooth.

The nobility shew themselves very great before strangers. They are conducted into the house by many of their servants, where the lord, with his troop of shadows, receives them with the grand paw, then enter into some discourse of their country, till you are presented with a great queigh of syrup of beer; after that a glass of white-wine, then a rummer of claret, and sometimes after that a glass of sherry-sack, and then begin the round with ale, again, and ply you briskly, for it is their way of shewing you are welcome, by making you drunk. If you have longer time to stay, you stick close to claret, till Bacchus wins the field, and leaves the conquered victims groveling on the place where they received their overthrow. At your departure you must drink a Dongha Doras, in English, a stirrup-cup, and have the satisfaction to have my lord's bagpipe (with his loud pipes, with his lordship's coat of armour on a flag) strut about you, and enchant you with a 'Loth to depart.'

Their money is commonly dollars, or mark-pieces, coined at Edinburgh; but their way of reckoning is surprising to a stranger. To receive a bill of an hundred pounds in one of their change-houses, when one would not suppose they had any of the value of an hundred pence. They call a penny a shilling, and every twenty shillings, viz. twenty pence, a pound; so the proportion of their pound to ours is twelve to one. Strangers are sure to be grosly imposed upon in all their change-houses, and there is no redress for it. If an Englishman should complain to their magistrates, they would all take a part against him, and make sure to squeese him.

The conclusion of the abridgment of the Scotch Chronicle, is the rare and wonderful things of that country; as in Orkney, their ewes bring forth two lambs a piece; that in the northermost of Shetland Islands, about the summer solstice, there is no night; that in the park of Cumbernaule are white kine and oxen; that at Slanes there is a petrifying water in a cove; that at Aberdeen is a vitrioline well, that they say is excellent to dissolve the stone, and expel sand from the reins and bladder, and good for the cholick, being drunk in July, &c. These prodigious wonders in one country are admirable, but these are not half of them. Lougness never freezes; in Lough Lommond are fishes without fins: And, 2dly, The waters thereof rage in great waves without wind, in calm weather: And, 3dly, and lastly, Therein is a floating island. In Kyle is a deaf rock, twelve feet every way, yet a gun, discharged on one side of it, shall not be heard to the other. In another place is a rocking-stone of a reasonable bigness, that, if a man push it with his finger, it will move very lightly, but, if he address his whole force, it availeth nothing; with many more marvels of like nature, which I would rather believe than go thither to disprove. To conclude, the whole bulk and selvedge of this country is all wonder too great for me to unriddle; there I shall leave it as I found it, with its agreeable inhabitants in

A land where one may pray, with curst intent,
Oh! may they never suffer banishment.

THE QUEEN'S WELLS:

THAT IS,

A Treatise of the Nature and Vertues of Tunbridge Water.

Together with an Enumeration of the chiefest Diseases, which it is good for, and against which it may be used, and the Manner and Order of taking it.

BY LODOWICK ROWZEE,

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CHAP. I.

Of Water in General.

ALTHOUGH my main scope in this following discourse be concerning Tunbridge water, yet will it not be altogether fruitless or unpleasant, I hope, to the reader, if I say something, as it were, by way of preface, touching water in general. Water is a substance so absolutely necessary, that no living creature can subsist without the benefit of it, nor no tree bring forth its leaves and fruit, nor any plant its seed, if they be deprived of that vivifical moisture, which maketh them all to grow and prosper. That this is true, you may observe it in summer, for, if rain be wanting but a few weeks, how backward be all things? How do all plants wither in that season when they should chiefly flourish? For this cause, perhaps, it was, that Hesiod thought water to be the most ancient of all the elements. Of this opinion also was Thales Milesius, one of the seven wise Grecians, who made water the sole principle of all things. Empedocles likewise jumping with them said, that all things were made of water. And Hippon in Aristotle, lib. i. c. 2. de Anima, terms the soul water. Hippocrates goeth not so far, but yet he calleth water and fire the two principles of life. True it is, that, by water, Hippon doth understand our seed; and Hippocrates, our radical moisture. The Latins, upon the etymology of the word Aqua, water, do derive it from *a et qua, quasi a qua vivimus, vel a qua omnia fiunt*, by which we live, or out of which all things are made. Others will have it *quasi æqua*, because there is nothing more equal and smooth than water, when it is not tossed with the wind. But Julius Cæsar Scaliger, Exercit. 745, disliketh these etymologies, and will derive *aqua* from the obsolete Greek word ἄσχα, which anciently did signify water. This element seemeth to challenge a kind of rule and dominion over the rest, for it easily transmuteth air into itself, extinguisheth fire, and devoureth earth. And, to go no higher than our grandfathers memory, nor further than our neighbours, the ocean-sea swallowed up above one-hundred-thousand acres of ground at one clap in Holland. Nay, it aspireth even unto the heavens; and, which is strange, it doth not only get up thither in itself alone, but carrieth with it whole shoals of fishes, heaps of stones, and divers other heavy substances, which afterwards fall down with it. Most creatures live without fire; without water, none; and, with water only, without any other sustenance, a Spanish maiden, Cæl. Rhod. Lib. xiii. c. 23, is reported to have lived a long time: And Albertus writeth of a melancholy man, who, by the space of seven weeks, lived with water only, one draught of which he took but every other day. The Lord Verulam also hath produced his opinion of late, and holdeth, That trees and plants live, and are nourished merely by water; and that the earth is, as it were, but a stabilimentum unto them to keep them steady, and from being beaten down by the wind. He proveth it by rose-bushes, which, being put into water, without any earth, and kept upright in the same, not only brought forth leaves, but fair roses also; and the royal prophet saith, Psal. i. That 'a tree, planted by the rivers of water, bringeth forth his fruit in due season.' Much more might be said concerning water, but, because I intend to be brief, let this suffice.

CHAP. II.

Of the differences of Water.

In the creation, God said, Gen. i. 4, 5, 'Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made the firmament, and divided the waters, which were under the firmament, from the waters which were above the firmament.' And David saith, Psal. xxix. 10, That 'the Lord sitteth upon the flood;' that is, upon the orb of the waters; and where he exciteth the creatures to laud the Lord, he speaketh thus, Psal. cxlviii. 4, 'Praise him ye heavens of heavens, and the waters that be above the heavens.' Those waters are likened in another place, Ezek. i. 22, to a terrible chrystal; and said to be, as it were, Exod. xxiv. 10, a paved work of sapphire-stone. And some, Rab. Levi Ben Jarchij in Gen. c. i, go so far, as to define the place and seat of those waters, and say, That they are as much above the *primum mobile*, as the *primum mobile* is above the elementary waters; but whether they ever were there to take the just distance, I do not know. That there should be water above the firmament, many men think it strange, and yet the deluge, besides the express word of God, proved it to be true. For, if all the water of all the seas, lakes, ponds, rivers, and fountains in the world, had been drawn up into the heavens in like manner, as we do in distillations, yet would not their quantity have increased, but there would have returned back again, by rain, no more, than was ascended up, nor so such neither, perhaps; because, though you be never so careful in your distillations, and use glass vessels never so well luted, yet will you still receive some loss; and so the flood had not gone fifteen cubits above the highest mountains. But, why this should be stranger than all the rest of the wonderful works of God, there is no reason. The massy and heavy globe of the earth and water standeth, as it were, *in æquilibrio* in the center of the world, suspended by the omnipotency of God. Nay, all his works are universally so admirable, that there is no less wonder in the smallest Gnat, than in the biggest Elephant; in the least weed, that creepeth upon the ground, than in the tallest cedar. But of those waters, which are above the firmament, and of those, which were gathered together under the firmament, namely, the sea, we speak here but by the way; though, concerning the seas, divers curious and pleasant questions might be handled, as touching the saltness of it, the ebbing and flowing of the same, why it can endure no impure things, and the like. These things, I say, might bring some delight to the reader, but they are beyond our scope: and, therefore, I will only speak briefly of those waters which are potables, and in common use amongst us, either for diet or physick.

They are commonly divided into fountain-water, river-water, well-water, rain-water, and pond-water. The pre-eminence thereof is commonly given to spring-water; but, in general, that water is accounted best and wholesomest for diet, which is pure, and without any taste, but such as water should have. For most water retaineth some savour of the ground through which it runneth; and although to those, who do not use to drink water, it be imperceptible, yet divers of those, who drink nothing but water, will as easily perceive a difference betwixt water and water, as we do betwixt beer and beer, or wine and wine. The best water also is lightest, but that lightness is not to be considered by weight (for snow water is most light, and yet unwholesome) but by the thinness of the parts thereof, and by the speedy heating and cooling of the same, as Hippocrates well observeth. Let this suffice to have been briefly touched concerning the differences of waters in general, and let us now say something, with like brevity, concerning the original of springs and rivers.

CHAP. III.

Of the Original of Springs and Rivers.

It is a common received opinion, derived from Aristotle, that the generation of water proceedeth from the air condensed into the same, in the bowels of the earth, and distilling, as water doth with us, from a limbeck. But it is hard to imagine, how the nature of air should be so speedily corrupted, and turned into water, and in that quantity too, that should maintain the continual course of so many springs, and so great a number of rivers as are in the world, divers of which are of such vastness, and of so swift a course, that a man might justly think, that the whole element of air, which, in its own nature, is but very thin, should scarcely suffice to maintain the course of that abundance of water one only day. And, as for the reason they alledge, that air is retained within the concavities and porosities of the earth, *ad vitandum vacuum*, which nature doth abhor, and afterwards is converted into water, it is but a very weak one; for those concavities are still full of air, as well elsewhere, as where springs and rivers do flow. But, if the transmutation of air into water was the only cause of the flowing of all springs and rivers, surely their streams must needs be but narrow, and their course slow, and of small continuance. Besides, if this was true, How could the sea, think you, contain that excessive abundance of water, which perpetually runneth into the same? The ancient opinion then is the truer, that all fountains and rivers come from the sea, and are transcolated through the veins and porosities of the earth, where, in their passage, they leave their saltness. Plato, Aristotle's master, was of this opinion; and, before him, *Thales Milesius;* as also *Philo, in Lib. de mundi opificio; Seneca, Lib.* iii. c. 9. *Nat. Quæst.* and *Georgius Agricola, Lib.* i. *de ortu subterran.* which, without question, they had learned from the Hebrews; for thus speaketh the preacher, Eccles. i. 'All the rivers run into the sea, yet the sea is not full; unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again.' This is a most clear and express text, and which alone shall suffice to prove this point, especially seeing the rule and law of nature doth suffragate unto the same; for, wheresoever there is a repletion, there must needs an evacuation be. But some, perhaps, may say, We see, indeed, all rivers run into the sea, but we do not see how they come from it? True, but when we see that, for all the abundance of water which runneth continually into the seas, the same are not increased thereby, but remain still the same, we must needs imagine that they disburden themselves somewhere. For, otherwise, the waters had, long ago, overwhelmed the world, and reached up even unto heaven, seeing that the flood, Gen. vii, caused but by rain of forty days, ascended fifteen cubits above the highest mountains. Besides, our very senses may persuade us, that the original of springs and rivers is from the sea; for divers springs of fresh water are in sundry places, which seem to sympathise with the sea, and to imitate the motion thereof by a kind of ebullition. And, which is strange, and yet a thing vouched by divers good authors, those things, which were cast into the river of Alpheus in Græcia, were afterwards found in the fountain called Arethusa, near Syracusa in Sicily, though there be a great distance of sea and land betwixt them; which gave occasion to the ancient poets (who did use to involve all the secrets of nature in their fables) to feign, that Alpheus and Arethusa were a couple of lovers, which were transformed, the one into a river, and the other into a fountain; and of them speaketh *Ovid, Lib.* v, *Metam.* saying:

In latices mutor, sed enim cognoscit amatas
Amnis aquas, positoque viri, quod sumpserat, ore,
Vertitur in proprias, quo se mihi misceat, undas.

But whereas I said before, that, for all the water, which runneth into the seas, they remain still the same, I would not be mistaken; for I know, that the seas have sometimes gone beyond their ordinary bounds and limits; but it hath been when they were, as it were, commanded so to do by their creator, for the punishment of men's wickedness, or whensoever men have gone about to alter the natural seat and state of the same, and the ordinary course of rivers.

Of God's judgments there are divers examples, as * Olenus and Helice, two of the twelve cities, which made the commonwealth of the Achæans, which, a little before the battle of Leuctra, were drowned by the sea. Antissa, Tyndaris, and Burrha had the like fortune also, being swallowed up by the sea, together with all their inhabitants. And that it might the better appear, that the finger of God was in it, all such, as thought to have escaped by shipping, perished as well as the rest, being drowned and overwhelmed by the waves. And of those, who have endeavoured to contract and pin up the sea into narrower limits, by rills, dikes, and other works, divers of them have often sustained great damage by the same; as for example, the Hollanders, who, as we said before, lost above a hundred-thousand acres of ground by such means, which the sea, after the overthrow of all their dikes and strong works, took away from them, as it were by letters of reprisal. This were enough to teach men, that it is but in vain to go against the order established by God, and the ordinary course of nature; yet it is worth the noting also, and a thing not to be considered, without admiration, that all those princes, who purposed to cut the Isthmus of Peloponnesus, which is a neck of land betwixt two seas, containing according to Mercator, in his Atlas major, some five miles in breadth, died all before the work was begun, as Caligula, C. Cæsar, Demetrius, Nero, and Domitian.

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* Lib. ii. Of Polybius, that excellent Greek Author, whose works I lately finished, to translate into English, my translation being ready for the press, if it can find any room there. And as for Polybius, I dare boldly say here, by the way, that there is not any better, or more necessary author extant in his kind; especially, for three sons of men, princes, statesmen, and soldiers. And whereas the Emperor Charles the Fifth was wont to say, That there were but three books necessary for a prince: Polybius, for wars; Machiavel, for state-matters and policy; and Castiglio, for behaviour; if he aimed at a compendium, he might very well have left out the second, seeing for state-matters, and honest policy, enough of it may be found in Polybius, who, for judgment, sufficiency, virtue, and honesty (though but an heathen) went far beyond Machiavel; and far more for employment and experience, having been in great places of authority, both in civil and martial affairs, and familiarly acquainted with that great Roman, Scipio Africanus, and with Caius Lælius. Whereas Machiavel was but a petty secretary or town-clerk of the city of Florence, grown famous only through the wicked maxims and positions contained in his writings, and especially in his Prince, where he setteth forth that monster of men, Cæsar Borgia, bastard son to the like father, Alexander the Sixth, Pope of Rome, as a pattern to be imitated by such, as desire to get rule and dominion to themselves. And it seemeth, by a passage of the seventh chapter of his Prince, that he was acquainted with him, and perhaps a counsellor of his, in his murders, poisonings, and other devilish exploits. But Polybius is so far from doing the like, that there are infinite digressions in his works, in which he reprehendeth the vicious actions of men more sharply, than some other authors, which profess themselves christians.

CHAP. IV.

Of Waters of strange Nature and Effects.

All springs of waters are actually either hot or cold. Of those hot springs, some are of so excessive heat, that a man would think, it were water boiling upon the fire; and amongst others there is a vein of it running under a street, in a village, called Porcet, near the city of Akin in Germany. In the middle of this street, there is a hole, which they call Hell, with three or four bars of iron over it, in which the neighbours round about, in the summer-time, when they have no fire, do use to seethe their eggs, letting them down with a net into the water, and in a small space of time they may be boiled hard; of which I was twice an eye-witness, being there first in the year 1610, after the siege of Gulick, and the yielding of the town to the states, with that brave soldier, Sir Horace Vere, now Lord of Tilbury; and the second time, with that worthy Knight, Sir Henry Palmer, now comptroller of the navy. The cause of those hot waters is commonly ascribed to mines of sulphur or brimstone, inflamed within the bowels of the earth. But few of those hot waters, as at Akin, Porcet, in the Pyrenean Mountains, at Bath in Somersetshire, and elsewhere, have any great or extraordinary taste of brimstone, as they should of necessity have, if brimstone melted, and burning, were the cause of their heat, that mineral being of so piercing a nature, and of so extensive a faculty, that never so little of it burning upon a few coals, when our women dry their tiffanies, filleth a whole room, with the strong scent of it. Besides, such a great quantity of water running continually, and so many years and ages together, had long since extinguished those fires; or, if there were such flames, within the bowels of the earth, the same would long ago have dried up the water, and reduced the earth into ashes. Another reason there is, that you shall find no hot springs, where fires do break out; and, though the hill Vesuvius and Mount Ætna burn continually, yet are there no hot springs about them, though they be environed by the sea. And for all the late wonderful and extraordinary eruption of fire out of the said hill Vesuvius, or Monte de Soma, as they call it now, which hath been so violent, that the houses of Naples, which are eight, or, as others say, twelve miles from the same, were all covered very thick, with the ashes thereof; yet, do they not write that the water, which gushed out, at the foot of the said hill, was hot.

Besides, although there be many hot waters in Italy (for those that have written of them reckon few less than threescore) yet shall you see, no where, a mixture of fire and water in those parts; which makes me think with some, that the cause of the heat of those waters proceedeth from their motion and agitation in the bowels of the earth, falling from cataracts and broken concavities in the same.

That this may be true, it may be proved by the sea, for, though it be actually cold, yet, if it be tossed by a tempest, but of three or four days (and it is seldom, that a storm lasteth longer) the water thereof will sometimes become very hot. Besides we have many very sulphureous springs, which are never but cold; as for example, one of the four springs used at the Spa, called Geronster, which tasteth so strong of the brimstone, as myself can speak by experience, that divers of those, who drink of it, are constrained to hold their noses, whilst they are drinking, and the sulphureous fumes of it are so piercing, that they do speedily intoxicate the brain, and cause drunkenness, though it be but for a little time, being soon discussed away.*

Now, for the other springs, which are actually cold, there are sundry differences of them, according to the several substances they do run through, and the nature and effects of some of them are very admirable. Some do turn into stone whatsoever is cast into them, especially, if the things cast in be of a loose and porous substance, as leather, balls, gloves, and such like; and Pliny and others describe divers springs of that nature.

But, not to go out of this island for examples, there is a spring of that nature in Wales, in a piece of ground belonging to Sir Thomas Middleton; and the quick activity of some of those springs is wonderful, and almost incredible; for Bodinus, Lib. ii. Theat. Nat. doth affirm, That he hath seen sticks of wood, straws, and such like small things, converted into stone, in *Lacu Piceno & Alliensi fonte Acernorum*, within the space of two or three hours. So that Pliny's assertion, who, in Lib. xxxv, c. 13, saith, that earth is turned into stone, in a fountain of Guidus, within the space of eight months, is no more to be wondered at. The same author, namely Pliny, in Lib. xxxi, c. 2, maketh mention of two fountains, the one called Cerone, which maketh the sheep, that drink of it, to bear black Wool; and the other Melan, which maketh the wool of the sheep which drink of it white, and, if they drink of both, their wool will become of two colours: And of another, called Crathis, which procureth whiteness, and of a fourth, called Sybaris, which causeth blackness in the sheep and oxen which drink of the same. Nay, the same effect is seen also in men, which drink of them, for those that drink of Sybaris become blacker, harder, and of a curled hair; and such as drink of Crathis wax whiter, softer, and of a smooth hair. He bringeth in also other waters, which have the like effect, in changing the colour of such as use them. He saith likewise, that there are two springs in Bœotia, near the river of Orchomenus, whereof, the one strengtheneth memory, and the other causes oblivion. A fountain in Arcadia, called Linus, preserveth conception, and hindereth abortion; and on the other side, the river, called Amphrysus, maketh women barren. Cydnus, a river of Cilicia, helpeth the gout in the feet, as appeareth by the Epistle of Cassius Parmensis, to Marcus Antonius; and contrariwise, by the use of the water, which is in Træzene, all men get the gout in their feet. All such as drink of a Lake, called Clitorius, begin thereby to hate wine. Polyclitus relateth, that the water of a fountain in Cilicia serveth instead of oil; and Theophrastus, That the like is done by the water of a spring in Æthiopia; and Lycus, That the water of a fountain in India burneth in a lamp; the like is also at Ecbatana. Juba speaketh of a lake amongst the Troglodytes, which, for the hurt it doth, is called the Mad Lake, and saith, That it is bitter and salt thrice in a day, and then fresh, and so again at night. The same author also maketh mention of a spring in Arabia, which bubbleth up with such force, that it casteth forth whatsoever is thrown into it, though it be never so weighty. There are two fountains in Phrygia, the one, called Clæon, and the other Gelon, having those Greek names from their effects; for the first maketh men cry, and the second makes them laugh. There is an hot spring at Cranon, and yet without excessive heat, which being mingled with wine, and kept in a vessel, keepeth the same hot by the space of three days. There is a river in Bithynia, called Olachas, into which, if perjured persons be thrown, they feel as much heat as if they were in a flaming fire. In Cantabria, there are three springs, but eight feet asunder, which running together make a goodly river, and every one of them by turns becometh dry twelve times, and sometimes twenty times a day, so that a man would think, there were no more water in it, whilst in the mean time its next neighbours be full, and flow continually. There is a brook in Judea, which is dried up every Sabbath. In Macedonia, not far from the Sepulchre of Euripides, there are two brooks running together, the one having very wholesome water; and the other, poisonous and deadly. *Quod si quis*, saith Pliny, Lib. xxxi, c. 2, *fide carere ex his aliqua arbitratur, discat in nulla parte naturæ majora esse miracula.* If any man think, that some of these things are past belief, let him learn that there are no greater miracles in any other part of nature, than in waters. But if any man desire to know more, concerning the various nature and effects of springs and rivers, let him read the thirteenth dialogue of Simon Majolus, Bishop of Vultuaria, in that Tome of his works, which he intitleth, *Dies Caniculares;* and there he will find wherewith to satisfy his curiosity. I pass now to mineral and medicinal springs, which use to be drank.

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* Since the writing of this Treatise, and when I was come to London, about the printing it, I lighted by chance upon Dr. Jordan's learned and elaborate discourse, of Natural Baths and Mineral Waters, wherein he hath a peculiar opinion, concerning the actual heat of mineral waters, which he ascribeth to the fermentation of minerals, and illustrateth the same, with reasons and examples. I am so far from disliking it, that I applaud it, and leave both his and my opinion to the choice of the reader; for, in those abstruse things, we have no certain knowledge, but only probable conjectures. Howsoever, the least probable of these two opinions is far more likely, than those imaginary actual fires, which the vulgar opinion holdeth.

CHAP. V.

Of Mineral and Medicinal Springs.

Mineral waters, by their manifold turnings and windings under the ground, are, as it were, impregnated with divers virtues and faculties of the several minerals through which they run, and draw with them either the faculties or substance of the same, and sometimes both; and, therefore, as mere pureness commendeth ordinary springs and wells, so doth the various mixture of several things, though sometimes of a contrary and repugnant nature, procure commendation to medicinal waters. Some of them are beholden, for whatsoever they have, to the several kinds of earth, which they pass through, and lick, as it were, by the way; as, bole, oker, rubrick, chalk, and the like: Others to liquors, or congealed juices; as, allom, bitumen, brimstone, nitre, and copperas: And others, again, to metals; as, gold, silver, iron, copper, tin, and lead. There are some also which owe their virtues to stone, as chrystal, marble, pumice-stone, *Lapis Hæmatites*, and the like; and others to the roots of trees and plants; though these are rare, either because trees do not root so deep, or by reason that medicinal springs are commonly in barren soils; as, on the contrary, wheresoever there is a fruitful soil, there are no mineral or medicinal springs to be found. Out of all these subterraneous substances divers springs draw sometimes contrary faculties, or, at least, such as have but small affinity one with another; and from hence it happeneth, that oftentimes one and the same medicinal spring cureth divers diseases, which are either contrary one to another, or, at least, have but small affinity together. It is of this as it is of theriack or mithridate, which are compositions consisting of a great number of simples, of contrary and repugnant natures, as it were, huddled together by chance; and yet, when those compositions have had their due fermentation, and those several simples have wrought one upon another, and become incorporated together, there resulteth afterwards an universal form in the composition, which maketh it excellent for most diseases, and, as it were, a general Panpharmacon; and, in that regard, some do merrily call mithridate the father, and treacle the mother of all medicines. But, that we may the more accurately distinguish betwixt mineral springs, we must consider the nature of minerals, and look which of them have affinity together, and which not. Bitumen, salt, sulphur, copperas, and copper are hot, and therefore they have a faculty to cut, cleanse, open, dry, extenuate, and disperse. Albertus Magnus, Lib. v. de Metallicis, and after him, Andernacus and others do reckon sal nitrum with these, and hold it to be hot; which might be granted them, if, by nitrum, they understood that nitrum, whereof Hippocrates, Lib. i. *de aer. Locis & Aquis*; Dioscorides, Lib. v. c. 89. Pliny, Lib. xxxi. c. 10. and Galen, Lib. ix. *Simp. Medicam.* do speak: But I do not think, that either Albertus or Andernacus ever saw it, because it began to be scanty, and hard to be found, in the time of those ancient authors, before-cited after Hippocrates. But our saltpetre, which is now called nitrum amongst us, is as far from that ancient nitrum,

Quantum Hipanis Veneto dissitus Eridano.

For, if gunpowder were not enough to prove the coldness of nitrum, in which its opposition and contrariety to brimstone is so manifest, yet were the *sal prunellæ* of the chymists (which is nothing but nitrum purified from its dregs with *flores sulphuris)* sufficient to evince it, a very little of it, put into a glass of wine, making it so cold, that one is scarce able to drink it. And to this purpose, I remember, that, when I was in Holland, the Prince of Orange, Maurice, was wont always, in the summer-time, to have some of it thrown into the water, where his wine lay a cooling. That *sal prunellæ* also is the best remedy against the heat, dryness, and roughness of the tongue in all fevers, and especially in that Hungarian fever, called Prunella, from that symptom, which gave likewise the name of *sal prunellæ* to that purified nitrum, by reason of the excellency of it in asswaging the same. And, the more to confirm this, one of the four springs of the Spa, called Tounclet, and consisting chiefly of nitrum, is so very cold, both in the mouth and in the stomach, that few can endure it, and in that regard it is very little frequented; and, during my stay there, I do not remember that ever I saw at it more than a capuchin friar, and another clergyman, who used it for the heat of their livers, in which case it may do good, if the stomach be not too weak.

Silver, iron, tin, and lead are accounted cold, and, by reason of their astringency, to be at least in the second degree. Gold is likewise placed amongst these, though a man might, perhaps, with better right account it temperate. Now, in regard of this variety, some springs are called Nitrous, Sulphureous, Bituminous, Aluminous, &c. according to the only or predominant mineral, of which they do participate. But yet some there are, in which it is a very difficult matter to know the same: So the Uberlingunians in Sweden do dispute, to this day, whether their mineral springs proceed from lead, or copper. In like manner, the Italians are not well agreed, whether the virtue of the mineral water about Lucca cometh from iron, or from allom. And a great man, that was one of the chiefest chymists of this age, doubted whether he should call the *empsenses aquæ* Aluminous, or Nitrous: So hard a thing it is exactly to distinguish in things that are compounded and permixed. But it is now time we should go to Tunbridge Water.

CHAP. VI.

Of Tunbridge Water.

The waters, commonly known here amongst us by the name of Tunbridge Waters, are two small springs contiguous together, about four miles southward from the town of Tunbridge in Kent, from which they have their name, as being the nearest town in Kent to them. They are seated in a valley, compassed about with stony hills, so barren, that there groweth nothing but heath upon the same. Just there do Kent and Sussex meet; and one may, with less than half a breath, run from those springs into Sussex.

It pleased our gracious queen Mary to grace this water by her presence two years ago; so that those springs may justly be called, as some do call them now, *Queen Mary's Wells*. The taste of the water is not unpleasant to those who have a while been used to it; and it is a sure thing, that no man is able to drink half so much of any other liquor, though never so pleasant unto him, as he may of this. What other minerals it runneth through, besides iron and the rubrick of iron, which is seen on the ground, over which the water runneth, is not yet well known; for there hath been, as yet, no digging near about the same. The greater part of those that drink of it are purged by stool, and some by vomit, as well as by urine; which, perhaps, should argue some other minerals, besides iron. The same may, peradventure, be discovered in after-times. Howsoever, though there were no other minerals thereabout, besides iron, yet, iron being a metal, and all metals, according to the chymists, proceeding from two principles, sulphur and mercury, wheresoever there are any metals bred, there must also of necessity their principles be.

Besides this, all metals have also their peculiar salts, and iron, in particular, hath a great deal of volatile salt, which is it that dissolveth in the chalybeate wine, now so much in use. Now iron is of an astringent and corroborating faculty, and hath an opening vertue withal, as may be seen by the powder of steel, steel being nothing but a defecated iron, which is used with good success in the green-sickness, and in all other diseases proceeding from obstructions. But here I shall seem, perhaps, to some to contradict myself, in making iron both astringent and opening, which the vulgar think to be two qualities incompatible in one subject, and yet they are deceived; for to open and corroborate have no such repugnance, but that they are together in many simples. Now, concerning those two springs, a question doth often arise amongst those who are there drinking, Which of them should be the better and stronger? But, being so contiguous and near together, certainly there can be no manifest odds betwixt them; and, though I often tasted of both immediately one after the other, yet can I not say, that I ever found any perceptible difference betwixt them. Yet will I not deny, but that it may so fall out, that at some times the one may appear stronger than the other, according as the water may participate more of the vertue of the minerals at one time, than at another: But I think that there can be nothing constant in it, though they may alternately something differ one from another. This shall suffice to have been spoken concerning those springs. It followeth now, that we make an enumeration of the chiefest diseases their water may be used for, wherein we will chiefly follow experience, seeing it is an empirical remedy, and yet so, as we shall not exclude reason. For, although it be *empiricum remedium*, yet must we not use it altogether empirically, nor make a Panpharmacon, or a Panacea, a medicine for all diseases, and send thither promiscuously all sorts of patients, as some physicians do to the like springs, when they are at a nonplus with them, and after a long time can do no good upon them in chronical diseases: For then they send them to those mineral waters, *tanquam ad sacram anchoram.* Which causeth those springs to become infamous, and to lose the credit they justly deserve (the common people ordinarily judging of things by the event) when some miscarry after the use of the same, either because they were already too far spent when they were sent thither, or by reason their diseases were not to be cured by that remedy.

CHAP. VII.

The chiefest Diseases against which Tunbridge Water may be used with good Success.

Being now to reckon up the chiefest diseases which Tunbridge Water is good for, we will not go *a capite ad calcem*, from the head to the heel, but begin at that which it is most generally good for, and that is Obstructions, which are the causes of infinite diseases. This water then doth effectually open all manner of obstructions, wheresoever they be lurking, and especially the obstructions of the mesaraical veins of the spleen, and of the liver, and that better than any apozems or other physick whatsoever.—For, those obstructions being stubborn, and requiring a great deal of physick to be removed, and physick being both loathsome and chargeable, people grow weary of it, before a physician shall have run a quarter of the course which is necessary for the removing of those obstructions; and that is the reason that so many are troubled with chronical lingering diseases, which in their own nature are not incurable, but only remain uncured, either because the patient is not able or willing to undergo such a course of physick, as is requisite for his recovery, or because he loveth his purse too well. But these waters bring no charges, and, after one hath been used a little while to them, the taking of them is not troublesome at all; but, the longer a man continueth the use of them, the more he may, and, being taken in a large quantity, they cannot chuse but open effectually. Wherefore they are of excellent use for all diseases, which have their dependence upon obstructions, as all long and tedious agues, quartans, and the like; for a dropsy, the black and yellow jaundice, the schirrus lienis, or hard swelling of the spleen, which the common people call an Ague-cake, the scurvy, the green-sickness, the whites in women, and the defect and excess of their courses. And though this last assertion seemeth to have some repugnancy, in that we ascribe two contrary effects to one and the same agent; yet there is no such matter, for the one is done by opening of obstructions, and the other either by cooling the blood, when it is too hot and sharp, and so provoketh nature to expulsion, or by corroborating or strengthening the retentive faculty. And it is the property of all equivocal agents, to vary their operations according to the variety of their objects, and of the matter they work upon; so the sun melteth wax, and hardeneth clay. This water doth also cut and extenuate tough, clammy, and, if I may so speak, tartarean phlegm; and, in that regard, it may be much available for those who are used to be troubled with the cholick, when such an humour is contained in their guts.

It scoureth and cleanseth all the passages of urine, and therefore is good against the gravel and the stone in the kidnies, ureters, or bladder, where also it dissolveth and washeth away a kind of clammy phlegmatick excrement bred in the bladder, which, sometimes stopping the passage of one's water, maketh him believe that he is troubled with the stone: as happened to one, that was himself a very skilful and famous stone-cutter, who, being fully persuaded that he had a stone in his bladder, gave himself to another of the same profession to be cut at Namurs; but, when he was cut, nothing was found in his bladder, but such a tough humour, which might have been dissolved and voided with facility by the help of the Spa Water, which was but a day's journey from him. It is good also (in regard of the astringent and healing faculty it hath) for all inward ulcers, and especially for those of the kidnies and bladder, and of the *musculus splenator*, which openeth and shutteth the same. And, in confirmation thereof, divers have been cured of a bloody urine, which had long troubled them, and amongst the rest a worthy Kentish gentleman, with whom I went thither the last year.

It is good also against all inveterate dysenteries, or bloody-fluxes: As also all other fluxes of the belly, whether it be *leinteria*, *diarrhœa*, or *fluxus hepaticus*. It doth likewise extinguish all inward inflammations and hot distempers; and yet, for all that, the stomach is no whit hurt by the actual coldness thereof, but rather corroborated or strengthened, and appetite provoked; yea, in some but too much, as in myself for one: For whensoever I drank, either at the Spa or at Tunbridge, I was never able to fast with patience until noon, but must needs *offam latranti stomacho offerre*, cast a bit to my barking stomach, before the rest of my company went to dinner. For this cause, when I was at the Spa, a Spanish physician, who was come thither with the young prince Doria, who was then but a youth, would not let him take the water above two or three days, when he saw such an effect in him, fearing that he would receive more hurt by the excess of his appetite, than benefit by the water; and so, after a long and troublesome journey from Italy thither, he returned home without any profit. The nerves or sinews, and the original of them, the brain, are strengthened by the use of this water, and, consequently, it is good against the palsy, inclination to an apoplexy, lethargy, and such-like diseases of the head.

And some paralyticks have been seen, who sometimes voided all their water by urine, and at other times were as effectually purged, as if they had taken a strong potion, and withal sweated abundantly all their body over. All these evacuations, and vomiting also, are sometimes seen in other diseases, as well as in that; nay, besides that, in some women you shall have an evacuation by urine, *& per menses simul & hæmorrhoides.* The cause of all rheums and distillations is likewise removed by the help of this water, and all diseases cured, which have their dependence upon the same, for all that verse of *Schola Salernitana*,

> Jejunes, vigiles, sitias, sic rheumata cures.

Convulsions also, head-ach, megrim, and vertigo, are driven away by the use of the same, if the patient be constant, and not too soon weary. Against vomiting and the hickup, it is used with good success. Those, that are troubled with hypocondriacal melancholy, find a great deal of ease by this water. It helpeth also the running of the reins, whether it be *gonorrhœa simplex*, or *venerea*, and the distemper of the *parastatæ* arising from thence; as, likewise, a certain carnosity, which groweth, sometimes, in the conduit of the urine; nay, and the pox also, the water having a notable potential drying faculty. It driveth away, besides, all manner of worms, whether they be ordinary ones, or *ascarides*, or *tæniæ*. It may be used also for the gout, but it must be with some caution, and the body must be extraordinarily well prepared and purged before, because it hath sometimes brought the fit upon some, who were well when they came thither. Outwardly applied, it doth help sore eyes, red pimples, and other external infirmities. More diseases, which have affinity with these, it may be used for, but I will content myself with this enumeration of the aforesaid ones, and pass to the time, manner, and order of taking the water. Yet must I not forget, in the behalf of women, to tell them, that there is nothing better against barrenness, and to make them fruitful, if other good and fitting means, such as the several causes shall require, be joined with the water.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Time, Manner, and Order of taking Tunbridge Water.

Some, that shall read the next foregoing chapter, will, perhaps, say, that I make this water a direct *panpharmacon*, a remedy for all diseases, and therefore will give small credit unto it. But, for all that, daily experience doth, and, if it continue to be used, will more and more confirm what I have said to be true. For very few of those who live at the Spa, whose water hath great affinity with that of Tunbridge, and in the country about it, and make that water their ordinary drink, as many do, and myself have seen there very aged people, that did never drink any thing else; few of them, I say, are troubled with head-ach, heart-burning, stone, obstructions of the kidnies, liver, or spleen, falling-sickness, and the like; and as for the jaundice, dropsy, and scabs, they do not know what they are. Myself, during my stay there, being once rid out to take the air with a couple of gentlemen, and a shower of rain coming, we made to a country-house near hand to shelter ourselves, and, after the taking of a pipe of tobacco, I requested the good man of the house (who was a very old man, and yet fresh and lusty, and with very few grey hairs) to give us a cup of his beer? But he answered me, that he never had any beer in his house; if we would drink good *Pouhon*, it was at our service, and he had a fresh vessel of it abroach. *Pouhon* is the name of that spring of the Spa, which standeth in the middle of the town, and by the same name they call also the water thereof. But to return to our matter:

> Temporibus medicina valet, data tempore prosunt,
> Et data non apto tempore, vina nocent.

And so water. The time then of taking those waters is either the season of the year, when to come to them; or the time of the day, when to drink of the same. Concerning the season of the year, summer is the fittest, when there is a settled warm and dry weather, as in the dog-days especially.

> Cum canis arentes findit hiulcus agros.

And the chiefest months are June, July, August, and September; although the Dutch, who naturally love good beer and wine better than water, use to have this rhyming verse in their mouths:

> Mensibus in quibus R. non debes bibere Water.

And, according as the year proveth, a man may sometimes come sooner, and continue later. In general, whensoever the weather is clear and dry, the water is then best, as well in winter as in summer; yea, in hard frosty weather the water is commonly strongest, the *antiperistasis* of the air hindering that there is not so great an evaporation of the mineral spirits of the water. For, when the weather is rainy or misty, and that Jupiter doth, *per cribrum mingere*, piss through a sieve, as Aristophanes merrily speaks, the water loseth much of its vertue. Myself have known, at the Spa, a friar of the reformed order of St. Francis, a good, honest, temperate man, who assured me, that having been there three whole years together continually for the stone (of which he shewed me a box almost full, of several forms and sizes) and taking the water all the while, both summer and winter, when the weather was seasonable, he found divers times the water better, stronger, and of a more speedy passage in frosty weather, than in the middle of summer, without ever perceiving any inconvenience by the water, no more at that time, than in summer, for all he did always drink it cold.

For some, that use to take it in cold weather, do warm it; but sure the water cannot chuse, by that means, but lose a great deal of its vertue, which, in the warming, evaporateth away, seeing that, in the very transporting of it, the same doth happen. When the Spa Water is bottled to be sent away, although those who have the charge of it be never so careful, in stopping the bottles close with boiled cork, and pitching them over, yet will the mineral spirits find way, insomuch as, when you come to open them, you shall still find some want, and sometimes a pretty deal, especially of the water of the Savenier, which is more subtile and spiritual than that of Pouhon. But, to return to the matter, there is no more to be said, but that, in a word, the water is always best, when the weather is clearest and driest.

Now concerning the time of the day; the morning, when the sun is an hour, more or less, high, is the fittest time to drink the water. For, when the sun beginneth to be of force, it doth attract some of the mineral spirits, and the water loseth some of its strength; and, betimes in the morning, it is also best walking. And you are so to drink the water, as you may have taken the quantity, which you intend to take that day, within as small a space of time, as conveniently you can, without oppressing your stomach too much, as within an hour, or less, if you be able.—Those that lie not too very far from the springs, and are able to use their legs, shall do better to come thither on foot, than to ride, because so they shall heat their bodies more. Yet do I not intend they should be so hot as to sweat, or be ready to sweat, for that would do hurt; but I mean only, that their natural heat should be something awaked and excited, because then the water will be the better attracted, and have the more speedy passage. After every glass, or every two or three glasses, according as you shall be able to take it, it will be good to take a few carraway comfits, or coriander seed, some galingal, zedoar, elecampane, angelica root, or such like, to help the digestion and passage of the water. In some it is necessary, that they should have some electuary lozenges, or the like, appropriated to the grief, for which they take the water.

Divers do take tobacco after their water, which I do not dislike, especially if they hold it a good while in their mouths, before they puff it out. Moderate exercise after it is very available, but I utterly dislike it, if it be too violent, as running, leaping, and jumping, as some in wantonness use to do. For that kind of exercise is rather a hinderance, than a help, to the digesting of their water, and many times all the good it doth is to bring it up again, weakening, by that means, their stomach, which, in vomiting, doth always suffer. True it is, that, if the stomach be foul, it is not amiss, sometimes, so to do, and I am not against it. After you have taken your full quantity, it will do well to walk and stir there up and down, and to compose yourself to mirth with the rest of the company; for those, that look to reap benefit by Tunbridge, must turn away all cares and melancholy.

In your return to your lodging, I hold it better to ride, than to go on foot, because, sitting upon your horse, the inward parts, as the muscles of the belly, the guts, and the stomach itself, are thereby borne up and contracted; and, by the jogging of the horse, moderately stirred, and so, consequently, your water will be the better digested. The sign of the thorough concoction of the same is, commonly, when your urine beginneth to have a tincture, and to be coloured, and then may you go to dinner; but of this we will speak of purpose, when we come upon diet. I said before, that the best time of the day to take the water was betimes in the morning; and I mean also it should be the only time for that day. For I have known some, who took it twice a day, namely, in the afternoon also, but I could never approve of it; and my reason is, that, if they take it soon after dinner, their meat will not be digested, and the water, forcing to make way for itself, will draw with it the *chylus*. raw and unconcocted, and so cause crudities and obstructions, which will do a great deal more hurt, than the water can do them good; and, if they take it later after dinner, their water will not be digested before supper. Once a day then is enough, lest you have worse speed, by making too much haste. Now, for the whole quantity of the water to be taken in one morning, it is a thing which cannot justly be defined, in regard of the difference of bodies, in age, sex, strength, and other circumstances; but generally those, that are able to drink most, receive the most benefit, so that they do digest and void their water well. And here it is, if any where, that the Greek proverb should take place, ἢ πίθι, ἢ ἄπιθι, *aut bibe*, *aut abi*, either drink, or be gone; if you cannot tipple, this is no place for you. Yet must every man ever have this general rule in memory, *A juvantibus & lædentibus optima judicatio*, The best judgment or direction is, from those things which do good, and from such as do hurt.—You shall see some that arise to a great quantity, and

Invenies illic, qui Nestores ebibat annos,

Three-hundred ounces, according to Nestor's years; yea, and some a greater quantity. And it is a thing, that will make the very women there filling the glasses to laugh, to see some patients sent thither by ignorant physicians, and appointed to take ten or twelve ounces of water, and arise perhaps to twenty or thirty ounces. But this may be a rule, for a body of competent years and strength, to begin at thirty, forty, or fifty ounces, and to arise by degrees, increasing their quantity every day, to an hundred, an hundred and fifty, or two-hundred ounces, more or less, as they shall be able; and so again to decline and decrease by degrees, ending where they began, when they are to leave the water.

As for the time of every man's stay there, it is a thing which cannot be defined; for, in some diseases, some weeks suffice; in others, divers months are not enough, nay, in some, they have need to come thither the next year, and the next to that too.—This, I hope, will suffice for the time, manner, and order of taking Tunbridge Water; I will now pass to the preparation of the body of such as are to take it.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Preparation of the Body of such as are to take the Water.

I have set down, before, the chiefest diseases, which may be cured by the help of this water; but I am not so to be understood, as though I meant, that the water alone were sufficient for the same in all of them, without any other helps. For, though this be an empirical remedy, yet must it not be used altogether empirically, but with reason, discretion, and circumspection; otherwise hurt, rather than good, will follow the use of it. Many have fallen into diseases, as fevers and agues, by coming unadvisedly and unprepared to those waters, although, as we said before, there is nothing better for agues, than they are, if they be rightly and advisedly used, the body being first prepared and purged. For, although blood, by a sole distemper of heat, may cause a fever, yet cannot the other humours do it, as *Galen*, *lib.* ii. *de diff. febrium*, well observeth, unless they putrefy, which they will not do, if the body be free from obstructions, and perspirable; and, therefore, that body, which is to be taken with an ague, must first be obstructed. Now, these waters being very diuretical, when they meet with a foul body, having a repletion of gross humours, they easily and speedily carry the same with them into the veins, which not being able to give passage to such a quantity of humours, they are thereby obstructed and stopped, and those humours being there retained and wedged in, and not perflated or ventilated, they inflame and putrefy, and so produce a putrid fever or ague.—Wherefore those, that love their health and life, must, before they use the water, if they have not a very pure body, prepare and purge the same to prevent all inconveniencies.

Now, according as bodies do differ in sex, age, temperature, qualities of the peccant humour, and other circumstances, so must they accordingly diversly be prepared and purged. And, in that regard, we have not thought it good to set down here any forms thereof, but refer those that shall come to the water, to the advice and counsel of learned and skilful physicians; and such as are withal well acquainted with those kinds of waters, which is the main point. And, as for those, that come far off, they may take physick at Tunbridge, and it will be best for them so to do, because, if they take physick before, and presently travel upon the same, it may produce some danger.

If the resort to the water continue, and that there be competent company at the same, I do purpose, by the grace of God, to be there, every summer, for it is a place I like; and, if any be pleased to confer with me, I will be ready to afford them my best counsel; and they shall find there variety of physick, appropriated to their several diseases, which the water is to be used for. Neither is it enough to prepare the body, and take physick, before coming to the water; but it is requisite also, in some diseases, to take something now and then during the time they use the water, to help the working of it, and to cause a happy and prosperous effect by the same; and so much the more, because some are not able, either by reason of business, or otherwise, to stay there a competent time, and, therefore, have need of some other help. For some diseases are so stubborn and difficult to be eradicated, that we must fight at all weapons against the same, and yet all little enough too. Some unlooked for accidents, also, happen there sometimes, which have need to be redressed and helped by other means. But, of these things, neither myself, nor any man else, can speak but in general terms, and therefore I will conclude, and pass to the diet requisite to be observed there.

CHAP. X.

Of the Diet to be observed by those that use Tunbridge Water.

Diet, amongst physicians, is taken in a larger signification, than it is with the vulgar, for, besides meat and drink, it comprehendeth air, motion, and quiet, things retained and voided, sleeping and watching, and the passions of the mind. All these must be rightly ordered, both to preserve, and to restore health. As for air, it must be taken, such as it is found there, and I think there is no great exception to be taken against it, being thereabout pure and wholesome enough. Of motion and quiet, we have said something before, when we spoke of exercise, as also of the passions of the mind, when we wished all such, as come to the water, to compose and frame themselves to mirth, and to leave all cares and melancholy at home. Concerning sleeping and watching, a moderation must be observed therein, though it be better to sleep something too much, than to watch too long; and therefore you shall do well to sup betimes, and to go to bed betimes, *animo securo, quieto, & libero*, that the first, second, and third concoction may be ended, before you take the water. And, as for things voided and retained, you must endeavour to have the benefit of nature, by all manner of ordinary evacuations, as by stool and urine, and the private excrements of the brain, at the mouth and nose. And thus much in brief, concerning those things; we will now come to meat and drink. Bread is commonly, and with most men, the chiefest part of food, and therefore though always, yet here more especially, you must have a care to have bread of good pure wheat, well handled and seasoned in the making, and well baked; for the excrements and ill humours, which are heaped by the use of ill bread, are worse than those which proceed from meat. Ravel bread, generally, is wholesomer than manchet, and not so apt to breed obstructions, having some of the bran left in it, which is detergent, and maketh it pass the better. As for meat, let every one feed upon that which he hath been most used to, so it be good meat, yielding good nourishment, and of easy digestion;

and let him shun the use of sauces, which have much butter and spices in them. For it was a good admonition of Disarius, a learned physician, in Macrobius, Saturn. 7, c. 4: *Vitandos esse cibos, qui ultra sitim & famem appètentiam producerent*, that those meats were to be avoided, which did lengthen appetite, beyond hunger and thirst. If you can, be contented with one dish at a meal, for, *multa fercula multos morbos ferunt*, many dishes bring many diseases, and *perniciosa sentina est abdomen insaturabile*, an unsatiable belly is a pernicious sink. In foul bodies especially, over-feeding doth a great deal of hurt, according to that aphorism of Hippocrates, lib. ii, Aphor. 9. Τὰ μὴ καθαρὰ τῶν σωμάτων, ὁκόσον ἂν θρέψης, μᾶλλον βλάψεις. The more you nourish foul bodies, the more you hurt them. In a word, a moderate sober diet is always best, but especially here. As for the kinds of meats, though, amongst the flesh of four-footed beasts, pork and veal be chiefly commended in our books, yet here, in regard of their moisture, I prefer mutton before them. And if pork be to be avoided, much more pig, lamb, and such like flashy meat. As for beef, though it be discommended by most authors, yet good beef, well fed, and of an indifferent age, may be used without scruple, especially, by such, as have been accustomed to it, for those authors were never acquainted with our English beef. If oxen, indeed, be killed, when they are so old, that they be past labour, their flesh cannot be wholesome, nor is it to be commended. But, for our good succulent beef here, I verily think, that if those authors were alive again, and should taste of it, they would be so far from forbidding it, that, on the contrary, they would commend it. For, if they do so much commend veal, I see no reason they can have to discommend good succulent beef.

Besides mutton and beef, you may sometimes have capons, hens, pullets, chickens, pigeons, partridges, pheasants, black-birds, and other small birds, rabbets, and the like. And, because some hares are sometimes caught about Tunbridge, it is a question which some ask, whether those, who are there at the waters, may feed upon them? They are grown infamous and banished from most tables undeservedly, out of a conceit, that they are melancholy meat. But I will now take their cause in hand, and vindicate them from that imputation, if I can, saying with Martial:

> Inter aves turdus, si quis, me judice, certet,
> Inter quadrupedes gloria prima lepus.

And, lest I seem to give too easy an assent to the poet, though he was not a mere poet, but well grounded in natural philosophy, I will strive to prove, that it is not melancholy meat, but meat for melancholy men.

First, I will bring in Galen, lib. iii, *de alim.* to patrocinate unto him, who prefers the blood of a hare, before that of hens, pigeons, and all other birds, and saith, that it is most sweet and dainty. Now, if hare's blood be so good, how can the flesh thereof be naught, which is made and produced by it; flesh being nothing else but blood coagulated and converted into the same?

The same author, *ibidem initio libri*, saith also, that hare's flesh breedeth better blood, than mutton or beef. And, if these two come every day to the tables, even of the noblest and richest persons, why should the poor hare, which is better, and yieldeth better nourishment than they, be banished from the same?

After Galen, learned Heurnicus reckoneth hare's flesh in the first place, amongst those meats, which alter melancholy in the kidnies; but to alter and free from melancholy, and to breed melancholy, cannot both be done by one kind of meat. For, if any man would fly here to similitude of substance, or to an hidden property, he should deserve to be hissed at; but they say, it is a melancholy fearful creature. What reason they have to call him so, unless it be, because he shunneth and runneth away from the dogs, which pursue him, I do not know; but, if that be all, do not wolves, bulls, bears, yea and lions also, the like? If we may believe those, who have been in Africa, an old woman there, or a child, with a stick in their hands, do drive away lions, as we do dogs here. And a hare is not so fearful, but that you shall see some of them turn about, and look upon the dogs, after a daring manner. They do not lie in holes and burrows, as conies do, which, in that regard, should be more melancholy; and yet they are in most common use amongst us, and accounted the best meat. And, as for their food, it is the same with that of partridges, the excellency whereof is no where controverted; and with the use of them only the pox may be cured, as Cardan holdeth, who could speak of it, by experience, as having had that disease seven times, as himself witnesseth, in that book of his, which he intitleth, *De utilitate ex adversis capienda;* and sure his witness is not to be rejected. Let the hare then return in use, and be re-admitted to his former pre-eminence, so he be not too old, but of a competent age, as of a year or less. But, as for water-fowl, you shall do well to abstain from the same.

Concerning fish, though it be for the most part unwholesome, and apt to breed excrementitious and slimy humours, yet for a change you may sometimes eat some river-fish, that are firm and not slimy; as, trouts, gudgeons, pikes, perches, and the like, either broiled, or boiled in wine (if you will go to the charges) rather than in water, and corrected with fennel, spearmint, thyme, rosemary, parsly, or the like. But, for mints in particular, let those women, that come to the water for fruitfulness, refrain the same, because it is thought it hindereth conception. At your fruit, you may use some raisins of the sun, a bit of marmalade, a roasted wardon, or pippin with carroways, or the like; but in all this you must be sparing.

Now, for an end of all, I must repeat what I have touched before, namely, that you avoid variety of dishes: For, the nature of several meats being diverse, and sometimes clean opposite and contrary one to another, and some sooner concocted, and others later, from hence those evils will arise, against which you come to seek help from the water; as, crudities, wind-gripings, pain of the reins, obstructions of the mesaraical veins, rawness of the chylus, and consequently of the blood which shall be made of the same, and such like inconveniences, which by a sober and moderate diet may be avoided.

Thus much concerning meat. As for drink, good ordinary clear beer, and of an indifferent strength and age, is best, and it is the ordinary drink of this island, which agreeth best with the nature of those who are bred in it. Yet, if any, having been used to drink wine at meals, desire to continue the same, I am not against it, if so be they be not of too hot a constitution, and have no principal part offended through excess of heat; for a cup of wine, or two, at meals, doth but help to make the better digestion. And for that purpose sack or claret better than white wine; because white wine, by the diuretical faculty it hath, passeth too soon away, and before the chylus be thoroughly perfected, and so it may carry some of the chylus raw and unconcocted with it, and consequently breed crudities and obstructions. And thus much concerning diet.

The Conclusion of this Treatise.

Having briefly run through the chiefest things needful to be known and practised by such as shall desire to use this water, I will here end with an exhortation unto them to be well advised concerning the nature of their diseases, before they come; and, when they are come, to observe the rules and directions contained in this treatise, as also to be constant in the use of the water. And, although, perhaps, some of them perceive little or no benefit at first by the same, yet let them not be discouraged, but persevere in the use of it; for some, having been there once with small or no profit at all, the next year after, upon a second trial, have returned home perfectly cured. It is the ordinary reward of constancy and perseverance, in the end, to hit the mark they aim at. Every thing in this world hath a certain period, before which it cannot come to a full perfection; and so, herewith, I wish all happy and prosperous success to all such as shall come to these springs, and will be ready at all times to afford them my best help and counsel.

Now, as for this treatise, I do not look it should have a privilege, above all other writings, to be exempted from controulment and carping; for it were better luck, than any man ever had, that exposed himself to the censure of the world. There are far more fools than wise men in the world; and, as the Spaniard well observeth, *Un loco haze cientio*, one fool maketh an hundred more such (most men having their wits pinned to another man's sleeve) and the greater fool commonly is the bolder censurer;

which maketh books to be variously received, liked, and entertained, according to the variety of the reader's understanding and capacity:

> Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli.
> Upon the reader's wit the fates of books depend.

But the best is, that I ever was regardless of the multitude, as well in this, as in all things else. If the judicious reader find any just fault with any thing contained in this treatise, let him remember, that *Humanum est errare;* that to err is incident to the frailty of our human nature. But I never was so wedded to my own opinions and conceptions, but that, upon better information, I ever was, and ever will be willing to acknowledge my errors, if I committed, or shall commit any, without esteeming it any shame so to do, any more than many good and worthy authors have done, when they published their retractions.

A DISCOURSE,

Setting forth the unhappy Condition of the Practice of Physick in London, and offering some Means to put it into a better; for the Interests of Patients, no less, or rather much more, than of Physicians.

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THE art of physick hath had, in common with other arts and professions, the infelicity to be abused by the professors thereof; who, either out of insatiable avarice to make the utmost advantage of gain to themselves thereby, or out of pride and state, or humour, have given just occasion to the world to judge, that they had not that care and consideration of the lives and healths of persons with whom they had to do, as, in humanity, reason, and conscience, they ought to have had. Admitting this to be inexcusable, as to the persons guilty of it, yet it may be said, as to the present professors thereof, having the legal right to practise in the city of London, and undertaken on their behalf, that there was never in any age, less grievance or cause of complaint upon any such account. However, that distinction between the vices of persons, and of arts or professions, is so clear and obvious, that whosoever transfers those of the one upon the other, must needs appear deficient in the use of his reason, or else partial and injurious.

As to the art itself, though it cannot be denied, that it is, as all human knowledge in other kinds, imperfect and defective; yet, that it should be an imposture (as ignorance in conjunction with confidence may surmise or charge upon it) the world doth so much abound with persons learned and judicious, and (though not professed physicians) competent to judge thereof, as to render it superfluous to go about to vindicate it from such an imputation. Neither is the imperfection and defect of knowledge in things relating to, or comprehended in the art, so great, as to render it an empty or mere notional speculation; but though it, as all other arts and sciences (the mathematicks excepted) hath too much abounded with notions and speculations wanting foundation in nature and experience; yet it may vie with any other for number of real truths and discoveries, sufficient to employ and take up the best intellectual abilities and studies of any person addicted to it, for his whole life: And especially in this age, after great improvement lately made therein, by many happy discoveries in nature, of great advantage and concern thereto.

According to the grand importance of this art, employed in the conservation of the life and health of mankind, it hath been the wisdom of princes and states to provide for the encouragement of the professors thereof, by liberal maintenance, privileges, and powers, honorary and advantageous, for the exercise thereof, whereby persons of eminent learning, education, and abilities might be induced to betake themselves to an art standing in need of such accomplishments; without which, in an inferior way of education, persons could not attain to any such improved judgment, as is requisite to the understanding and comprehension of the vast variety and exquisite subtilty of the things constituting the subject of that art, or relating thereto.

Accordingly, it hath been no less the wisdom of the princes and parliaments of this kingdom to provide for the encouragement and good regulation of the profession of physick therein, especially in London; insomuch that, by law and custom, it hath had as great advantages in the kinds beforementioned, with us, as in any country in the world. And, therefore, it is the more to be taken notice of, that at this time it should be reduced, probably, to the worst condition that it is in any where; more than probably, to such a condition as cuts off all hopes of honourable or free maintenance of the professors thereof, or the most part of them, and of improvement in the art itself, for the future; as may in some measure appear by what followeth.

The dividing and separating of that part of the art of physick, which concerns the preparation and composition of medicaments, from the body of it, so as to put the practice of it into other hands, was never heard of in the ages of Hippocrates, Galen, and other ancient physicians; and hath been judged, by some of the chief authors in physick, to be of unhappy consequence to it, upon several accounts. Hence many physicians, while there was a good understanding between them and the apothecaries (these keeping within their own bounds) thinking it became them, in civil respect, to leave all to these, that belonged to their art; and so, not concerning themselves to be judicious and versed therein, became strangers to the materials and preparations of medicines; and, by consequence, less able to prescribe the making of them, to the best advantage. And this the apothecaries have not been wanting to make their advantage of, to the disparagement of the physicians; so that it is justly to be accounted an error and neglect in such physicians; who, if they had given their minds to it, might have been as conversant in, and as well acquainted with the materials of remedies, whether vegetables, animals, or minerals, and all the more considerable ways of preparations thereof, as many other physicians, or any apothecaries; by frequent viewing, inspection, and observation, and chiefly by experimenting and exercising themselves in preparations more accurate, and of greater importance, chymical, or other: which are the ways that enable a physician authentically to prescribe.

And yet, notwithstanding such an error, and neglect of some physicians occasioned by it, the distinct practice and exercise of that part by apothecaries, as it hath been used in London, had its advantage; and was looked upon as a great ease and happiness to the practice of physick. For by this means physicians were freed from some troublesome and inferior employment; and they had the advantage of giving account, and making appear, upon occasion, all that was done on their part, by their prescriptions extant in writing, in case of any ill success, which might happen by error upon their account, or suspicion of hurt done to a patient, by any thing advised by them.

But these are really, and upon the whole account, advantages to the profession of physick, only upon this supposition, that apothecaries keep within the limits of their work and trade, not meddling with the practice of physick themselves; the prescriptions of physicians being faithfully and safely lodged with them, to the use of their patients, and the benefit of the apothecaries in their trade. Otherwise, neither the advantages before-mentioned, nor any other, can ever compensate the disadvantage and detriment, not only to the profession and professors of physick, but to the publick: In consideration whereof, it were to be accounted a small inconvenience, for physicians to put themselves to the drudgery of making all the medicaments they have use of in their practice, if need were; and to depend upon their own single reputation and credit with their friends and patients, for their vindication, as the case should require.

In comparison to physicians, it may easily be made out, what advantages apothecaries, taking upon them to practise, may have in London, upon their particular communication of all their remedies, to them, to get the whole, or so much of the practice from the physicians, as shall not leave a competency for them to subsist upon. For the apothecaries being bred up all the time of their youth as apprentices in London, while physicians are studying at the Universities, and having so much the more advantage to get a numerous acquaintance, besides that, by keeping open shops, more general notice may be taken of them, when they shall be able to pretend to, and make ostentation of being masters of, or knowing all the secrets and practice of all the physicians in London; it is obvious, how much this must take with the vulgar, and with all such persons, as, being not bred up to learning themselves, cannot be sensible of the advantage of a generous education in all kinds of learning, for improving the mind and understanding, and enabling of it to exercise such a piercing judgment and large comprehension of so subtile and numerous natures and things, as the knowledge whereof is requisite to the art of physick. And, therefore, though there be not so much danger of such ostentation prevailing among the nobility, gentry, and persons of learning and parts in the city; yet how far it may, amongst others, who are the great number and bulk, is not hard to conceive by what hath been experienced.

For, allowing a physician, in his youth, to have had the reason, parts, and ordinary capacity of another of his age, and then to have been bred up in learning of languages, to render him master of the knowledge contained in books written in those languages; then in arts, some whereof minister advantages to the understanding of the nature and causes of things, all do improve the mind and understanding, by exercise at least, to discern and judge of things; then, supposing him to apply his study to natural philosophy, such as is more real and solid in this age, by many happy experimental discoveries in nature; and, lastly, to the art of physick, and the knowledge of the body of man, with all the parts of it, by anatomical administrations, experiments, and observations; of the actions and uses of the same; the diseases to which they are obnoxious, with the remedies thereof: and admitting a physician to make it his continual work to improve in the knowledge of all these (which his interest must incline him to do) by the study, practice, and experience of twenty years, or more: Now, supposing all this, in the common reason of mankind, he must have a manifold advantage to the understanding of the nature, cause, and cure of a disease, above another whose education hath rendered him incapable of any of the accomplishments beforementioned, or of any considerable share thereof; and yet many times it is found, that one that is illiterate, and can speak no reason of any thing, but only make ostentation with a few canting terms; yea, sometimes a nurse, or such kind of woman, by a confidence arising out of ignorance, shall arrogate more knowledge or ability to themselves, and shall be better thought of, among the unlearned and incompetent to judge, than such a physician as hath been described before. And how much more may an apothecary, upon the pretensions beforementioned, carry a reputation, with such people, above such a physician?

And, if the art of physick, or one half of it, were the knowledge of receipts or forms of medicines to cure diseases, apothecaries might have more pretence to vie with physicians; but, to be sure, that is the least part of it, and a manifold greater proportion of judgment and skill is requisite to discover the disease, than to apply the remedy; and, without such discovery, abundant and frequent mischief may be done, even to the destruction of life, by applying medicines in themselves safe, and, according to the vulgar term, wholesome; and not only so, but by the omission of the proper remedies in their seasons, through the same want of judgment; which mischiefs, by omissions as well as otherwise, whoever pretends to the practice of physick, hath to answer for. In such cases, How can that be a sufficient plea, which passeth for current generally, That nothing was done, but only some cordial given, or what was very safe? though at best nothing to the purpose. Whereas, in the beginning of many diseases, while the opportunities of applying the great remedies, and doing to the purpose, are either only, or to the best advantage to be taken, that doing nothing but, &c. is the undoing of the patient, if loss of life be so to be accounted; there being so much difficulty and danger, in many diseases that carry the least appearance of either, as to require the first and earliest opportunities for a physician to act towards their cure.

This communication of medicines by physicians to apothecaries, whereby they come to be so great masters of receipts, is, in the plain reason and nature of the thing, a trust, whereof they are free to make the advantage or profit that belongs to their trade, by selling such medicines at valuable rates, according to their costliness, or elaborateness in their preparation. But the advantage of directing and prescribing their use, in all cases, belongs to the physician; and the hindering him herein, to the impairing of his practice, is a breach of trust, and unworthy, as well as injurious dealing by him, as may farther appear by the following consideration.

All laws of nature and nations, all justice, equity, and reason of mankind, do allow to every person the benefit of his own invention; which, if it be of that nature, that the bringing of it into use and practice doth necessarily import the discovery of it, according to our laws, patents for terms of years are granted. But, if an invention be of such a nature, that it may be concealed in the use and practice, no limitation, for private advantage or profit thereby, is set by law; it is only honesty, ingenuity, or interest, that can restrain from making unreasonable or unconscionable advantages in such case. Now, any medicines or receipts for cure of diseases, invented by physicians, or coming to their private knowledge only; or any new use or virtue of an old known medicine, discovered by any physician; in relation to those physicians, by whom they have been invented, or discovered, as far as they are of any consideration or value, are of this nature, that is, inventions, that may be kept secret by them; and whereof nothing hinders them from making the advantage; the laws of the land, as well as in other countries, allowing and authorising physicians, to practise their art in all its parts and members, and so, by consequence, to make any medicines themselves. The case being thus, How unreasonable and unequal is it, that, when a physician hath by his industry found out, or by some felicity lighted upon a discovery that hath proved remarkably successful in some particular disease or case, upon his communication of it to an apothecary, he shall have only an inconsiderable matter, not worth the owning many times, in case the patient come or send to him; or at most, an ordinary fee, in case of visiting the patient? Whereas the apothecary, being one that takes upon him to practise, shall not only repeat the same medicine, many times over, to the same patient, but also give it to any other patients, whose case he judges to be the same, or of affinity to it; and drive a trade with it all his lifetime; and so gain (as is well known, and hath been, upon occasion, by some confessed or boasted of) by one receipt, an hundred times as much as the physician's reward, or fee, for prescribing it; so that he only cures the patient once for an ordinary fee at most, and teaches the apothecary, when the same case occurs, to do it ever after.

The consequence of this, to physicians, must be the impoverishment of many; who, in regard of the charges of their education, and the use and consequence of their profession, deserve to get as great estates, as are gotten in any profession or way of trading, and yet shall scarce be able to subsist, though as learned and able in their profession, as their predecessors, who thirty or forty years ago got great estates, when the apothecaries kept within their own bounds, or inconsiderably incroached upon the physicians. For now a physician will be of no use, only amongst great persons, or persons of learning and parts to value him; whereas others that are of ability enough for estates, and would be ready to entertain him, are so amused by apothecaries, their ostentations and pretensions before mentioned, their canting upon the common notions, and terms of humours, fumes, obstructions, &c. which an empty illiterate pretender, having confidence enough, may so manage, as to make a more graceful sound, than the most solid and able physician, that they are generally entertained in the beginning of sicknesses, and made judges, whether or no, and when any, and what physician shall be sent for; being accounted a check upon the physician by such a sort of people; who, for the most part, is not called, till the other is willing to go no farther, because it is not his interest, that the person should die under his cure; and then he says, it is work for a doctor; who shall have nothing to do amongst these people, but in desperate cases; whereas, as hath been hinted already, in difficult cases, the best physician may stand in need of all advantages, especially timely opportunities, to apply proper and effectual remedies for cure.

And, where the apothecary hath the nomination of the physician, it is easily judged, what one he is like to be; that is, one between whom and him a design is driven of mutual furtherance, or, one that he knows will comply with him; that is, content to succeed him, and approve of what he hath done before; or, one that is noted, in general, to prescribe most for the apothecary's profit. Upon such accounts, some physicians are cried up, and others decried, if not traduced, of no less, or of much more, and longer approved ability, worth, and honesty. To be sure no physician taken notice of, to have, and give any medicine of his own preparation, shall be called in, if the apothecary can hinder it. Persons may, if they please, be undeceived upon this account, and understand, how little reason they have, and how little it may be their interest to be ruled by apothecaries, in their choice of physicians.

And, if patients understood their interest, they would take no such satisfaction, as they seem to do, in the visits of apothecaries; but, rather wish them in their shops, to make, or oversee the making of their medicines, prescribed by physicians, which are left to their servants, many times raw and slovenly apprentices, while the masters spend their time abroad, physician-like, in visiting.

Another consequence must be utter discouragement to study, or endeavour after, or to make use of, by prescribing to apothecaries, any more excellent or effectual medicaments; since the advantage will be so inconsiderable to the physicians themselves, in comparison of what it may be to others, who have so little right thereto, and deserve so little from them. So that all encouragement to, and hope of improvement of the art itself, by the present physicians is cut off; and, for a succession, if the present state and condition of the profession continue, How can it reasonably be expected, or supposed, that persons of considerable learning, parts, or abilities, will ever apply themselves to the study of physick? And, what the consequence of all may be to the publick, is submitted to their estimation, who are most competent to judge of the great concerns thereof.

The profession of physick being under so hard a condition, and not to be exercised in the ordinary way, but upon the disadvantages before set forth; the remedies of the same, and the means to reduce it to a better state, must needs deserve serious consideration, being of importance, not only to the physicians, but also to the publick good and safety, as the lives and healths of persons are considerable thereto. These may be several, and of different kinds; some relating to the higher powers, as provision of good laws, in this behalf, &c. And, indeed, in this kingdom, the wisdom of princes and parliaments hath not been wanting, in providing for the regulation of the profession; according to which, no person, not legally authorised, can practise without breaking the laws in that behalf, or incurring the penalties of them; which, according to the times wherein they were set, were very high; but in these times they are easier to be borne, rendering the adventure so much less, which is a great imboldening of persons, having no legal right to practise, to run the hazard of those penalties; besides, the difficulty of discovery and proof, the tediousness in processes, and prosecution of the advantages by those laws, against delinquents, not without uncertainty in the issue, as in other cases never so just, do much more encourage such persons, till there may come a time and opportunity for supplying any defects in the laws already made.

But, if there be any advantage in the power of physicians themselves, which they may lawfully, honestly, and fairly make use of, to put themselves into a better condition for the exercise of their profession, it may be of good consequence to consider thereof; since all law, equity, and reason, allows them as well as others, as was touched before, to make advantage of their own inventions; and, since they are of such a nature as they may keep them secret to themselves, in the use and practice of them, they being not bound to discover them to apothecaries, or any others, but free to prepare them themselves, as hath been made appear, Whether may not this course set upon, though attended with some trouble and inconvenience, be an effectual means, at least, in reasonable time, very considerably to advantage and better the condition of physicians in their practice?

In this undertaking, it is not at all necessary that any physician should be put to the drudgery or trouble of making, or overseeing the making of every medicine, that he may have occasion to use; or, to have a magazine furnished with all common things, as distilled waters, syrups, conserves, &c. for the practice of physick may easily, by able and judicious physicians, be managed with the tenth part of the things commonly in use, and the remedies reduced accordingly, and this reduction so far from being a detriment, that it may be a great improvement of the art.

The college of physicians of London, in compiling their dispensatory, following the example of other societies of physicians abroad, have set down the ancient forms and compositions of Galen, and the old Greek physicians, of Mesue and the Arabians, with some other of later authors; in consideration of the reverence due to the antiquity of some, with the approved use and experience of all. And it may vie with any publick dispensatories in foreign parts, as to choice and usefulness of the prescriptions it contains, being as little redundant in superfluities, and deficient in necessaries, as they; but it was never intended, or pretended, that it should contain all medicines necessary to practice, or the best of them; and, therefore, the invention and use of others was ever allowed to able physicians; considering withal, at what uncertainty the translators and interpreters of those authors, especially of the Arabians, are concerning some words, and the ingredients thereby signified; and, at what disadvantage we must have, and use the medicaments produced in their countries, upon transportation so far, or production in colder climates; all which must render those compositions less certain and efficacious; wherefore they did not think themselves concerned to make that book so much their own, as that there might be no impertinencies, irrational prescriptions, or, perhaps, errors therein; whence it is no wonder, that such a foul-mouthed impudent scribbler as the translator of it (for want of better employment to relieve him in his necessitous condition) should take occasion to make such work as he hath done about it; and the more, through his ignorance and confidence, calumniating falsly in divers particulars.

This being the condition of that book, the physicians of the college have no such cause, as the common people may think, to envy them the translation of it; nor have they any such treasure of it, as they may suppose themselves; nor is it the translating of all physick-books extant into the vulgar language, that will edify much, or enable persons of other employments to be their own physicians, whatever may be thought otherwise; or the reading of them in their own language by apothecaries, who have Latin enough so to do, that will make them physicians, since there are innumerable particular cases, that fall out every day, requiring answerable remedies, to be discovered and made out upon an habit, and principles, enabling to judge and discern, not to be found in book-cases, all which put together do not reach or comprise them. And the Dispensatory beforementioned, or any other, is far short of prescribing remedies for them all. And, as to the forms or receipts of which it is made up, it was never judged otherwise by able physicians, but that there are in them many ingredients impertinent, and some contrary to the main intentions for which they are in use, besides irrational proportions and quantities, though, upon the whole, they have been successful; and, that such physicians are far from being tied to them in their practice, as being able to invent better, more easy to be prepared, more grateful and convenient for use. For a multitude of ingredients (wherein many of those ancient receipts are luxuriant, upon a design to bring in every good thing into one medicine) is so far from bettering a composition, that it is at the best, and for the most part, an alloy to it, and renders it less effectual; whereas a judicious choice of a few ingredients is the greatest advantage to the virtue and use of it.

Whoever, with judgment, peruseth the London Dispensatory, may soon estimate to what an epitome it may be reduced, how many compositions may be spared, how many ingredients, almost in every composition; and, whoever, with the like judgment, considers and casts up the main intentions and indications that occur in practice, it will not be hàrd for him to state the remedies adequate and proper to such intentions as are of greatest importance; and, by consequence, to be stored with preparations and compositions ready made of the choicest materials, to the best advantage, for use and practice, more grateful and effectual, and every way more considerable than the shop-medicines; as purges, cordials, antidotes, &c. which, by judgment and chymical art, as the case may require, may be so prepared as to last long without impairing the virtue by keeping, and, therefore, to be always ready; to be of such form as is convenient to be given, either alone, or with some vehicle, which may easily be had, or prepared by the patient, or any about him.

And, if patients knew all, they would not be best satisfied in the greatest number and variety of the medicines administered, and the most frequent plying of them therewith; for this may be, as was hinted before, of design in some physicians, to render themselves the more acceptable to apothecaries in general, as using to prescribe much physick; or, upon some combination between the physician and apothecary in hope of some answerable return; as, on the contrary, it hath been the complaint of the apothecary sometimes, that the physician, of ill-will, hath prescribed little, and chargeable things; both which are great disadvantages to their bills; whereas, when they are made up of numerous particulars of things less chargeable, how much soever is gained thereby, they appear more reasonable to the patients. Now, though, in some cases, there may be need of more medicaments, in greater variety, and more frequently plied; yet, in most other cases, a rational and judicious choice of one, or a very few medicines, may signify much more to the good of the patient, than a luxuriant variety.

And it will not be hard for a physician, making use only of a servant, or servants (who shall be no ways capable of discovering his secrets, but only fit to kindle fires, tend a still or furnace, beat at a mortar, &c.) to oversee, and, with his own hands, prepare and compound what is necessary for himself to do; and, by this means, though he be in full practice, at the expence of a few spare hours, to store himself sufficiently for all his occasions, with such great remedies and secrets of importance; and, for other medicines of less value and consequence, they may be had at the apothecaries, or taught the patients, or those about them, as was said of vehicles, without any considerable prejudice to the practice of physick. To be sure, it were far better to teach patients any medicines, than practising apothecaries; for those, if they have any ingenuity, will be sensible of the benefit, and, at most, but use it again for themselves, fome friend, or the poor for charity; whereas these will not only use it, *toties quoties*, to the same patient, but make a trade of it to all others, whom they have to do with, and judge in the like condition.

Nor can it be any dishonour to a physician thus to employ himself between whiles, in the making of such choice and important medicines; as it is upon record, and clearly appears, that Hippocrates and his sons, Galen, and other ancient physicians, did the like; nor is there the least appearance that they had any apothecaries, or ever wrote bills to any. And, to be sure, in our times, we see, how worthy ladies, and gentlewomen of quality, do employ themselves in making confections, and medicines internal and external; and it is known, what countesses and great persons of both sexes have done the like, whence some medicines have their names, to none of which it was ever reputed a dishonour: And how then can it be to physicians, whose employment, in this kind, need not be more troublesome or laborious? And, in respect of the near relation of it to their profession, must be to the greater advantage, and more general concernment of the life and health of mankind.

If it be thought, that this expedient, of physicians making their own medicaments, comes now too late for the securing of the practice of physick to themselves; the apothecaries being already so stocked with innumerable receipts for all cases, upon the communication of the practice of physicians for so many years, or some ages, that they need no more: It is to be considered what great variety of new cases do daily emerge, what diseases, and new faces and conditions of diseases, every year almost produceth, not to be found described in all physick books extant; for which they may not have one proper receipt in all their store, or, if there be any such, it may be long enough before they find it. Nor is there any other way but by principles and a habit of judging and discerning in a physician to come to the knowledge of such diseases and cases, their nature, causes, and cure; so that, without farther communication to apothecaries, they must come to be at a loss, for all their great stock and store of old receipts.

And it is farther to be considered, that the consequence of physicians exercising themselves in the preparation of medicines will be the invention of such as shall be more effectual, pleasant, and convenient for use than the shop-medicines, and shall, among those that have experienced them, beget a nauseating of and aversion to the other, and beat them quite out of use or esteem.

And considering how apothecaries may and do censure the whole practice of some physicians, and of those in the fullest employment, to be upon a few ordinary or inconsiderable prescriptions; and pretend their own to be upon rare secrets or choice prescriptions of some most eminent ancient physicians, and such as have proved most successful: It is high time for physicians to go out of the road, and do something extraordinary to secure themselves from such imputation.

If, upon the consideration of the great variety of diseases and cases, it be questioned, how a physician will be able to apply proper remedies, out of a few choice and effectual medicaments of his own preparation? It is answered, by composition, and by addition of others, in some cases, though of less importance of themselves (easily to be directed to apothecaries, or any about the patient, if the physician do it not himself) sufficient variety of medicaments, accommodated to the particular diseases and cases, may be produced; as we see what infinite variety of articulate sounds are, by various compounding or placing the twenty-four letters of the alphabet. And to be sure one may be at a greater loss, by confusion amongst a multitude of superfluous, impertinent, luxuriant, and inconsiderable medicaments, than amongst a small number of choice and effectual ones; with which a small closet furnished may afford more to answer all intentions, than many of the greatest shops of apothecaries, as they stand now furnished, put together; and may better inable physicians to make good that distich,

Et, quoniam variant Morbi, variabimus Artes;
Mille mali species, mille salutis erunt.

Besides the securing of the practice of physick to physicians, and the preventing its falling into other hands, which is a more necessary advantage; there is another of happy consequence and more honourable, which, by this course of physicians making their own medicaments, may be attained; that is, a great improvement in the art itself, hinted before. For when judicious physicians come to be more familiarly acquainted with the materials of medicaments, and also to experiment and observe operations and processes upon them; especially the more accurate and artificial, as in chymical preparations; they will discover the most advantageous ways of preparation, and the most rational proportions in order to composition; and come to contrive and invent new medicaments, exceeding others in their kinds, and improve, beyond what they can imagine of themselves, before they have entered this way, and what they can never otherwise attain; as some learned and ingenious physicians have done. Nor can it be denied, that, in this course, some empiricks have stumbled upon very considerable and effectual medicaments, wherewith, in some particular cases, they have outdone learned physicians; and, by the advantage of making their own medicaments, they bear up, and will do, till they be outdone in the same kind by such physicians.

Nor hath a physician any way of vying upon equal terms, with an empirick, but by giving his own medicines, as well as he; and, by concealment, securing them from censure or undervaluing, as the other doth; and much less can he vie with a practising apothecary, when called in to a case, after he hath undertaken and administered according to his skill; for, in this case, it is not his interest that a physician should have better success than himself; and, therefore, how faithfully and accurately the physician's prescriptions will be prepared, may be a doubt: But, to be sure, nothing is more obvious, than for the apothecary to undervalue them, and to say, that the same, as good, or better have been given already; which suggestions, how false soever, cannot but raise a diffidence or prejudice in the patient to the disadvantage of the success.

There is one farther advantage of great importance, by the physician's giving his own preparations; that is, the certainty he shall be at in all his medicaments, as to their efficacy, strength, and operation; much beyond what can be in the way of writing bills to apothecaries. It is sufficiently known, and most frequently experienced, that, let a physician write the same bill to several shops, the medicine shall be very different in the sensible qualities, scent, taste, colour, strength, pleasantness, &c. according to the goodness of the ingredients, or the cleanly and accurate making; which may cause great difference, and in reason cannot but some in the operation, while in the mean time the physician must answer for all, and all reflects upon him; whereas a physician, using always the same preparation or composition, will be at a certainty of the effect, on the part of the medicine; and any difference must be, in the disposition of the body on which it operates.

But how can it be honourable for a physician to sell medicaments, may be a question; to which may be answered, that for a physician to drive such a trade for its own sake, or merely for profit that might accrue to him thereby, could not be of credit; but in order to so necessary an end, as the securing of his practice, and the benefit of his own industry to himself; and to so good an end as the improvement of his art to the benefit of others, it can be no more dishonourable to him to sell physick, than to persons of honour and great estates to sell their corn, cattle, wool; or foreign princes their wines. But another question may hereupon arise, how it may appear to satisfaction, that he deals reasonably and honestly in the prices and rates of his medicines? It may be answered, that in the ordinary dealing of apothecaries with their customers (whom they call their patients, but very improperly, except when they take upon them to be their physicians) by their bills and the names of the particulars therein, it doth not at all appear, how reasonable their rates are; all the satisfaction is in the good opinion of their honesty, and in their assertions and protestations concerning the reasonableness of their prices; which indeed are arbitrary, and can hardly be other, because of the endless variety of medicines prescribed, not being of the cognisance of others (except physicians and apothecaries, upon perusal of the receipts) as are the wares and commodities wherein other tradesmen deal. And, if physicians have the happiness to be thought honest men, amongst their friends and patients, they may give them as good satisfaction concerning their usage of them in this kind.

To be sure, the apothecaries, upon this account, that the medicines prepared and vended by them are not of the cognisance of the patients, or, however, are concealed from them, may make several advantages to themselves, not only of unreasonable profit, to the burdening of the patient, but also of undue reputation among the injudicious, to the injury of the physician. That they may set unreasonable rates on their medicines is obvious to conceive, and that they have done so is not unknown; upon discovery whereof, they justify all by alledging their expence of time and attendance; and this clearly infers, that they in effect, by such means, arbitrarily set an unreasonable value upon their time and attendance, and such as may amount to more than the physician's fees come to, all put together, when he hath been entertained and daily attended, from the beginning of the disease to the end: and if, when, by occasion of complaints of patients to physicians, notice hath been taken of such prices set upon some medicines prescribed by them, requiring no great time or trouble to prepare, as may make the apothecary a gainer at the rate of ninety in the hundred; with as good reason, when they are sole physicians, may they set yet higher prices on their medicines, in consideration of their advice into the bargain, if they be not allowed distinctly for it. Whence it is the less wonder how so many young apothecaries, as set up a-new, and open shops in every corner almost of the city, should subsist; for it requires no great sum to purchase fine painted and gilded pots, boxes, and glasses, and a little stock is improveable to a manifold proportion of what it is capable of in other trades: And it is as little wonder, if many apothecaries in any considerable time grow rich, and greater estates be gotten among them, in proportion to their number, than among physicians, upon such advantages beyond them, and incroachments upon their rights, contrary to what was ever known of old.

And they may take upon them to censure, or pretend against the prescriptions of physicians (as it is easy to carp, or find fault with what is most perfect or innocent, and most obvious, out of ignorance or self-conceit so to do) and by this means puzzle and dissatisfy the injudicious, while no opportunity is afforded to the physician to give satisfaction, or vindicate himself; and, by raising prejudice, hinder the good effect of the medicine, or divert the patient from the use of it.

And they may (and whether they have done so is not unknown) vary from the prescription of the physician, to impose upon him; and so, if the medicine has a good success, they can tell the patient, that it was not as the physician prescribed it, but as they have altered it for the better, knowing his constitution, &c. or, in plain English, none of his, but theirs: If it prove not successful, they can be silent, and by this means arrogate to themselves all good successes, and leave the other to rest upon the physician; which latter, by such a practice, they may be the authors of; so that, at this rate, all the reputation and success of the physician may be in their power, and at their mercy. Such most injurious and intolerable abuses there is reason to expect from practising apothecaries, who are emulators of physicians, and, indeed, no better than enemies unto, and a party against them; as some sufficiently discovered themselves in publick, when time served, by their vilifying and disparaging the physicians before a committee of the House of Commons. Now, how much it concerns physicians, and what reason they have to take any course, rather than so to be imposed upon by them, let the world judge.

They, that can vary from the physician's prescription upon such an account, may with less dishonesty do it for saving, by leaving out, in whole or in part, some chargeable ingredients, which, in many compositions, cannot be missed to sense, though in reason they cannot be abated; pretending, if it be discovered, that the medicines may be more proper for the patient without them. And, as to the goodness of their drugs, on which the due estimation of their rates depends, and which doth no more appear to others, than the unreasonableness of the rates, they may, whether they do, or not, put off such as are defective, decayed, impure, &c. and, in such respect, of little value. For, as hath been said, all failure of success, or ill success, is imputed to the physician; whence it clearly may be inferred, how much better satisfaction, and security against defectiveness in medicaments, there may be in dealing with the physician, than the apothecary; since the perfection of any medicine is of such concernment to the success, which is the great interest of the physician (and the more, while he acts alone) unless he be supposed so wicked, as to be corrupted to do mischief to the patient; and, in such case, the apothecary, being corrupted, not only when he practiseth himself, but when employed under a physician, by adding to, or altering what is prescribed, or giving one thing for another, may easily do the like mischief, undiscovered, with the great advantage of imputation to, or reflexion upon the physician.

For it often falls out in practice, that medicaments, in themselves safe and gentle, have rough and violent operations upon the body, meeting with some cause thereof within; and much more may stronger and churlish physick have the like, which a physician may sometimes be necessitated to prescribe, except he will merely trifle with the patient, and let him die. Now a little alteration of such a medicine by the apothecary may be the death of a patient; wherein he cannot be detected, and, therefore, it must rest upon the physician.

For avoiding suspicion, where the physician may gain by the death of a patient, as of a parent, wife, or relation, to whom he may be heir, or any other, by whose death some apparent advantage may accrue to him; it hath been the prudence of physicians to decline acting alone, though no jealousy or caution on the part of the patient hath given occasion thereof; and, by this course, it is in the power of physicians to secure themselves from the suspicion, and of patients, from the practice of any such wicked design against them, whereby those may become accessary to their death. In other cases, upon consideration it may clearly appear, how much more the life and recovery of a patient is the interest of a physician, than of an apothecary, who only prepares the physick for the patient, by the physician's prescription. The apothecary may lose a customer and friend, by whom, in time to come, he might have made good advantage; the physician answerably may lose a patient and friend, who, in reason, might have been at least as beneficial to him. But this may be the least part of his loss, for, besides this consideration, upon the death of a person, especially of note, esteem, or interest in the world, all near relations, friends, and dependants take notice of, or are inquisitive after the physician, and (though he be of eminent general repute, yet except he have the happiness to be well thought of among them, or the advantage to give them a satisfactory account) are ready to suspect some want of ability or judgment in him, to discern the disease, or apply proper remedies, or some want of care, consideration, or diligence requisite to the case; and thereupon to censure either the doing, or the omission of something, as dangerous or fatal. Hereupon they have an aversion unto, or prejudice against that physician, for the future, so as to be inclined to make use of any other, rather than of him; which consequence, upon the death of a patient, may much more impair the physician's practice, than all he can be supposed to lose, by such a particular patient. Now there is no such consideration or suspicion, concerning the apothecary (except any thing notorious be discovered against the goodness of his medicines); whence it is seen amongst passionately affectionate persons, upon the loss of children, near relations, or dear friends, that they are averse to the sight of the physician that took care of them, though there hath not been the least ground or cause in reason so to be; and yet the apothecary is in as good esteem with them as ever. Hence, it is rational to infer, that whoever engageth a physician in an action, so much against his interest, as the being instrumental to procure the death of any person, must bid very high for it; and since his opportunity is only while persons are sick or taking physick; and, since it is so feasible, towards persons in sickness or health, by the ways and artifices of poison to dispatch them, wherein others are more versed than the physicians of England were ever known to be, and which are usually managed and dispensed in diet, towards which, a cook, butler, other servants, or any that may be frequently about the person, have more opportunity than a physician, and, in reason, may be corrupted at easier rates, it may be presumed, a physician will not be made use of to such a purpose; according as there is little extant in history, and little reported of physicians, employed in such work, which others may so easily do, and have so frequently done.

As to the rates of medicines, if the physicians did to all patients, that do not undervalue them in their fees, (though giving but according to the ordinary and accustomed rate, time out of mind in England) give all the medicines of their own preparation they should need to use; the condition of the profession must be better, than by communicating to apothecaries, to give them such advantages against themselves as have been set forth. Whence it is clear to infer, at how much cheaper rates, a physician may afford medicaments, than an apothecary; and, therefore, in all reason, supposing them to be men of honesty, or understanding their own interest, they will do so. And, no doubt, the event will shew it, upon dealing with physicians, that take this course, when the difference shall appear, by comparing the charges, upon entertaining such a physician alone, with what hath been usual, upon making use of a physician and apothecary both together, in like cases; or upon making use of an apothecary alone, whereby, many cannot but think, that great matters must be saved; whereas, if the medicines brought in by him amount to ten shillings, he may get little short of a physician's fee; but how much they multiply, and ply the patient with medicines, in such cases, is ordinarily seen;

and a physician, that hath no end in favour of the apothecary, may do the work with that which amounts to far the least part of what is usually obtruded in such cases; and, though he receive some fees; yet may be less chargeable to the patient, than any apothecary entertained, as well as more satisfactory to all such as allow more ability to a physician, in his profession, than to an apothecary.

It may be an objection against the course of physicians preparing medicines for their own peculiar use, that it will cut off all free communication between physicians, and render consultations insignificant. To this, may be answered, that those physicians engaged in this work, between whom there was a good understanding and a free communication formerly, may as freely communicate upon their peculiar preparations; or, at least such account of them may be given, as shall be sufficient for judgment, whether they be proper in the particular case before them, or not. But it is not to be expected, that all the considerable physicians should engage in this course, some being in full practice, in combination or conjunction with apothecaries, from whom it is not to be expected, they should trouble themselves about preparing medicines; and some depending upon apothecaries, to bring them into notice and acquaintance; who must therefore comply with them not only in writing bills to their best advantage, but also, as occasion serves, enter on their leavings of practice, and perhaps consult with them. In such cases, indeed, it is not reasonable to expect, that any physician should communicate a peculiar preparation of his own to another, that can make no use of it but by divulging it to an apothecary. But, as to consultation, it may be said, that any such physicians, meeting, may proceed upon the shop medicines to as good advantage, as formerly; neither is any physician, that prepares his own medicines, the less able, to be sure, to write bills to apothecaries, but rather the more, in that respect, as far as he is free thereto.

There remains one grand objection, that this course of physicians making their own medicines must ruin the apothecaries, who are numerous, and a company of the city of London, incorporated by charter: To this it may be answered, that the apothecaries are become so numerous in the city of London, very probably, upon encouragement, by the advantages taken against physicians, to practise themselves; and against patients or customers to set as high prices as they please. And it is easily granted, that, without such courses, a great part of them cannot subsist. Whereas it may be said of all the physicians in London, having any legal right to practise, that they might live well on their practice, in the old course of writing bills to apothecaries, were it not for the practising apothecaries, and other empiricks. However, the numerousness of apothecaries doth not justify illegal and injurious advantages taken against physicians, no more than the numerousness of necessitous persons doth their indirect and unwarrantable courses of living; during which, the present course of writing all in bills to apothecaries must ruin the physicians, whose education doth cost a good estate or stock, and a great part of the time of their lives, before they can arrive to get any thing; and who in London are a society incorporated by charter, having that charter and other privileges established by acts of parliament, as the authority or privilege of them and others, to practise elsewhere, depends upon the charters and privileges of the universities, which are also established by acts of parliament; so that, for a legal establishment, the apothecaries can no ways vie with the physicians. And as to the merits of the cause, and equity, let it be considered, that the physicians did part with, and freely allow one part of their profession, to be exercised by others, yet never quitted the right of exercising that also themselves; whence, as elsewhere, so in England, it hath been always free (and the law expresly allows it, and there is an express reserve in the apothecaries charter to that effect) for physicians to exercise their art in all its parts. That, upon this, advantage is taken by apothecaries to invade the whole, by giving advice, as well as making and selling medicines; and so by consequence, if the physicians should not resume the other, they themselves must be ruined, upon the abuses and advantages taken against them before set forth; and it will soon appear, whether it be not more equal, that the physicians should preserve themselves by recovery of their own, than the others by invading theirs, and getting all from them; to which the former have all the right, and the latter none at all.

But, supposing such a course universally taken up, of physicians making their own medicines of importance, for their use in practice, a ruining of apothecaries would not necessarily follow; they would yet practise upon the meaner sort, and perhaps many others, whom, for want of judgment, they would, by their canting and ostentation, and by raising prejudice against physicians, draw into a better opinion of themselves; besides the trade of their shops. But, because such practice of theirs must be gained by false suggestions, upon the ignorance and credulity of the people, and is illegal, and may do more mischief than good in the kingdom, this answer is not to be accounted satisfactory; therefore, it is to be taken notice of, that though the making of all medicines for his own use in his practice do of right belong to a physician; yet no such thing hath been here absolutely propounded or intended; but only, of some choice ones of great importance and efficacy, and so many as may secure the practice of physick to the physicians, which may be far the least part of what there will be occasion to use in the whole practice of a physician. And so (besides the sale of shop-medicines, not only by retail, but wholesale, whereby, it is known many have gotten great estates, without dispensing physicians bills) all other medicines directed by physicians may be had of apothecaries; who, according as they approve themselves fair and faithful to physicians, will have the more furtherance in this kind from them. For what was said before, of teaching medicines and vehicles to patients, was intended to shew, how a physician, if he were put to it, might go through in a cure without an apothecary, notwithstanding which, it is free for him to prescribe all such medicines to any apothecary that he is satisfied in. And it is far from the intention hereof to brand all apothecaries, many of whom are allowed to be honest and conscientious, as well as eminently able and skilful in their profession, and such as may be trusted by physicians; any of whom, as they appear to be such, for all that hath been said, may have as much to do in their own proper work and trade, as formerly, or within a small proportion, while physicians engage no farther, in giving any thing of their own preparation, than the practice of apothecaries hath necessitated them unto. And even, as to those medicaments to be prepared by physicians, they also may be lodged with such apothecaries, to be used by the physician's prescription, or allowance, and not otherwise (for preventing misapplication by such as are ignorant of them, and ill success, or failure of success thereupon, to the detriment of the patients, and undue defamation of the medicines) and vended at such rates, as may make him a saver (which ought to satisfy him, since concealment is his design) and the apothecary a reasonable gainer, and yet not be burthensome to the patient. By which means, when there is a good understanding between the physician and the apothecary, and no cause or provocation given, there need be no notice taken to the patient of any such medicine of the physician's preparation administered, but all things may be supposed prepared by the apothecary. And this transaction, between such physicians and apothecaries as shall agree upon it, will bring this whole affair into as good a condition for the benefit of the latter, as to their own work and trade, as ever it was heretofore, when they kept within their own bounds, and as of right it ought to be: And, therefore, should seem very desirable, and readily to be embraced by them, for avoiding greater inconveniencies and disadvantages, which by transcending their bounds, and undertaking above their capacities, while they injuriously invade the rights of the physicians, they may most justly bring upon themselves.

A POSTSCRIPT.

This discourse was written above five years since, not in any haste to be made publick, but to give vent to, and discharge the mind of the author of some working thoughts, wherewith it was frequently occupied, by occasion of what he had long observed, and could not but take notice of, tending to the ruin of the profession of physick, by the practice and designs of the apothecaries, if they should hold on the course they have used these many years, and nothing should be done to undeceive the world concerning them and their actings, to the disadvantage of physicians. It was some satisfaction of mind, to make out, in any rational deduction and coherence of things, what had so much exercised and taken up his thoughts, though it were but to lie by, or be communicated to private friends at most: And, there being at first little thought or inclination to publish what was so conceived in writing, the plague and the fire did successively for a long time after divert from any such thoughts. If an account be demanded, why this discourse comes forth in publick at this time? There shall no necessity of it be pleaded, as the manner is with some authors, to make the world believe them, upon some account or other, necessitated to publish their works: Neither shall importunity of friends be insisted upon, though something in that kind might be alledged. And, if the author may be believed, it was no design of private advantage by gaining profit or credit, that induced him to the publishing hereof. They have been far different ways, and especially compliance with apothecaries, that have been in use hitherto, to improve a physician's practice: And therefore this, in reason, may be a course to ruin it; except he be one that hath the advantage of some reputation for approved ability and honesty, attended with some considerable success. All that the author alledgeth, for this publication, is, that the causes exciting and provoking him to exercise his thoughts this way, and to put the same in writing, continuing and increasing (that is, the invasion of the practice of physick by apothecaries, and their actings to the prejudice of physicians) begat a presumption in his weak judgment, that such a discourse as this might do some right to the profession of physick, and might give occasion to physicians of acting somewhat towards the securing of it from utter ruin, especially while it might be coincident with the honour of the art, by improvement of that part which concerns the preparation of medicines; without prostituting or exposing what they may attain thereby, to those that have no right to make such advantage thereof, as hitherto they have done against physicians, upon their communications to them on the behalf of patients. Another presumption was, that it might undeceive the people, in reference to the supposed advantages of good received, or charges saved, by making use of such apothecaries in place of physicians, as take upon them to practise physick.

It hath been far from the intention of the discourse to hinder apothecaries, much less to ruin them, if that were possible, in the trade that they have any right to exercise; that is, the making and sale of medicines; or to advantage the practice of physick, by the sale of any of the physician's own preparation. But, according to what was before expressed, to give occasion to physicians to consider how much it concerns them, in this age, to endeavour the invention of better than the shop-medicines (towards which their own exercise and experience, in the preparation, will give great advantage) and reserve them to themselves, that they may have something more than any apothecaries can pretend to be masters of, in order to improve the art, as well as secure the practice to themselves; which, by this means, is both lawful and fair for them to do. And though it be free for them to be so furnished as to be able to go through with any cure without employing an apothecary, as the apothecaries do without physicians, yet this is not insisted upon, except in case of just provocation, or necessitating thereto: Otherwise, the hinderance of the apothecaries, in the trade that of right belongs unto them, may be inconsiderable, or in a small proportion, according to what is offered in the conclusion of the precedent discourse; and that it should be any at all, is but what they have deservedly brought upon themselves.

As to empiricks swarming so numerously in the city of London, and all parts of the kingdom, it hath not been the work of the discourse to animadvert upon them; because, though many of them may be less fit to be tolerated in the practice of physick than some apothecaries, yet their practice is more obvious to publick notice; and they, having no such relation to physicians as apothecaries have, are in no such capacity of betraying any trust committed unto them by physicians (which the communication of their practice to apothecaries, in the nature of it, is) or of fighting against physicians with their own weapons.

In the discourse there hath been no affectation of stile or language, only an endeavour after expressions adequate to the things intended. Neither hath there been any strict observation of method; whence some things or passages, in effect the same, are more than once, upon several occasions, brought in; but all, in this kind, amounts not to so much, as to carry an appearance of a designed inlargement. If the main intention thereof prove grounded, and of any good importance to be publickly taken notice of; the defects, or faults, are presumed not to be more, or greater, than a candid reader may connive at, or pardon.

REASONS AND PROPOSALS

FOR A

REGISTRY OR REMEMBRANCER OF ALL DEEDS AND INCUMBRANCES OF REAL ESTATES,

To be had in every County, most necessary and advantageous, as well for Sellers and Borrowers, as Purchasers and Lenders.

To the Advance of Credit, and the general Good, without Prejudice to any honest-minded person, most humbly offered to consideration.

By NICHOLAS PHILPOT, of New-Inn, Oxford.

Printed by W. Hall, for Richard Davis, 1671. Quarto, containing ten Pages.

IT is most apparent, that fraud and deceit increases continually; for remedy whereof, there have been many wholesome laws made, which are no sooner published, than evaded by some new contrived artifice.

Until 27 Elis. no provision was made against fraudulent conveyances, and then, that mischief being growh high, was a most excellent law enacted to remedy it; without which none durst purchase, and consequently none could sell lands in those days, as it is evident by the great number of cases controverted therein.

Yet, notwithstanding the well penning of that statute, and the learned expositions upon it, this law is not, at all times, able to suppress or avoid a fraud, subtly contrived, as by payment of money, or giving security in publick, and then repaying or restoring it in private, or the like; but, if a publick registry, or remembrance of all conveyances and incumbrances on real estates, were settled in each county, all mischiefs and inconveniencies whatsoever, by precedent grants and incumbrances, would be prevented to purchasers and creditors, unless it were by their own wilful neglect; and, if so, they are deceived by themselves, and none else.

The usefulness, and benefit to all his majesty's subjects, of what is proposed, appears, and is demonstrable in nothing more, than the vast number of suits and actions in the Courts at Westminster, arising merely by reason of precedent and concealed incumbrances, which have, and daily do waste and consume the whole substance of such as are concerned in them; and two parts in three, at least, of all suits touching real estates, depending in Westminster-Hall, are sprung from this mischief.

To instance particular examples of persons deceiving, and deceived in this kind, is not necessary, it being so epidemical and obvious, nor can be mentioned without scandal to such as are guilty therein; yet, to satisfy curiosity, I could vouch and justify, within the circuit of the small county wherein I live, to the value of above forty thousand pounds, at least, of them at this time in being; and, I presume, there are very few, who are acquainted with dealings in the world, that cannot demonstrate too many sad instances of the like kind, in their own respective countries.

The terror of this mischief affrights persons, who have money to lend unto those that want it, and occasions the demanding of too unreasonable securities, which inforces men to engage their friends, as well as their lands, to satisfy scrupulous lenders; and hath so far weakened credit, as that a lender, in these days, will rather set at five per cent. to a city goldsmith, or scrivener, upon a note of his hand, than at six to a country gentleman on his mortgage, judgment, or statute, and with a prudent foresight too; for, in the one case, if his security proves defective, he spends, perhaps, all he hath to endeavour the recovery of it; and, in the other, being out of hopes, he is freed from further trouble or charge, and sits down by his first loss.

As the discovery of precedent incumbrances would be to the great benefit, safety, and satisfaction of purchasers and lenders; so would it prove no less advantageous to borrowers and sellers, by giving them credit to raise money on sale, or engagement of their lands, as occasion requires, without drawing in (and thereby often ruining) their friends to be engaged with them; or giving general securities by judgments, statutes, and recognisances, which attach their whole estates, and make them uncapable of selling or disposing any part of it, upon what emergent occasions soever; this as to the sober and circumspect debtors.

Then, as for the young gallants, who know no more of attaining to estates, than the derivation of their descent, and, at sixteen years old, hop to the University, then, at nineteen, fly to London, where, by one-and-twenty, their uncurdled brains evaporating into froth and air, they, like young jackdaws, are enfranchised into the society of the old rooks of the city, who, having discovered their warm nests in the country, soon lead them into the snares and lime-twigs of judgments and statutes. The principal means of their delivery and preservation will be a timely discovery of their first engagement, which the thing proposed will effect; for, when once the incumbrance they create is discovered, by the entry of it in their own country, without which no considerable sum will be raised, then the parent, if living, is fairly forewarned to check the son's prodigality; if otherwise, the unthrift will be inforced to discharge his old engagement before his new will be taken; and the very apprehension of discovery will cause many to forbear those follies, which, though subject unto, they abhor to have known.

When an estate is once involved in unfathomed incumbrances, then it creates suits upon suits, the expence whereof soon devours all, without either satisfying the creditors, or leaving any thing to remain for the debtor.

It is very observable how the state and condition of the seller alters the rate and quickness of the sale.

If a person, reputed to be indebted, or engaged, offers land to sell, none will adventure to deal, for fear of precedent incumbrances, unless it be upon very great advantages of an under value, in regard of the danger; when as a man, void of that prejudice, may soon sell at the uttermost value.

There are persons who drive a trade in brokerage of money, whose course is this: Upon the application of a borrower, he finds out the money, proposes the security, and names himself for one. This double kindness obtains a bountiful reward out of the sum, and, likewise, undoubted counter-security, not only against this engagement, but also all others in future, for my broker intends not to desert his fresh man so. Then, for his general indemnity, he takes a lusty previous judgment of his friend, as more concealable than a statute, and, upon the credit of it, makes new supplies, from time to time, as occasion requires. When the old debt is called in, as it must be once a year, he engages a-new, taking up so much more money as will supply the present occasions of the borrower, and reward the broking-surety. If the principal and his co-engaged country securities, these things being reciprocal betwixt them, prove slack or defective, whereby the broking bondsman is hardly set upon, he resolves to submit to the law, and takes up his quarters in the Fleet or Marshalsees; and then, to extend his judgment, to gain some part of recompence for being undone by his kindness to his friend, whose estate is far short to recompense his damage, although he was never worth a groat more than what he got by these means. My application is, that, if these judgments came to be entered, persons of subsequent concernment would come to the discovery of them, and thereby avoid, or be timely relieved against them.

The difficulty to borrow money proceeds not from its scarcity, but the diffidence of good security; for it is generally known, that those who need it not, and have estates, may borrow what they please on easy terms, when as persons in debt cannot procure it without much trouble and charge.

If moneyed men could safely deal in purchases or mortgages of lands, the obstruction whereof is only concealed and undiscoverable incumbrances, they would not keep their treasure lying by them without profit to themselves, or use to the publick, but set it abroad to benefit; and none, who are owners of land, could want money, at any time, to serve their occasions. This would promote trade and commerce betwixt all men.

The too frequent and abominable villainy of forging, erasing, altering, and antedating of conveyances, would be wholly prevented by the means of this registry.

It will very much assist executors to discover their testators debts of record, whereby to know how to make due administration with safety to themselves.

Objections may be made, which, though weak in themselves, yet some may think them fit to receive an answer: As

1. The matter proposed would discover men's estates to their prejudice, their debts would be made known, and so their credit and reputation weakened; and others, who desire to conceal their fortunes, would be discovered to the world, and thereby liable to taxes and burthensome offices, which now they avoid.

Answer. As to the first, the support of credit and repute, by having poverty undiscovered, is like the concealing of a wound till it comes to an uncurable ulcer; and the effects of it can never recover the patient, but will at last destroy him, and deceive all who trust in him.

As for the other, it is most just and equitable, that they should bear and undergo taxes and burthens proportionable to their estates, and not lay it on the shoulders of those who are of less ability.

2*d Ob.* It would give opportunities to pick holes, and find out defects in men's conveyances.

Answer 1. Many persons, having once gotten a possession, hold by wrong, on pretence of conveyances which they have not, occasioning many suits for discovery thereof; which need not be, if the publick registry did demonstrate it.

2. The registering may be brief and short, setting forth the effect of the conveyance. Besides, scarce any in these days do sell

or grant land, without keeping an exact copy or counterpart, by which defects, in case there be any, will more appear, than it can do by the registry.

3d Ob. It would put purchasers to an unnecessary trouble and charge.

Answer. The charge will be inconsiderable to the great satisfaction they receive, by being freed from the danger of precedent titles; and the trouble cannot be much, when an office for the purpose is kept in the shire-town, or chief city of the county.

There is yet another objection, which, though perhaps it will not be openly owned, yet may covertly prove more obstructive than all the rest; and that is, the growing students of the law, who observe, with admiration, the vast wealth and honour acquired by their predecessors in their functions, may see cause of despairing the like to themselves, if this preventive remedy is set on foot. But the genuine and candid exposition of the law's use and intention, forbids all contradiction of what tends to the publick tranquillity and welfare; and, therefore, I hope, there needs not much to be said in confutation of what will not be publickly asserted.—And this I dare aver that many learned lawyers have been deceived in their purchases, by precedent titles of the very money which they got in controverting the like cases for their clients.

Having thus far discoursed of the great benefit, and, indeed, absolute necessity of what is proposed, I shall add my conjectures of an order, manner, and likewise the charge in execution of the business in hand.

1. That the registry be kept in the shire-town, or chief city of each county, and all incounties of cities and towns, saving some great cities particularly to be mentioned, be included within the out county, it being not worth the attendance for some incounties alone.

2. That the entry of each deed, grant, fine, common recovery, will, and conveyance be in large books of royal paper bound, which are more durable than parchment, and to contain only the date, parties names, consideration, lands granted, to whom, for what term or estate, what uses, upon what conditions or limitations, and the endorsement or subscription of witnesses, omitting all other covenants; and this is to be done briefly and concisely, only the lands granted to be full and at large, for expedition-sake; the purchaser may bring an abstract with him, which being compared and examined by the register, and the deed signed by him, the entry may be made by the abstract.

3. If the deed contains lands in several counties, then an entry to be made in each county, as to so much as lies within the same.

4. As for judgments, statutes, and recognisances, to be briefly entered with their dates, number, rolls, and courts where recorded, in such and so many counties, as the cognisor's lands do lie in; and, in case of subsequent purchases, then where, when, and as often as such purchases shall be made, for the discovery whereof, the creditor or purchaser is to take care at his peril.

5. As for copyhold estates, they are always conveyed openly in the Lord's court, by way of surrender, and therefore need no other discovery; but, in case of leases made, or terms granted by deed of copyhold estates, by the Lord's license, or otherwise, those to be registered.

6. This registering not to be used as binding evidence of the making or execution of any deed (in regard it is done at the instance of the grant, in the granter's absence) but only to serve for a discovery of it to such as shall be concerned.

7. To the end the present generation may reap some benefit of this work, that all deeds, assurances, and real incumbrances, made or created since the year 1660, be registered within a year, at the peril of the grantees or cognisees being postponed.

8. That all other registries be made within four months after the date, and then to be effectual as from the date, at the peril of being postponed to all intervening before it is registered, but not to be forecluded of registering at any time, running the hazard of postponing. And if any will so far rely upon his security, and his granter or cognisor's integrity, without registering it, to stand good against all but creditors and purchasers.

9. That an exact alphabet be kept of all the granters and cognisors names, with their titles and additions, and the number or folio wherein their art is registered. And, in regard some persons are called by several sirnames, with alteration of title and addition, that, for better assurance, another alphabet be kept of the names of the towns and places wherein the lands granted do lie, for both these alphabets together must be infallible.

10. As for fees of the office: Every entry, not exceeding three sheets, each sheet containing twelve lines, and eight words in every line, two shillings, and for every sheet exceeding, six pence.

For the alphabeting of each entry, six pence.

For a search and sight of the entry, for every ten years, five shillings; and, if for any less number of years, eight pence for each year.

For copies of every sheet written as aforesaid, six pence.

A TREATISE

CONCERNING REGISTERS TO BE MADE OF ESTATES, BONDS, BILLS, &c.

With Reasons against such Registers.

By the Honourable Mr. WILLIAM PIERREPOINT. MS.

THE expences, concerning such registers, would be unsupportable to the subjects of this kingdom; their charges for the first year (by being compelled to register their deeds made in times past) would be above six-hundred thousands, and above two-hundred thousand pounds, for every year for the time to come.

And such hath been the carelessness (if not worse) of trustees, widows, their second, or other husbands, guardians of orphans, sequestrators, and other plunderers, in the late times of troubles, concerning deeds which came into their hands, as not in one estate of twenty, but some defect in law would be found therein, if every person might peruse their deeds, as all might do, if they were recorded.

Many now quietly enjoy their lands, chief rents, and other just profits out of the lands of other persons; because, it is believed, they have good deeds to shew for them, and questionless their ancestors, or those under whom they claim, had such deeds; many have intired their manors, by several purchases and exchanges from freeholders, within their said manors, and thereby made great improvements; some deeds are lost, registers would discover the wants of those deeds, many hundreds of persons would thereby lose their lands, chief rents, and just profits out of the lands of other persons, and have their inclosed grounds thrown open to commons.

Creditors lend their monies on judgments, statutes, recognisances, mortgages, bonds, or bills; judgments, statutes, and recognisances are recorded, the nature of them, suits thereunto; the defect therein is that the records of judgments are so difficultly to be found out, for, judgments being recorded in Chancery, by rules of common law, in the King's-Bench, in the Common-Pleas, in the Exchequer, and many hundreds in every term, in time as they happen, it is scarcely possible to find them in due time, to the great damages of many persons.

These defects may be redressed by making fit alphabetical kalendars of judgments in every of those courts, and such kalendars may be easily done, and will be readily made by the clerks in those several courts, if by act of parliament some reasonable fee be allowed to such clerks for so doing; as to take two pence for search for every year, as is allowed by the statute 27 Elisabeth, chap. iv. for search for statutes merchant, and of the staple.

Mortgages are of like nature with judgments and statutes; wherein lands mortgaged are of double value to the money lent on them; and with general warranty against all persons, and the monies to be repaired at six or twelve months, so as seldom to be incumbrances on lands, longer than for the mortgager's life; therefore, it may be of greater benefit than prejudice to record mortgages. But therein will be difficulties which will require serious consideration, as, amongst others, because some mortgages are made by absolute sales with defeasances collateral, and some purchasers are concerned to keep ancient mortgages on foot, assigned to trustees for security of their purchases.

In the time of the Rump, an act of parliament, as they falsly called it, was by some men there violently prosecuted for registering all deeds, pretending what they so pressed was to prevent frauds against purchasers and creditors, but they were such who had no money to lend, or wherewith to buy lands; the registering of mortgages for the time to come was not much opposed, but that did not satisfy them; their aims were their private gains to have or sell registers places, thereby to share amongst themselves above a hundred-thousand pounds yearly: The officers, in such registers, would have to themselves so much at least, over and above all charges and expences therein.

If bonds and penal bills (which are quick securities, and but for short times) should be made void, if not registered, the prejudices which might happen thereby to creditors are apparent.

Quadraginta hath been writ for *Quadringenti*, forty for four-hundred; then he who had truly lent two-hundred pounds on such a bond, if this mistake had been discovered, could not, in the court of common law, have recovered on that bond more than forty pounds; and so may easily be mistakes in *quinquaginta* for *quingenti*, fifty for five-hundred, *nonaginta* for *nonagenti*, ninety for nine-hundred, and so for many others; but, the mistakes not being discovered, the creditors have had their monies lent well paid, without demand to see the bonds, or hear them read, or being put to any charges or troubles in suits.

Bonds and bills are no effectual incumbrances on lands, until sued to judgments.

When kalendars are made, whereby judgments may be speedily discovered, then there can be little prejudice by not recording bonds and bills; but the recording them would destroy trade, two parts of three, in trade, being carried on upon credit.

Many tradesmen have borrowed great sums of money, and taken up wares on bonds and bills; have lived well, and paid all their creditors to their satisfactions; have enriched this kingdom, and raised good estates to themselves and their heirs, who at some times have owed to several creditors, on bonds and bills, much more than they were then worth; which if it had been then known, and which registers would have laid them open, they would have had their bonds and bills sued against them to judgments, when it would have been to their ruin; but each creditor, believing those persons did owe nothing, or but little but to themselves, did not sue or molest their debtors.

In like condition would have been many gentlemen free-holders and farmers, who were necessitated to borrow money, and take up goods on their bonds and bills, for the managements o their estates, to provide stocks, and other necessaries; which if it had been known at all times, what they owed to all creditors, would then, when they had not been able to pay, have had their bonds and bills sued to judgments, and thereon their lands and goods seized, their bodies imprisoned, or they to lie hid, or to fly into foreign parts, to the inestimable damages of this kingdom thereby bereaved of the benefits from the abilities of their minds, and labours of their bodies.

Concerning the Registering of Bargains and Sales and Settlements of Lands of Inheritance.

Great mischiefs appear therein to present view, more are rationally to be feared. In these deeds are no double values, no general warranty, no time of redemption, no cause to peruse those deeds every six or twelve months (as are in mortgages) and wherein defects seldom appear till after the seller's death.

For these deeds must be registered at large, word for word, or by taking extracts out of them.

The wit of man cannot draw such extracts without errors. The judgment of man is not capable to prevent all mistakes and misunderstandings in such extracts.

If all deeds of purchase and settlements of lands of inheritance must be registered at large, register records would be so voluminous in ten years, as no good use could be made of them.

In forty years experience, I have not known or heard (yet I have enquired of many lawyers of great practice) of above three causes in all the Courts of Judicature, which have gone against purchasers who paid valuable considerations, and those causes, not in the whole, to the value of thirty-thousand pounds; which, if so, as I doubt not but when examined, it will be found to be so, then, if these registers had been established forty years since, register-offices would have had from the subjects eighty-hundred-thousand pounds, at two-hundred-thousand pounds yearly, to have saved thirty-thousand pounds defrauded, and that but in forty years. I know that several persons would have lost their lands, if some others had known their deeds. I have had some references to me, and thereon perusal of deeds, wherein were such defects, as, if their deeds had not been private to those they trusted, they would have lost their lands for which they paid a full value.

These registers will cause differences and discontents in families between husbands and their wives, parents and their children, and children amongst themselves. Whilst a father keeps his deeds of settlements of his estate private to himself, his wife and children each hoping for better than is done for them (perhaps than the estate can bear) yet they live in love and quiet; but, if they should know, which by these registers they would know, what the settlements are, wives would be unquiet, children would be undutiful, the eldest brother would think his youngest brothers and sisters had too much, and they, that they had too little. A father may have good cause to give to some younger son or daughter, more than to the other: This the others will call inequality, and want of natural affection to them; they would live in envy and hatred.

Fathers, to have household contentment, must then, although against their judgments of what is fittest to be done by them, make no deeds of settlements of their estates, but leave all to be disposed by their last wills and testaments, thereby subjecting their estates to wrongs and frauds by executors, or administrators, and themselves to troubles and vexations in their sicknesses and weaknesses, as neither to live quietly nor die quietly.

Many have sudden exigents to borrow money under irrecoverable damages, if not provided therewith in some short time, who have lands of clear titles and of double the value of the monies they would borrow thereupon, yet their lands lying remote, as if in Yorkshire or Devonshire, when they need the monies in London.

London is the great market of lands, there is the great stock of monies for the whole kingdom; the lender's council in law, if these registers should be established, must advise their clients, not to lend monies on lands, till the registers, in the countries where those lands are, be searched, and by able men of whose abilities and honesties they are satisfied. These delays necessitate great expences, much time is wasted, the opportunities for those monies lost, and they who needed such monies irrecoverably damnified; it cannot be an easy or cheap business for purchasers to get due knowledge of the sellers deeds registered in remote places; it would be chargeable and dangerous to conveigh their deeds of purchase, to be registered in distant places.

Many are concerned on marriages, and other settlements, to make large deeds; many skins of parchment, wherein their lands, in many several counties, are conveighed; these deeds must be registered in every several county wherein any land lieth therein conveighed; or, if such deeds be to be registered only in one county, with references therein to the other counties, this, besides other inconveniences which would follow thereon, would send men for making searches on those references, east, west, south, and north, certainly to their great charges, probably to little purpose.

All frauds, which have hitherto been committed by cheats, may be done by clerk registers, and more than have hitherto been known.

Their temptations, to gain by bribery, would probably be greater than their honesties to resist; they would have means and opportunities to act frauds which none yet have had.

Deeds of purchase of lands to be recorded in these registers must take their force, either from their dates or caption of taking acknowledgments of them, or from the time they are entered in the registers. If from their dates or captions, as if from six months after either of them, then fraudulent purchasers have six months time to conceal such deeds, and, they and the sellers combining, the sellers may make subsequent deeds of sale of the same lands to purchasers on full values, and defraud them; the fraudulent purchasers, registering their precedent deeds within the six months, would have the lands, those registers being records.

If deeds of purchase must take their force from the entries of them into the registers, then so many deeds would be brought to a register-office in one day, as it would be impossible to register them the same day; the preference in time, to register them, would fall to the will of clerks, registers, and the just purchasers in their mercies.

If several deeds of sale of the same lands should be made, some for a full value, some fraudulent, and the just deeds brought to the registers, the same day, before the fraudulent deeds, the register clerk is bribed, and the fraudulent deeds are first recorded in the register-offices, the fraudulent purchasers will have the lands.

If the clerk registers (who being ordered to register deeds in time, as they come to them) will not be bribed to do otherwise; yet fraudulent sellers may have fraudulent deeds, and such deeds ready to execute so soon before or after the just deeds, as, if the fraudulent buyers cannot otherwise be before the just purchasers at the register-offices with their deeds, horses will be laid for them, whereby to outride the others; so fraudulent deeds would be first recorded in those registers, and the purchasers for full values would be defrauded of the lands and of their monies.

Considerate men cannot believe, but that such persons, who now contrive and act frauds, will commit more frauds when they shall have more means to do so, or that clerk registers will not take bribes for false entries of deeds into the registers, when they shall have, besides other tricks, such ready excuses for their mis-entries when found out: That it was but their mistake in such a croud of business; their bribes taken are not easily proved, but such mis-entry, if but a mistake, would be fatal to the honest purchasers.

Forged deeds are now vacated by the Courts of Judicature, but deeds forged, if registered in those registers made records, could not be vacated by any Court of Judicature.

I have heard some men say, that forgeries and other frauds would be prevented by making such offences in clerk registers, if contrivers or accessary thereunto, to be felony without benefit of clergy. This may deceive sudden apprehensions, but considerate men will foresee such birds of prey would soon know, that those scarecrows would not kill them.

Clerk registers, by their offices, would have such means to keep their frauds in darkness, and to tamper with jurors, as juries would not find that they had full evidence to take away their lives; and such forgeries would probably be concealed, till after the forgers deaths, who seldom leave estates sufficient to answer damages to the parties wronged by them. Bribe-takers will be bribe-givers; most commonly great cheaters are notorious livers, and die beggars.

Men will enjoy their monies, and other goods, in their houses much safer, by keeping their doors well locked and barred, than they would do if they should be compelled to leave their doors open, although the most severe penalties of sufferings and death should be imposed on those who should steal any of their goods out of their houses. We do not suffer prejudices for want of officers toward the law, but our grievances are very great by over many officers, and their clerks, attornies, and sollicitors. Officers will raise profits to themselves, whoever lose by it; the more officers, the more will be the frauds and oppressions; more than two-thousand clerks and sollicitors, concerning those registers, would be employed in these register-offices.

It cannot be rationally thought that all these officers, when first made, will be able and honest. It is not to be supposed that those in succession will be so. There will be unworthy hirelings to discover to insatiable covetors of the estates of others, and to riotous wasters of their own estates, the flaws in deeds; and to discover flaws in deeds to such men would be as to publish to thieves, what jewels, monies, plate, and other goods, persons have in their houses, and in what places; or, when they are to travel, what monies or other goods they will take with them, to what place they go, which way, and with what company.

These registers would, in many fundamental things, subvert our common law, which is a sufficient reason to fear great evils from them.

11 H. 7. cap. 3. An act of parliament was made to put penal laws in execution by information, although without presentments or indictments by juries. It had as fair and flattering a preamble as any act for registers can have, to be for avoiding many mischiefs, which were to the high dishonour of God, to the great let of the common law, and to the great let of the wealth of the land; but it proved to be to the high dishonour of God, to the great let of the common law, and wealth of the land, and, on grievous complaints against it, was repealed, 1 H. 8. cap. 6. and hath been detested ever since.

If a council of law be examined as a witness upon oath, in a Court of Judicature, of the secrets of his client's estate, he is not bound to make any discovery of them. If he revealeth any thing in his client's deeds to his client's damage, our common law punisheth such a lawyer. By the common law, no purchaser for a valuable consideration is to be compelled to shew his deeds of purchase.

These registers would compel all persons to discover what was in their deeds; would give copies of all deeds to every person's adversary, to every attorney, sollicitor, and rapinous person, whereby to make preys of the estates of honest and quiet persons.

One in a room perusing his deeds, another comes thither to him. The owner of the deeds, upon sudden occasion, goeth out, and layeth the written side downwards. If, on his return, he finds the other person to have laid the written side upwards, Englishmen esteem this a great incivility; but, if he finds the other person taking copies of his deeds, it is insufferable.

Many men, who, not long since, declared their opinions for all deeds to be registered, both for the time past, and time to come, do now speak against the registering of deeds for the time past; some, I believe, from candour and ingenuity, being convinced of the mischiefs and inconveniences thereof; but such men are seriously to consider, that, if they grant, that all persons should be compelled to register their deeds for the time to come, they would thereby be so far engaged, as hereafter not to resist to have all deeds registered for the time past. It will be pressed, that here in time past, and time to come, are links of the same chain, as, for one to be without the other, the chain would be broken and useless. It will be pressed to try retrospect deeds for some few years past, and after for more years, and never rest until all be yielded; many will be persuaded to yield to further follies, to maintain the errors they have committed, rather than, by contracting, to shew their former weakness. Besides, on the same reasons for registering deeds of inheritance, to prevent frauds against purchasers and creditors, other deeds also must be registered, all leases for lives or years, the charges whereof would be insupportable by tenants; for, if registering deeds of lands would prevent such frauds, the registering of leases would prevent frauds from leases; and, in justice, it ought to be done, if the allegations for registering of deeds of lands of inheritance were true, else it would be permitted, that purchasers of leases, and creditors, on securities by leases, might be defrauded for any estates they should have by leases for lives or years.

We have yet no law which compels any person to record his deeds of purchase, covenants, or trusts. The statute 27 H. 8. cap. 16. for inrollment of deeds of bargain and sale, inviteth some, but forceth none; not one deed of an hundred is inrolled on that statute wherein covenants or trusts are expressed.

No human wisdom can foresee to make laws to prevent all future frauds. When new frauds are invented and acted, new laws are to be made to suppress them. We have some good laws to avoid fraudulent conveyances, yet those laws are defective; registers cannot supply those defects. If registers should prevent one small fraud, they would raise twenty worse frauds.

It is worthy the wisdom of parliament, by some new laws, to provide further for avoiding fraudulent conveyances, but without taking from us, by registers, the good laws we already have.

It is worthy of most serious consideration, that, if these registers were settled by a law, that vast and wealthy body of register-officers would soon be able to raise and maintain great stocks of monies, whereby to gain more authority, and thereby more profit to themselves, by new laws concerning registers, and obstruct the passing of laws to take from them any powers or profits, although those powers and profits were common grievances to others; their wealth would enable them to gratify such as would be of their party, and to oppress others that were against them. It is probable that every principal register, and many of their clerks, would be members of the House of Commons.

If the inconveniences, from register-offices, being in every county, should settle them in fewer places, as if into seven of the most convenient places for the subjects to resort unto from their respective habitations, then this kingdom would soon be under seven jurisdictions; every several register-office will necessitate, that a Court of Judicature be with it for superintendency on the management thereof, to determine questions as they should arise (which would be very many and daily) concerning mistakes, misunderstandings, and mis-entries of clerk registers.

Several judicatures would introduce several rules and courses of proceeding. Men would seldom buy or sell on credit, out of their own judicatures, when they did not know by what rules or courses of proceedings those transactions should be judged. They would be fearful of the influences which the inhabitants of the several jurisdictions would have on the judges and jurors in their several judicatures; which would break the commerce and trade which the several parts of this kingdom now have each with the other.

The union of our law, which is the unity for our common benefits, would be lost in our causes concerning our lands or goods, although the tryals of matters of fact by juries are twice yearly in the several counties, to the great ease and benefit of the subjects; yet the judgments in points of law, on those tryals, are, in the Courts of the King's-Bench, Common-Pleas, and Exchequer, before the judges of those courts, learned in our laws. This keeps the law intire, and to be the same throughout the whole kingdom.

It cannot be foreseen how far those new judicatures would intrench on the intireness and interest of the monarchy of this kingdom. Seven several judicatures, in seven several jurisdictions, might endanger endeavours for another heptarchy. The persons in the several jurisdictions would be so involved by their interests in the judgments given in their several judicatures, as to leave no means unattempted to maintain those judgments, and to be unquiet when proceedings should be against their persons or estates, elsewhere than in their own judicatures.

A LETTER TO MR. SERJANT,

A ROMISH PRIEST,

Concerning the Impossibility of the Publick Establishment of Popery here in England.

May 19, 1672.

SIR,

SINCE I was last with you I have thought of what you said, 'That 'ere long all our parish churches would be in your possession.' This hath occasioned me to write (I will not say my advice) but my opinion: That you and your clergy should not attempt that which I perceive you have already in your speculations. They who know the history of your services in the last wars, and since, must acknowledge that you have deserved well of your prince, in that not only you asserted his cause in the field with the loss of a limb, but, which is more, you discovered to one of his great ministers of state the design of the Roman Catholicks, managed by Sir Kenhelm Digby, and father Holden, an English sorbonist, to put their part of this nation under the subjection and patronage of Oliver. It is in respect to you, and so many as are of your loyalty as well as religion, that I wish in the game they now play, by venturing high, they may not lose all. You are much mistaken, if from a toleration you conclude an assurance of publick establishment. It is one thing to gain a favourable look, another, that one should so fall in love, as to espouse your cause. Consider the difficulties, if not impossibilities, which in great number oppose your hopes. The chiefest, as you ought to apprehend, is the firm resolution of the king, to defend the Church of England, as it yet stands; a resolution in him so unmoveable, that neither an interest in mighty princes, obtainable by such an exchange, could invite, nor the arguments of military men could persuade him to renounce that church, from which he then * received no advantage, but the satisfaction of her communion, and suffering in her defence. You cannot but know withal, that, to believe him inclinable to you, is to commit treason in your hearts, since that, to say so, is declared treason by an act of parliament. But, if you should prove so sanguine and full of fancies, as to believe what was formerly ineffectual, might now prevail; I cannot commend your judgment, except you shew, that either your religion is better, or else that interest doth more strongly draw the king towards you now than heretofore. For the former part, religion, you say it ought not in the least to be altered; and we acknowledge, if it were reformed, it will be less worth to the clergy. For the other, concerning interest of state, if it dissuade under those circumstances, much more will it at this day. In those times he might, by this course, have been restored to three kingdoms. Now he would hereby give up half his jurisdiction, to wit, supremacy; and, after a while, a good part of his revenue, the appendant possessions of his supremacy. But this is not the worst; for, besides this, by setting up Popery, he sets up the Pope as his collegue and fellow sovereign in all his majesty's dominions. He gives him, at once, all the clergy, and implicitely as many as they frighten with purgatory and hell.————To obey God's vicar rather than man. This hath been done, not in the case of the church alone, but in temporal quarrels betwixt him and other princes. But, if you still hold the conclusion against unanswerable objections, what means, pray, can you propose, whereby this may be accomplished? Exercise all your imaginative power, fancy any thing, though never so unlikely, to be granted or practised, so it be but in the utmost degree of possibility. There are but two ways to do it, either by parliament, and you cannot expect that this parliament, which appeared so earnest against your toleration, should set you

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* In the time of his banishment and the grand rebellion.

up as the national church. And if you hope this parliament may quickly die of old age, and that another more favourable to the distressed may sit in their rooms, you will find yourselves mistaken; and that it is not your party shall be the men, but rather such, who, though they served your turn, never loved you when they were uppermost.

Let me farther advise you not to forfeit your discretion so far, as to expect as sudden a publick change of religion now by a parliament, as was in Queen Mary's days. Then the reformation had only been begun by King Edward his six years reign, and carelesly managed by the greatest persons under him, whose chiefest aims appear to be quite another thing. So that thereby, whilst they neglected to bring over the country gentlemen to protestantism, they confirmed them in popery. Thence was it, that the Romanists might much better promise themselves to be restored under that queen, than at these years when people still remember her; and for several generations have been reconciled to the reformation by writings in those controversies, and held in by penal laws——, and estranged from Rome by 88.[*] and the 5th of November.[†] Now you cannot look for any good from a parliament, you may rightly dread their displeasure; especially if you should stretch your liberty of conscience to the perverting of other men's: For do what you can, and declaim never so much against a parliamentary religion; the commons will have a committee for religion, or else liberty and privilege are utterly lost. So that you ought by a private exercise of your worship, and a peaceable demeanor, to provide for the coming of a parliament, as by repentance men do for death, because it cannot be avoided, but may be made less hurtful.—By this time, I suppose, you may have laid aside all hopes of being advanced by a parliament, and cast your thoughts towards a standing army. Certainly you will find this conceit as airy as any of the rest, for (besides that he, whose authority should raise it, intends you no more than a bare and limited toleration) there are very many and obvious hinderances of that project: The kingdom, being an island, takes away the pretences hereof, which are alledged by our powerful neighbours, and allowed by reason of their situation. So that, on the surmises of such a thing, the mutinous temper of this climate would appear as jealous of their liberties, as in some countries men are of their wives. And withal, where could you raise men for the service? Your own gentlemen of estates would not endure foreigners; and they must necessarily want home-born soldiers, there being not a sufficient number of your religion, and of none to give the law of arms to all your adversaries. And where will you get the main weapon, money? Though your religion should open their stock and treasure as for a holy war, yet, in a little time, either their stock or their zeal would be spent, and then an army in its own country cannot so easily get bread by the sword, as labouring men can do by the spade. For proof of this, you may call to mind how that both rump and army were well nigh famished into a dissolution, when the country declared they would pay no more taxes. In such necessities, soldiers, like beasts of prey, will fall one upon another and devour their keepers too; and, if you believe them to be wholly mercenary, they are never so likely to be hired to a design contrary to their former commission, as when their masters cannot pay, nor their enemies can be plundered, yet will freely part with money upon their own terms. You see, sir, how I have followed your propagators through all, both probable and wild methods, which they can invent; all which appearing unprofitable and unlikely, they will not surely, like vain projectors, waste what they have, for that which they can never obtain.——

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[*] The time of the Spanish invasion, with their invincible Armado, as they were pleased to term it; though God brought it to nothing; the particulars whereof are printed in this collection. See Vol. II. p. 47, 148.

[†] The day when the Papists had contrived to destroy the three estates of the nation assembled in parliament, by blowing them up with gunpowder, and since called, 'The Gunpowder Plot, or Treason.'

Your Servant——.

THE DUTCH REMONSTRANCE,

CONCERNING

The Proceedings and Practices of John de Witt, Pensionary; and Ruwaert Van Putten, his Brother; with others of that Faction.

Drawn up by a Person of Eminency there, and printed at the Hague.

And Translated out of Dutch, August the 30th, 1672.

London, Printed by S. and B. G. and are to be sold by R. C. over-against
the Globe in Little-Britain.

Quarto, containing Thirty-five Pages.

This remonstrance contains such facts of treachery in the guardians of a state, that of all others boasts the most of its freedom and liberty; and was attended with such fatal consequences, even a popular and tumultuous seizing and execution of those traitors, who had received French money to deceive and corrupt the deputies of the people; and to disable their Nation from making any resistance to their powerful enemy, the French king: That, methinks, the very remembrance thereof should not only deter every minister of that state from thenceforward from practices of the like nature, but call upon the whole states of the United Provinces to exert their liberty, by bringing such miscreants to condign punishment; and to be ever in readiness to repel their natural enemy the French, and to embrace every opportunity of approving their good fidelity, by duly executing those treaties, which the wisdom of their forefathers have obtained for the said purpose. And the seasonableness of reprinting this remonstrance cannot be questioned, if we consider the following passages in a late memorial presented on the 17th of August, N. S. instant, by Mr. Trevor, his

Britannick majesty's minister plenipotentiary to their High mightinesses the Sates-general, at a time that the said republick is attacked in its barrier by the said enemy of France, who has, with little or no resistance, taken several of their strong-holds; has threatened and attempted to invade that power, which not only made them a free people, but has at all times protected them in their greatest distresses; in which that great statesman not only remonstrates the hazard of the present circumstances, to which the States are reduced, but, with a pen noways inferior to the eloquence of Cicero himself, displays the real advantage and necessity for their preservation, to act vigorously, conformable to their treaties, with their faithful allies against their common enemy: For, says he,

High and Mighty Lords,

IT is with great regret, that, in pursuance of the pressing commands of the king my master, I find myself obliged to put your High mightinesses in mind, that the term prescribed so positively and clearly, by the treaty of 1678, for employing your good offices with the power, who was the aggressor in the present war against his majesty, expired some time since, without their having in any manner procured the re-establishment of the publick tranquillity, and without his majesty's having had the full benefit of the said treaty.

His majesty is very far from intending to importune your High mightinesses with complaints or reproaches. But what he owes to himself and to the publick security, does not permit him to keep silence any longer upon the inexecution of a treaty, the most important, and the most essential of all those which unite his crown with your state. The king might naturally have promised himself a more expeditious determination, as well from the known good faith of your High mightinesses, which was doubly engaged by the war declared at the same time against the queen of Hungary, as from the events with which his majesty's requisition has been followed.

If good faith did not permit your High mightinesses to see your allies attacked, without breaking with the aggressor, your own dignity allowed you still less to see yourselves attacked in so sensible a part as your barrier, without resenting it, like sovereigns jealous of their honour, and attentive to the preservation of their rights.

Where is the state which, in such circumstances, would not with eagerness and of itself have sollicited an alliance so powerful, as that to which the king my master and the Queen of Hungary do not cease inviting your High mightinesses?

The king hath set forth, with so much strength, in his letter of the $\frac{13}{24}$th of last April, which was delivered to your High mightinesses upon the 29th of the same month, the justice of his demand; your High mightinesses have yourselves, as well by your provisional answer, as by the succours which you have furnished to his majesty, acknowledged in so direct a manner the force of your engagements, that nothing remains for me to do, but to press the intire accomplishment of them.

Give me leave, High and mighty lords, to appeal to your own conviction, whether the good of the common cause, whether the particular interest of the republick, have been sufficiently promoted by this indecision, by this cautious conduct, which an excess of prudence has dictated to your High mightinesses from the beginning of the troubles with which it has pleased providence to visit Europe, to this day, to encourage your High mightinesses to persist in the same method of proceeding.

To what a degree has not this indecision frustrated the effects of your most wise resolutions? To what a degree has it not rendered useless your best-placed expences, and increased the necessity of them?

What jealousies, what umbrage has it not given, and does it not still give to the allies of a good cause? What discouragement to the powers who might increase the number of them? With what presumption does it not inspire our aggressor and his adherents? What facility has it not given them of extending their views, and bringing their pernicious designs to perfection?

Your High mightinesses know How very unsuccessful your pains and efforts have been towards finishing the salutary work of peace, the name of which is so often prostituted. You know to what a degree the ways of moderation have been exhausted, and how far they have been despised.

It is time that the long forbearance of your High mightinesses should be justified, by manifesting your true principles in the eyes of your subjects, of your allies, and of all Europe.

Your High mightinesses see your most intimate and most powerful friends, and your own barrier, attacked at once by the same power; that very power which drove the Queen of Hungary from Vienna, and which made an attempt upon the throne of the king my master, has now the command at Menin, at Ypres, at Furnes, after having driven out the troops of your High mightinesses with fire and sword. Will you still hesitate whether to consider and treat this power as our common enemy?

Will your High mightinesses see capital revolutions happen daily in the most flourishing kingdoms, and in the states the least exposed, without being alarmed at them, and without providing remedies proportionable to the evil? Let us not trust solely to the justice of our cause; the age in which we live pays respect to nothing but force.

Ambition and greediness have already drawn together but too many powers. Let virtue, let honour, let the principles of self-preservation at last reunite the rest. And if our engagements, if our interests are not sufficient to that end, let the common danger induce us to take this salutary resolution; let that move us to look for our security, where only it is to be found, in our union and in our vigour.

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The readiness, with which your High mightinesses have already executed the treaty above-mentioned in all its provisional points, is a sure pledge to his majesty for the execution of the whole.

More than one cordial friend, unjustly attacked, requires it of a faithful ally. The tottering system of Europe, with which the independance of your High mightinesses is so closely connected, demands it. A protestant and free nation *, the surest bulwark of your state against the attacks of powers † that acknowledge no other tie towards their neighbours, than the submission to their wills, or their own inability to extort it, promises it to herself from a protestant republick, jealous of that liberty which she has purchased so dearly, and who has often been the protectress of that of the republick.

Let not our actions falsify these glorious titles; but may our united efforts once more set bounds to ambition, raise a new barrier in defence of the publick liberties, and bring back peace, justice, and good order into Europe.

Done at the Hague, this 17th of August, 1744.

Signed,

ROBERT TREVOR.

EVERY one, not without reason, stands amazed, not being able to apprehend how it is possible, that, in less than forty days, the king of France should subdue above forty cities and eminent fortresses, formerly belonging to this state.

A disgrace to our nation, and a blot so great, that it is never to be washed off from the not sufficiently famous Batavians.

Yet, if the reader pleases seriously to consider the following relation, I doubt not but he will in some measure be satisfied.

My opinion then is, that the king of France did not make so great a progress purely by force of arms, but by the concurrence and assistance of some governors of this country; (Oh that they had never been so!) who, being bought thereto, instead of fathers, became traitors of our native country, which to demonstrate clearly we are to consider,

That the King of France did no way surprise us, but gave us sufficient warning before-hand; as well with words to our ambassadors, as in deeds with his great preparations made by him, beyond any example, through his whole dominions; as also by his majesty's erecting several unheard of magazines, as well in his own realm, as without, nay, on our frontiers at Nuys. The preparations whereof were so great, that an experienced officer, who hath borne great commands in the German wars, as also under the King of Sweden, Denmark, and other princes, coming to compliment the Lord of Amerongen, who at that time was on the behalf of this state at Cologne, taking an opportunity to view the forementioned magazine, declared to me at his return, that he had never seen nor heard of the like; believing it to be sufficient to contain provision and ammunition enough for two, nay three hundred thousand men.

That he could not see this state was concerned thereat, asking,

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* Great Britain. † France.

moreover, If they did not intend to defend their country, because they made such small preparations for the defence thereof? That the ashes ought to be stirred, and the fire extinguished, before the flame grew too big.

I confess, that, at that time, I little regarded this saying; because, according to my duty, I censured favourably and expected nothing but good and faithfulness from our governors; but I have, by the sorrowful event, found that I might not, without a good argument, have condescended to the forementioned officer's opinion.

For who knows not that the first care of a governor, for the defence of his country, ought to consist,

In erecting sufficient magazines, fortifying of towns and castles?

Furnishing the same towns, and fortresses, with valiant and faithful governors and commanders, sufficient garisons, trenches, and ammunition for war, and especially, to deprive the enemy of as much ammunition, and men, as possible. But let us examine whether any of all these things were done with vigour, and we shall, to our sorrow, and irreparable loss and disgrace, rather find the contrary to have been acted by the wicked and strange directions of those corrupt governors: For notwithstanding it was well known, that, at the beginning of the King of France's preparations for war, there scarce was any salt-petre in Europe, but what was in the hands of the Netherland East-India company; and, notwithstanding it was proffered the state by the said company, yet they refused the same, and rather desired that it should be sent to France, and so serve as a knife to cut the throat of the Netherlands at once; which was not sufficient, for, besides that (instead of publishing edicts to prevent the transporting of ammunition to the enemy, which ought to have been their chief care) they encouraged and maintained the sending of all necessaries for war to the enemy: Of the truth whereof every one may be assured, since it may be heard from the mouth of the Lord Jucchen, Governor of Wesel, yet living in the Hague, that his excellency, about four or five months ago, being advised, in a letter by a loyal subject, that four ships, laden with powder and shot, and other ammunition for war, were coming up the Rhine, to pass by Wesel; adding, moreover, the merchants names, that had sold and bought it, where it was laden, what powder-mill the powder came from, and from whom the other stores, &c. and that the master of the ship had a pass-port from Cologne; nay, that it was to be carried to Nuys, into the French magazine; advising him also, that, by vertue of a certain order (sent to his excellency some years ago, that, if the Bishop of Munster should make any invasion) he would please to stop the said ships; whereupon, going himself to the Rhine, he asked, Whether any persons had seen such ships pass by, as were mentioned in his letter of advice? (Because this is a very remarkable business, I think, it will not seem amiss to give an account of the circumstances thereof.) When one of the standers-by, answering, said, that two such-like ships were past by, and gone up higher; that they were laden with powder, shot, and other ammunition, which, instead of being unladen at Cologne, according to the pass-port, were carried, and put into the French magazine at Nuys: That he had this account from one of the masters of the vessels that were returned from thence, very much discontented that he had been forced to unlade contrary to his pass-port.

The governor, hereupon, sending for the forementioned master of the vessel, and having understood the truth, according to the forementioned relation from his own mouth; moreover, that there was a third vessel laden with the same sort of goods yet below Wesel, and coming up the Rhine. Whereupon, staying till the evening, and not seeing the said ship, the governor, fearing that she might pass by in the night, sent some musqueteers thither, strictly commanding them to enter and stay in the vessel till it should come up to the city, and be searched by his excellency: Who, on the following day, examining the said ship, found the same to be laden as before; when, taking the pass-port from the master, he immediately caused it to be exactly copied; and, keeping the original, sent the copy with the post, who went away that day, or else an express had been sent to the state, or council of state, whom he informed, in a letter, all what had happened; and therefore desired speedy orders how he should govern himself in this affair.

There was, at that time, but little powder and shot in Wesel; so that the governor was not a little rejoiced, hoping, that, by this opportunity, the city would be well provided at a small charge to the country.

But, instead that the said ship should unlade there, the governor received an order, signed by the secretary, that he should not only free the vessel which he had stopped, but also permit all ships, that had such pass-ports, to pass freely, and unmolested, on their way; which his excellency immediately condescended to.

Two days after past by another ship, that had twice as much ammunition a-board her as one of the former, and from time to time several others of the same nature steering the same course.

Whilst the governor, from that time forward, sollicited the council, that the city Wesel, being so considerable a town, and of such great consequence to the state, ought to have six-thousand men in garison, and sufficient trenches and ammunition; all which the governor oftentimes requested in his letters to the council of state; who, at last, gave orders for the making of trenches about the said city, and furnishing the same with all manner of necessaries.

But, instead of putting a garison of six-thousand men into the same, they drew immediately thirteen troops of horse, and twelve companies of foot, all stout and able men, out of it, and put a few companies, consisting, the greatest part, of unexperienced youths in their stead; of which the governor hath often complained; and, to secure this considerable city the more to the enemy, they (under pretence that the Governor Juchen should come and give their High mightinesses an account in person at the Hague) put in another governor; and, how honourably he hath carried himself in the defence of that city, appears by the event, *Exitus acta probant.* The like pretence they had to turn other governors, as appears chiefly by Colonel d'Ossery, an Irishman, and a Roman Catholick, whose villainies, and traiterous actions, have been manifested formerly in his services under other princes, and one, whose correspondence with the enemy, and notorious treasons concerning the business of Rynberk, are at large related, in a certain paper delivered by the Captains Vytenbogaert and Clark, to his highness the Prince of Orange, and the council of the state; and also in a certain apology of the Governor of Bassem, and a comment on the letter from Tondlemonde, all extant in print, to which I refer you; wherein also you have an account, how that the garisons of the city of Rynberk, (notwithstanding it was so considerable a fortress to this state) were not sufficient to defend half the countersharps; and therefore might easily (by the treachery of D'Ossery, and the falseness of the governor Bassem) be conquered by the enemies. And indeed, this D'Ossery following, forsooth, the examples of the honourable lords and overseers of this forementioned work, in their counterfeit fatherly care, behaved himself no doubt so honourably in the defence of this city, that he well deserved a triumphant gallows of a considerable height, not only for his own falseness, but because so many loyal officers, which undoubtedly were in garison there, were deluded, by his base designs and treacheries, to their utter ruin.

And, for the better carrying on of these traiterous courses, three regiments more were sent to Maestricht, after it was sufficiently provided, so that in all probability the enemy (finding that place so fortified) should pass by there, and come first to Rynberk and Wesel. At the same time when the news came to an assembly of a province, now in the enemy's possession, that there were three regiments more put into Maestricht, it was said, that his highness, the Prince of Orange, had writ in a letter, that he did much wonder, that such an extraordinary care was taken for that city only, whenas it would be more necessary to look after other towns, which were of as great consequence to the state. This I was informed by a person, whose fortune it was to be present at that assembly.

I also heard, at that time, that a certain governor, being exceedingly troubled, said, 'What doth all this tend to? I do not like the carriage of affairs, for we are like to lose our country for want of men, having twenty-five thousand short of what is absolutely necessary.'

'And what was the reason?'

They made a great shew of raising men, but they acted all things contrary.

For notwithstanding the first levies were made with great trouble out of the country, and we were assured, that by the many men that were likewise raised there by others, the governors of those places had taken an occasion strictly to forbid the same, insomuch that we knew, there was not one place, nay not one foot of land out of our own dominions left, where we were permitted to levy any forces. Yet, nevertheless, under a pretence for the good of the country, it was strictly forbid by an edict, not to raise any men within our dominions, but in such places where, we knew before, there was not a man to be had.

Nay, these officers, (which, for the most part were Roman Catholicks) knowing the unwillingness of men to stay with them, were forced to raise two or three times the men that otherwise would have served, to the great exhausting of the publick treasures, and their own estates: And yet they could not keep so many of them together, as to make half a company at their place of rendezvous. Whereupon the captains making a complaint to the governors, that it was a common practice of the soldiers, to take their money, and afterwards to desert their colours; and desiring that these things might be remedied; they shrunk up their shoulders, saying, it was not in their power to help it. These disorders thereupon of beating of drums within the country was left off, and the discourse amongst the officers being, that Holland had money enough, and consequently might have men at all times.

The other great levies and treaties with the Foreign princes, viz. Brandenburgh, Lunenburgh, and others, were appointed to be, against that time, when they hoped and judged that all things would be lost: Notwithstanding it might have been sooner accomplished, and more effectually, the princes themselves having proffered their assistance.

The ratification of the treaty, being also kept close till the last hour, deprived our ambassadors from making a conclusion.

We may be informed from the ambassadors, that were sent to Brandenburgh, and now residing in the Hague, that they received the ratification at Hamborough, not before the beginning of July, new stile.

The same Lords ambassadors declare to the whole world, that the states themselves may justly be blamed for the so late coming down of the auxiliary troops. That at first his Highness the Duke of Brandenburgh was treated withal, as if they would have bought a dish of fish of him. That afterwards his highness, instead of being pressed on, advised our ambassador to stir up his lords and masters, about the furthering of affairs; saying, moreover, my lord, you have traitors in your country, matters are very ill managed there. I am also assured, and it may likewise be heard, from the forementioned ambassadors, that the treaty with the princes of Lunenburgh and Brunswick was broke off only upon a difference of five-thousand rix-dollars.

But note, they would rather want the favour of those princes, and the eight-thousand and seven men which they would have sent this state.

What do you think (said one of the same ambassadors to me not long since) if all the auxiliary troops had come down in May, would the Frenchmen have gotten into our country with so much ease as they have done? But, what shall we say! it was designed so; ambassadors were sent to all princes and potentates, when we were assured that the army, by the unhandsome proceedings of some, which shall be nameless, were all blocked up; and, how our ambassadors managed their affairs in England, I shall omit to mention. De Groot would also have made no better end of his ambassy in France, had he not been seconded by his brother-in-law, that honest patriot, Momba. One man was not sufficient, therefore we must have a second. In short, affairs were well ordered, our magazines exhausted, and the enemy's filled.

Levies were ordered to be raised in such places, where we knew it was forbidden and impossible to be performed; and where auxiliaries were proffered, and might be had with ease, those were slighted, and put off till such time, as we supposed, they would be needless and too late.

Most of the garisons, and eminent places, were either very badly, or not at all fortified. Others, which shame forced them to strengthen, wanted one thing or other, to make them insufficient for defence; for those that had men enough were unprovided of trenches and ammunition, and those, which were stored with powder, shot, and other necessaries, wanted men. And those places, which we knew the enemy would not meddle withal, were crouded with more men than were needful. What shall we judge of the eracination of the strong city and fortress de Graffe, and the contrivance, that the whole garison marching thither, according to order, were surprised by the enemy, who undoubtedly had notice thereof, and twenty-six of their colours taken from them? Nay, we may justly stand amazed, to imagine, how it is possible, that whole provinces, as Overyssel and Utrecht, should be delivered up in one day. And whereon depends that riddle, that the old experienced soldiers, which were kept prisoners in the churches of the conquered towns, should not be taken notice of, and yet beat the drums daily for new men; seeming rather willing to give twenty, nay, thirty gilders for new and unexperienced men, than for the old ten or twelve, for which they might be ransomed.

Who thought ever to have lived to see these times in our provinces, that we must go begging from door to door for the horsemen, and permit them to go away for want of money, as hath happened in this conjuncture in Groningen; from whence I had advice thereof from a person, who was an eye-witness thereto. When God intends to punish a country, he deprives loyal governors of their wisdom, and permits the wicked to use the same to the destruction thereof.

A certain member of the states of Holland, not long before the march of the enemy, discoursing to one of his fraternity, about the condition wherein the magazines were, said, That the magazine of Holland was so well furnished, that, though the wars continued two years, it was sufficient of itself, without any more supplies; and now, when too late, great complaints were made, that there was no place provided, every one calling for powder, shot, and other ammunition for war; and they were directed to magazines, which from time to time were emptied, and consequently had nothing left; the said lord was asked by his associate, Where that great and well furnished magazine was, of which his excellency had boasted of so much not long before; whereupon shrinking up his shoulders, he said, that his meaning was, it would serve to furnish Holland only, but none of the other provinces; which this lord, who, a few days ago, gave me an account thereof, resented very strangely.

Nay, that which is more, our whole army, being before Yssel, was, two days before Whitsuntide, so ill provided of powder and shot, that, in case of an attack, they would not have been able to defend themselves above twenty-four hours.

Some of the deputies upon the report, which was on Whitsunmonday, that the French had taken Burick, coming from Nimeguen to sollicit the lords deputies that were in the field, for powder and shot, received for answer, That they could not spare them any; which was also told me at the same time by a governor of Nimeguen.

But Kirk-Patrick, Governor of Hertogenbosch, took better care for his government, sending the last week a list, to the council of state, of all things which he wanted.

And to shew that his Highness, the Prince of Orange, used more than ordinary care and endeavours, he sent the governor, whilst the city, committed to his care, was blocked up or besieged, to fetch powder, shot, and cannon, which the said governor obtained; but then he could not find a vessel that either would or could undertake to carry the same thither, of which the governor hath made great complaints here to several persons. Now whether this governor was blinded by the orders of his masters, that he could not see the forementioned defects before, or whether the overseers of our country's welfare judged, that it was of small consequence to this state, to preserve this fortress, the magistrates formerly were not of that opinion; but the times change,

Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis.

The king of France needed not to use any force upon the works, which, with so much care and labour, were made along the Yssel, for a far easier way was shewn him, to come through the river Rhine, and so to fall into the heart of our country.

To which the treacherous Momba was no small instrument, having so well ordered that affair beforehand in France, with his honest brother de Groot, that by what means I know not he was made chief commander of that part of our militia, which were appointed for the defence of that station: When this traitor, instead of charging his regiment to be careful in defending their post, and encouraging them to oppose their enemies, gave orders to march up within a mile from Nimeguen, and so to leave that station.

Which when told to his highness the Prince of Orange, who extremely wondered thereat, an express order was immediately sent, that they should instantly draw down to the forementioned station again, and endeavour by all means possible to defend the same.

But, before they could approach the same, the enemy was above half over the Rhine, so that our forces, which were to keep that station, were as if brought to their slaughter, and those of Alva, his regiment most of them slain; as a lieutenant, under the lieutenant-colonel of this regiment informed me, as he was coming along with twenty-eight men which he had picked up from several companies, after the passage through the Rhine was opened to the enemy:

Et hinc nobis hodiernæ illæ Lachrymæ.

Now whether that great favourite of the enemies can, by means of his correspondence, free his brother-in-law Momba, from the punishment due to him, for the horrid slaughter occasioned by his means, and for betraying of our native country, the time will learn us. But we hope, that his conscience will check him for his own villainies, that he will not think of acting any more, if it be possible for a magpy to leave off hopping.

One of the lords deputies of the field (as I was told by an eminent member of their excellencies the high and mighty states of Holland) being asked, How affairs were ordered, that such small endeavours were used to oppose the enemy?' he answered, 'That he could give no other reason, but that they had no secret correspondence, to give them any account of the enemies designs, of which they were altogether ignorant.

But this brother, and his accomplices, had too much knowledge of the enemies designs, and were too much concerned therewith.

For, as I am informed, Momba would endeavour to clear himself by the letters from the forementioned lord: And undoubtedly that was the reason, that when his highness the Prince of Orange was of opinion that the enemy ought to be opposed sometimes in one, and then in another place (to which there then presented good opportunities) and desiring hereon the advice or order of the lords deputies, he never could get any thing else from them, but shrunk up shoulders, and many expressions of difficulties, never consenting, nor absolutely disapproving of his highness's proposals: but all things in suspense tied up as it were his highness's hands, that he could not do any thing in the defence of our native country.

Every one may justly stand amazed, to consider how it is possible that all things should be thus strangely carried, when there were and are still so many loyal governors at the helm. For my part, I can satisfy myself, when I think on the wonderful carriage of officers, and strange government which hath been of late; to consider the power and sway, which that great, and I must confess most wise pensionary (I could wish to God that his wisdom had been employed for the good of the country) John de Witt bore, during the time of his being pensionary.

Hath not he, under a pretence of freedom, brought us into the greatest slavery of the world? Were his intensions from the beginning till the last aught else? And did his malicious governing tend to any other end, than to root out and diminish the lustre of that illustrious house of Orange and Nassau?

Is there any one person that can be said to be ignorant thereof? Can there be a greater institution of slavery thought on in the world, than to force the whole state, as it were, against their consciences, to suppress the Prince of Orange? Whose predecessors, of blessed memory, may, next to God, only be said to have brought us to this our freedom, with great effusion of blood and vast expence of money. Nay, to oblige themselves thereto by oath. We become slaves, when we are deprived of our liberty, but slaves of slaves, nay slaves of sin, when we are prevented from doing of good, and forced by an oath to do evil. No governors were admitted to the regency, but with taking this oath; and so, in the beginning of their office, were forced to make themselves guilty of so abominable, and, before God and the world, horrid sin of ingratitude; a sin, which not only carries so many unheard of oaths along with it, but is also the occasion of so great effusion of blood in our native country. A sin, which can, and may be said to have given the Almighty God sufficient reason utterly to deprive us again of our so dear bought freedom, and bring us to a greater slavery than ever we were in before. What man, how prudent soever he be, can apprehend how it is possible that one man should infect and poison a whole state, wherein there are so many wise, honourable, and loyal regents and lords, to oblige themselves, and their successors, as much as in them lay, by an oath, to such a ruinous and ever-crying sin of ingratitude? And yet, nevertheless, it was done, for, not above eight or ten days before the strange revolution, the Pensionary of Harlem was forced, at the court, to swear to the forementioned perpetual edict. Thus to renew and increase the crying and blood-guilty sin of our country! I tremble, when I remember, that, some years ago, I accidentally lighted on a book, wherein, instead of mentioning the virtues of the praise-worthy and never-sufficiently famous Princes of Orange, stood written with an accursed and devilish pen, that there were no virtues of the Princes to boast of, but their vices, as, whoring, adultery, drunkenness, and the like, were at large described, and attributed to every prince. Who doth not stand amazed at the hearing hereof, and the more, when they know, that this was not only sold publickly, but was also licensed, and printed, with authority from the state? The Counsellor-Pensionary had sufficiently examined the same, and supplied all the defects, and esteemed the writer hereof as a loyal subject, calling him the defender of the country's freedom. But, if any thing in that nature had been done to the prejudice of that long John, or aught had been writ of any of his relations, would not the writer thereof have been prosecuted with fire and sword, and the printed paper, or book, immediately taken and burnt? What hath not this grand designer, with the help of his accomplices, and hired slaves, which he rewarded, by giving them several offices, done to execute his treacherous and wicked designs? See farther. No sooner were the keys of our native country (always so highly esteemed, and preserved, with great care and circumspection) villainously given into the hands of the enemy, but we began to help him to open the gates also. Who could ever dream of such actions? No books afford the like example. Peter de Groot, that perjured and dishonourable wretch, is to make peace.

To which purpose he had a blank commission from the whole state (without any instructions according to which he might govern himself) to treat with the enemy; and, to speak plain, to make an absolute agreement for our dear bought freedom, religion, and native country.

It would sooner have seemed to me, and all the world, a fable than a truth, had it not appeared plainly out of the printed letter sent from the lords, the States of Zealand, who manifested their fidelity and great fatherly care, and also declared, that, not without great reason, they could not consent to such an unlimited power as de Groot had given him; that it was an unheard of thing in the government of this country (*ipsissima verba epistolæ*) to give full power to a deputed person, to treat with a potentate; but much less with a publick enemy: Moreover, saying plainly, that they *(nota bene)* justly suspected this contrary way of acting, and that it gave them an apprehension that the enemy would thereby be encouraged to propose such conditions to such a deputy, which never can nor must be treated of, viz. their religion, freedom, and the lawful government of these countries.

And, how the forementioned three points would have been maintained by such a deputy, who is a notorious atheist, a slave to the enemy, bought to the destruction of our whole government, every one may easily judge. Just at the time when this commission was finished, and de Groot yet in the Hague ready on his departure, I had the honour to speak with one of my very good friends and a member of the High and mighty States of Holland, who, on my curious question of, 'What news?' Changing his countenance (as if things did not go according to his mind) was pleased to say: 'We shall in short have a peace, but I fear a sorrowful one.'

De Groot goeth to the king of France, and hath *plein pouvour.*

When asking amazedly, 'How will it be then?' His excellency replied, 'there is a blank charter to be laid before the king, and his majesty is to write.'

On which I answered, 'Then de Groot is a great prophet; for this morning a certain lord informed me (as indeed it was true) that the forementioned de Groot, about three months before, discoursing with him the said lord, saying that our native country was threatened with a great and terrible war:' De Groot answering said, 'Pish! pish! I do not see any such great difficulty therein; I do believe that the king of France will at the first take some of our cities, which we cannot hinder him from, but *(nota)* I, I de

Groot (striking on his breast) will make peace with the king of France in the field about three months hence.'

And observe the time, wherein he received his forementioned commission, was about so long after.

The lord, hereupon discoursing liberally with me, said, that he believed the same, because de Groot was a person exceedingly self-opinionated; and that not long ago (not naming the time, which I guessed at by his words) he had told his excellency himself, that he should certainly conclude a peace; adding moreover, that though we should lose, and add a pearl to his crown by this peace; yet, if we examined the prerogatives and benefits which Holland should reap from it, we would not account our loss so great.

Though this lord would not favour me with an explanation of the aforesaid prerogatives; yet I suppose in all likelihood that his chiefest aim was, that Holland should then be separated from the other United Provinces, and freed as it were from that heavy burthen, as they are pleased to call it.

And besides, that then they would be freed from all fears that his Highness the Prince of Orange at any time should be made Stadtholder of that province.

One would think it strange how it is possible, that any men should be transported to such imaginations: But,

> ——— Quid non mortalia pectora cogis
> Auri sacra fames? ———

He was always more for the French, than the Prince's interest.

This was the reason why the Council-Pensionary, in the time of the war with Munster, durst propose in a full assembly, to make the Duke of Turenne captain-general over our militia.

Ambitious is our enemy; and full of ambition are also those subjects; rather desiring to be governed by a king, than a prince. But see how miraculous is the Providence of the Almighty!

Just when our state was in greatest danger, and tottering ready to fall down, the appearance of our deliverance was nearest at hand: for it pleased God just at that time to throw down that great and subtle designer (which had thus long usurped more authority, than ever was aimed at by any of our princes) and immediately caused the Prince of Orange unanimously by all the inhabitants of those countries, to be proclaimed Stadtholder of Holland, Zealand, and West-Friesland, and to restore to him all those dignities which his predecessors of glorious memory ever enjoyed.

That great God grant also, that as, by means of his predecessors, with the expence of their estates and effusion of blood, the body of the ancient United Provinces was framed, and, as long as they reigned, kept in a good order; the disjoined members may by his valour and conduct (wherein we beseech God to assist him, and to free him from evil counsel, and bless him more and more daily) be united again.

I do certainly believe, that many of our inhabitants, and also all good patriots, will judge it convenient to find out all those governors which are guilty of betraying our native country, and by some severe punishment, inflicted on them and their instruments, as, Momba, D'Ossery, and other governors, commanders, captains, and other officers, and make them an example to others.

But, as to the latter part, I do not altogether approve of their opinion; nevertheless, with submission to better judgments, my sentiment only is, that it would be convenient to make a strict enquiry into the camp-proceeding of the governors, and such as bore the chiefest commands, and had the charge of defending cities and fortresses, as, Momba, Van Zanten, Bassem, D'Ossery, and the like: As also those persons, whether officers, or others, that have been assisting to the governors, in executing of their treacheries, and had daily correspondence with the enemy.

And by punishing all such persons severely, according to their demerits, make them examples to others.

But there ought not so particular a regard to be taken of other captains, and meaner officers, who cannot be said to have had the least knowledge of their unfaithful governors designs; and would have undoubtedly behaved themselves most loyally, had they been encouraged thereto by their governors, and not been deluded to act those things which they were made believe would be for the benefit of the country, but proved prejudicial; for which, if any should be punished, most of all the captains and other officers, in what garison soever, would be liable thereto. And those captains, which should be punished more than others, would be unjustly dealt withal; or the state constrained to an execution of so many honest people, which heretofore have behaved themselves like loyal soldiers, for the defence of their country, and now only brought thereto by the treacherous, though seeming fair, pretences and delusions of their base governors.

We have also oftentimes seen that military persons, and other inferior officers, being accused of some committed abuses, and freed from their punishments out of a particular favour, have taken an occasion in all future opportunities to use more than ordinary endeavours for the good and benefit of the state: Of which there are many examples, whereof one is manifested at this time in Captain Buket.

I should judge, that some means might be found, who, amongst the regents, is guilty of high-treason, and consequently deserving of punishment.

Especially if we consider those maxims that are used, and also necessary in our government; that is, that only a few are to be admitted into the council for private concerns, either one out of every province, or else more or less according as the business requires. Besides which persons, none may have the least knowledge of things of greatest consequence, especially in times of war, when the welfare of the state doth not a little depend, that the regents designs against the enemy may be kept secret, and not divulged and brought to the ears of the enemy. Which private consultations were well observed by the Council Pensionary, who permitted his creatures to be of the privy-council, and excluded several good patriots, who his excellency judged would oppose him in the carrying on of his wicked designs; and those, which he could not exclude, he wrought so upon, that he made them to vote such things as his wisdom thought fit.

And therefore those loyal regents, which sat at the helm, might now easily, being under the conduct of his Highness the Prince of Orange, find out with what malice their wicked brother counsellors have ordered all things to the ruin of our country, and the furthering of the enemies designs.

Whether in their ill care for the fortresses, badly storing the magazines, granting of unlawful pass-ports for the transporting ammunition to the enemy, bad management, and preventing the raising of levies, detaining of our ambassadors, and ratifications of the treaties, the ill performance of them; moreover in the strange conduct of their appointed governors, commanders, and others; and the like base carrying on of affairs.

For, if once the thread be found, the bottom will soon be unwound.

Yet, notwithstanding all which, my judgment is, that the publick inquisitions and the punishments ought to be referred, since undoubtedly it will be of a dangerous consequence; partly because that by the manifold difficulties, which in all appearance would accrue, the loyal regents, fathers of our native country, would be prevented from using other means, which, in this conjuncture of time, are more necessary to oppose the enemy; and partly, that, when the treason is found out, the punishments must necessarily follow.

Which my fore-mentioned opinion I leave to every one's serious consideration: How it is possible, that the executing of the punishments, which undoubtedly would be inflicted on several of the supremest governors, which have so long managed the helm of our government, could be effected, without fear of great inconvenience to this state, which in this conjuncture must by all means possible be prevented.

Those, that please to read the History of Barnevelt, will find, that it is not to be done without great difficulties; which necessarily ought to be diverted and referred to some other and more convenient time, when either all things may be buried in oblivion, or else the traitors condemned to lose their heads, for betraying our native country, as the lords magistrates shall think fit.

And therefore is it not abominable that private persons dare daily presume to do justice, nay to inflict sufficient punishments on all and every one, whom they but in the least suspect to have been concerned in the ill management of affairs? Which doth no way beseem them. But we will hope that the prudence of the Lord Stadtholder will prevent the same for the future.

I am very sensible, that many patriots, by this delay of punishing the traitors, fear that, if the treacheries go unpunished, the state will be left in a great labyrinth, and in danger of being wholly delivered up into the enemies hands; because, when those wicked traitors are accused of their villainies, and see, as it were, their punishments before their eyes, they will use all means possible to make more and more confusion in the finances, of which there is yet a great complaint, and increase all other disorders; whereby the enemy may get footing also in the remaining provinces, in hopes that, by that means, they shall escape their deserved punishment. Which fears of the loyal patriots are not without some reason; since an eminent person was yesterday pleased to tell me, that, in case the confusion in the finances, and the bad payment of monies, which, by the wicked directions of the Compt governors, hath been so long in practice, be not suddenly remedied, it would prove very prejudicial to the state. On which I answered his excellency (wherewith also, according to my judgment, all patriots may be satisfied) ‘that his highness was not made a Stadtholder to catch flies; and, though he did not as yet proceed on an inquisition and sudden punishment of the traitors, yet we might well think, that his Highness the Prince of Orange would, with the help of many loyal regents, endeavour, by all means possible, to gain an exact knowledge of that malicious governing, which hath reduced our state to so deplorable and sad a condition; and that also he will take such care, that all those Compt governors shall be bereaved of all publick employment, but especially for ever excluded out of the privy-council, so to prevent all future miscarriages of affairs, and settle all things in such order, as shall be most beneficial to the state.’

Let us now think on some means, whereby our native country may be brought to enjoy its former freedom, and to know the light of the Gospel, which, in many of the torn-off members of this state, is already sufficiently extinguished.

We have, heretofore, by establishing that cursed edict, not only refused to acknowledge our real governor and chief magistrate of our country, to which nature and the formerly-received benefits obliged, and sufficiently might have forced us to, but also despised and excluded him with many oaths. Oh horrid action!

Do we not see and read, that, when we despise and disown our just and loyal magistrates, God sends wicked and tyrannical regents in their places?

‘I gave thee a king in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath.’ Hos. xiii. 11.

Did there ever any greater destruction happen amongst any people, than amongst those which had shewn themselves ungrateful to their princes, and deposed those, to whom they owed their preservation?

If any where, then, it may well be said to be here, that God, being justly incensed, hath, in his wrath, given a great part of our Netherlands to a king.

God grant, that, as that sin of ungratefulness, practised by our magistrates, which hath chiefly occasioned a curse upon our country, is removed by a miraculous providence, viz. our magistrates suddenly revoking that wicked and perpetual edict, shewing a sincere sorrow for that base act, to which they were deluded by the wicked directions of the fore-mentioned Compt governors, he will also be pleased to remove all other troubles from us! And grant likewise, that our subjects may repent of those horrid and crying sins, of which they are guilty, and thereby have incurred God's just displeasure.

THE
DUTCH USURPATION:

OR,

A BRIEF VIEW OF THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE STATES-GENERAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, TOWARDS THE KINGS OF GREAT-BRITAIN:

With some of their Cruelties and Injustices exercised upon the Subjects of the English Nation.

As also, a Discovery of what Arts they have used to arrive at their late Grandeur, &c.

By WILLIAM DE BRITAINE.

Et genus humanum & mortalia temnitis arma,
At sperate deos. VIRG.

London: Printed in 1672. Quarto, containing 35 Pages.

To his Royal Highness the Duke of York.[*]

SIR,

COULD I but use my pen, as you your sword,
I'd write in blood, and kill at every word:
The Hogans[†] then my muse's power should feel,
And find my verse as fatal as your steel.
But sure, great Prince, none can presume to write
With such success as you know how to fight:
Who carry in your looks th' events of war,
Design'd like Cæsar for a conqueror.
The world of your atchievements is afraid,
While Neptune's wat'ry kingdoms you invade;
And that much-courted Mistress th' Ocean's now
Not by the Venetian Duke espous'd, but you.

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[*] Lord High Admiral of England.

[†] The Dutch.

And now, great Prince, may you victorious be,
Your fame and arms o'er-spreading land and sea.
May you our haughty neighbours overcome,
And bring rich spoils, and peaceful laurels, home;
Whilst they their ruin or your pardon meet,
Sink by your side, or fall before your feet.

THE dominion of the Belgick provinces being devolved to Philip the Second, king of Spain, who designing to himself the western monarchy, and (the best medium to that end) was to reduce those provinces to a kingdom. But they being fortified with great privileges, and many of them inconsistent with monarchy; it was adjudged by sober persons it would prove a work of great difficulty, and that he would never effect that he aimed at. Besides, the reformation of religion, which then began to grow to some strength, moved the king to reduce them back to the church of Rome, by the power and terror of the inquisition: Which when the people violently opposed, the king then resolved to bring them by Spanish rhetorick (that is by sword and cannon) to obedience.* To that end, King Philip sends the Duke of Alva (an old and expert captain) with a puissant army to be his viceroy amongst them. No sooner was he settled in his new government, but he established the Bloet-rod, as they term it, a Council of Blood, made up most of Spaniards.

Anno 1567, he took off the heads of the Counts of Horn, Egmont, and of divers other persons of quality; cittadels were erected, and taxes imposed upon the people to support them: The political government of the country in many things altered, and the people spoiled not of their privileges only, but of their liberties.—Amongst the reformed he brought in the inquisition, and therein behaved himself very tyrannically. This poured oil on the fire, formerly kindled, and put all into a combustion; about five-thousand families quitted their country, some flying into Germany, others into France, and most into England, where they were received with all kindness and civility; churches were appointed them, they being of the reformed religion, and many noble and great privileges were bestowed upon them.

During those troubles, the Prince of Orange and Count Lodowick, his brother, were very active, and gave the Duke of Alva employment.

All Holland, except Amsterdam, followed the fortune and side of the prince, together with all the towns of Zealand, except Middleburg.

Anno 1573, the Duke of Alva was recalled; afterwards Don Lewis of Requisens was appointed governor: After him, the Prince of Parma, who brought the Hollanders into a worse case than ever.

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* See the wicked practices of the Spaniards against the Netherlands, on page 172, Vol. V.

Yet, Anno 1581, they declare, that Philip of Spain was fallen from his government; they renounce and abjure him for their sovereign; they break his seals, change the oath of allegiance, and took a new oath of the people, never to return to the Spanish obedience.

This done, the states, for so they called themselves ever after, chose Francis, Duke of Anjou, to be their prince, during whose unfortunate government, the Duke of Parma prevailed in all places, especially after the death of William Prince of Orange, who was traiterously slain, Anno 1584.

Now were the Hollanders truly miserable, desperate of pardon from their inraged prince, and having no person of courage to head them, none of power to protect them, but such as were likely to regard their own profit, more than their interest. England was the only sanctuary they had now left, to which they sue, offering the queen * the sovereignty of their provinces. But that heroick queen, not intending to herself any thing, saving the honour of relieving her distressed neighbours, Anno 1585, took them into her protection, and concluded, amongst others, of these articles, viz.

That the queen should send them five-thousand foot, and a thousand horse into the Netherlands, to fight for them.

That they should pay her ten pounds per cent. for all sums of money, she should lend them, or disburse for them; and interest upon interest.

And likewise five pounds for every English gentleman, or officer, which should die in their service.

All which sums of money were to be paid unto the queen, at the end of the war.

And that, for the reimbursing of the said monies, the Brill, Flushing, and castle of Ramekins were to be delivered unto the queen, as caution and pledges.

The queen, in performance of her agreement, sent them five-thousand foot, and a thousand horse, money and a governor, the Earl of Leicester, and had the cautionary towns delivered unto her. The renowned Sir Philip Sidney was the first governor of Flushing, who died in their service.

Casimir also, the elector Palatine's son, drew down to the assistance of the states an army of fifteen-thousand horse and foot, at the instance and great charges of the queen.

When the Earl of Leicester came to wait upon the queen, at his going over to be their governor; she strictly commanded the earl, that he should have a regard of the English soldiers, and that they served God, and demeaned themselves religiously. Which they did with such exemplary zeal, that a sober man might have thought, that the United Provinces then stood in Christendom. And that pious queen did therein well, for the Christian religion was first planted in Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, by Willibroad, an

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* Elisabeth of England.

Englishman, the first Bishop of Utrecht; whence by degrees it gained on the rest of the countries. But since, by the ill practices of some amongst them, they are much fallen from the purity of it.

The queen now resolveth to set all the royal signatures of her favour upon the United Provinces, and give them the most eminent demonstrations of her bounty and kindness. The staple of English cloth, that was formerly at Antwerp, she settled at Delf, in great quantities; by reason of the great concourse of people, which that trade brought with it, the town became rich, well built, and beautified with spacious streets.

Flushing, before the English came thither, was a very poor town, but by the countenance of the queen, the English garison there and the trade which the English brought thither, it flourished in a high measure; and, by their means, so did all their great towns and cities there.

She encouraged them in their trades, protected them in their navigation, gave them licenses to fish upon the British seas, which before was not permitted unto them, and the English did courageously fight for them, to vindicate their rights, whilst they were employed in fishing, and in their manufactures, by which they increased in wealth. But one infelicity happened unto them, that the King of Denmark, having taken some displeasure against them, laid an embargo upon seven-hundred of their ships, which were passing backward and forward upon the Sound for corn, by reason whereof the people there were now more distressed with fear of a famine, than with the sword of the enemy. But the potent queen presently gave them relief, for she supplied them with great quantities of corn; and by her interest, with the disbursement of some monies, the ships were discharged, and came home to their several ports, in the United Provinces.

Now was the queen looked upon as their only patroness, and the English, the best sinews of their wars, and the atchievers of the greatest exploits among them: Near Newport was fought that memorable battle betwixt the Archduke Albert, and the state. The victory, next under God, was gained for the states, by the valour of the English, and the excellent conduct of those noble and gallant persons Sir Francis and Sir Horatio Vere.

Ostend was not walled till the Low-Country wars, and then with a mud-wall only; and not finished till the archduke sat down before it. Insomuch as the Archduchess Isabella is said to have sworn, that she should not shift her smock till the town was taken, who, had she kept her rash oath, had been very——: For the town being garisoned by the English, and under Sir Horatio Vere, who was governor thereof, held out against the archduke a siege of three years, and so many months; the Spaniards at this siege lost one-hundred thousand men.

Breda, a town well fortified, and the barony of the Prince of Orange, from whom being taken by the Spaniards in the beginning of the wars, it was again recovered by seventy valorous English soldiers; who, hiding themselves in a boat covered with turf, were conveighed into the castle, which they easily mastered, and made the prince lord again of all his dominions and territories there. The speech of one of the soldiers there, upon that occasion, deserves never to be forgotten; who fearing lest by his violent noise in coughing (though he did repress it) he should, together with himself, betray his companions: 'Kill me,' saith he, 'fellow-soldiers, lest we be killed.'

The particular actions, gallantry, and noble attempts of the English, here, would deserve a just volume of themselves. By their valour and courage most of the Spanish soldiers were so wasted and consumed, that the King of Spain was forced, to give a stop to their conquests, to send fifty-thousand veteran soldiers out of Spain and Italy into Flanders. And the queen did supply the states with answerable numbers of men and money, insomuch as she maintained for them forty-thousand horse and foot in their service.

She made many naval expeditions into America, and there did much infest the King of Spain, sinking his ships, burning his towns, battering down his forts and castles, and interrupting all his trade and commerce there; all this to bring that king to reason and justice, as to the United Provinces.

The King of Spain, hereat exceedingly incensed, Anno 1588, sends his invincible Armado* against England, raised a rebellion in Ireland against the queen, sent many Spanish soldiers to Kingsale, to the assistance of the rebels there, and committed many depredations in Cornwall here; many sanguinary and desperate persons were encouraged to poison, murder, and destroy her, who made many attempts upon her royal person. So this excellent queen being incircled with so many infelicities and troubles, and beset with so many calamities, and being wearied with the wars in the Netherlands, because they did so exhaust her treasure, and destroy her brave people, and finding the states to grow insolent, and to perform no agreements, and withal, observing their subjects to grow rich by the war, of which they made a trade and merchandise, and her kingdoms to be thereby impoverished; she resolved to make peace with the Spaniard, being assured the Belgick war was never to be ended by conquest, and to that purpose she signified her royal pleasure unto the states; but finding her majesty to be in earnest, as she had great reason for it, they were much perplexed. For, if she had deserted them, they had lost their chief and only support; they sent over their ambassadors into England, and, in the most humble manner that could be, petitioned her majesty, that she would not cast off the cause of God and man, and leave sixty towns, with a poor distressed people, a prey to the malice and avarice of the barbarous Spaniard. But she earnestly pressed them for the payment of her money, adding withal threats, that, if she was not obeyed therein, she would take such courses, as her lenity was not used to be acquainted with, and so dismissed them.

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* See the History of this Armado on page 42, &c. Vol. II.

Hereat the states were much disturbed; and thereupon, Anno 1588, the distressed states sent the Lord Warmond and others their humble suppliants unto her majesty, who, in the lowest posture of humility, did acknowledge themselves obliged unto her for infinite benefits.

But herein her majesty excelled the glory of her ancestors, that, by how much she exceeded others in power, by so much her majesty excelled them in acts of mercy and piety, by whose means and aid, the French* have gained many victories, and they † more.

As for the money, which the states owed her, they beseeched her majesty to consider the dangers daily growing upon them, their poverty and disability to pay, and that, by original agreement with her majesty, no monies were to be paid, till the wars were ended.

The queen, understanding their unjust practices and ill dealings with her, told them that she had been often deluded by their deceitful supplications, ungrateful actions, unhandsome cavilings, and pretences of poverty, when their rich cities confuted them; and she hoped God would not suffer her to be a pattern to other princes, to help such a people, who bear no reverence to superiors, nor take care for the advantage, reputation, or safety of any but themselves: And required them to pay her the money they owed her: And advised them for the future, that they should not seek a remedy against growing danger, from old accounts by compulsion, but rather merit new favours by their gratitude and thanks for the former.

At these expressions of her majesty, the poor distressed states thought themselves confounded, both for their former and future charges: Yet, considering the name of alliance with England was of exceeding advantage unto them, they resolved to submit, as they could not avoid it, to such conditions as her majesty should lay upon them.

The queen again pressed them for the payment of her money, and for peace; but she could not incline them to peace, being never disposed to pay her money, which must be at the end of the war. Yet, in compliance with her majesty, the account was stated. And the principal debt, besides interest upon interest, and the loss of her subjects in their wars, did amount to 8,000,000 crowns; and they did agree to pay her majesty, during the war, 100,000 pounds yearly, and the remainder, when peace was concluded, and the cautionary towns surrendered; and that in the mean time 1500 English soldiers should remain in the garisons, and that the states should pay them.

The queen, having her debts stated, began to be more friendly to them, and wished them to follow their trade of fishing upon the British seas; which she gave them leave to do, that they might be the better able to pay her, and support the charges of their war, which they did effectually.

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* When attacked by Spain. † The Dutch.

But I could never find, that they ever paid unto her majesty any of the money they owed her. For it is not to be conceived, that those persons, whom her majesty, for so many years, could not bring to account, would, at the last, pay her any thing.

But her majesty being grown into years, and those vigorous and great parts, she formerly had, somewhat declining; they, that the queen might not exact of them the payment of her money, according to agreement with her, continually by emissaries, which they had about her majesty, and their pensioners, did infuse jealousies into her head, and what plots and secret designs the King of Spain had against her majesty, and her dominions; which did so amuse her, that I do not observe her majesty ever pressed them after for the payment of any money. But from time to time she supplied them with men as they desired, and ever made good to them her own motto, '*Semper eadem.*'

And as her assistance to them was the first, so it continued to the last, that is until March 24, 1603, at which time she died, having lost not fewer than 100,000 of her subjects in that war; and having spent in naval expeditions, for their sakes, against the King of Spain, in America, or elsewhere, above a million of money, besides the debt which the states owed her.

King James being proclaimed king, and the undoubted heir and successor to the queen, the states sent their ambassadors to the king; and, after some compliments to him, they signify to his majesty, that they had lost her, whose goodness and benefits to them were not to be expressed in words; but they had found his majesty as the heir of her kingdom, so the imitator of her virtues, and persuaded him to a war with Spain, and begged supplies of him.

But King James being a wise prince, and not to be taken with their arts and cunning, told them, that he had no difference with the Spaniard, and also, that King Philip had voluntarily offered him his assistance, if any dispute should have arisen concerning his kingdoms. And, for the archduke, he made war with the queen, not with the realm.

This highly discomposed the states; but King James treated with the Spaniards, and concluded a league with them. And the states, such kindness had his majesty for them, were offered by King James to be comprehended in the articles of the treaty, but they refused; yet, by the mediation of King James, a peace was propounded to the states from the King of Spain; but they signified unto his majesty, that they would not treat with the King of Spain, till they were declared by him Free States, abstracted from all right and title unto any of the provinces or places by them possessed, which he might pretend unto. All which, by the great endeavours of King James, were granted unto them by the King of

Spain. And so, Anno 1609, a peace was concluded between the King of Spain and them.

The provinces in the possession of the states, at the time of the conclusion of the peace, were Holland, Zealand, West-Friesland, Overyssel, Groningland, Utrecht, Zutphen, three parts of Gelderland, and so some frontier towns and places of contribution in Brabant and Flanders.

All which provinces, with their frontier towns in Brabant and Flanders, are not so big as Yorkshire, one of our counties in England. And there may be a greater number of stout and gallant men for war raised out of that one county, than they can raise out of all their provinces.

Being now declared Free States, and peace concluded with the King of Spain; yet, for their own security, they were forced to maintain an army in their country. The charge whereof could not amount to less than six-hundred thousand pounds yearly, besides other vast expences, as, the preservation of their dikes, &c.

All, or the greatest part thereof, they raised out of the fishing of the British seas, or on the people by excise, and taxes upon every acre of ground. Which is such, that the whole country returns into their hands every third year, and by other impositions, so insupportable in themselves, and amongst men which would be thought to live in a Free State, that should any prince in Christendom lay but half so much upon their subjects, it would occasion a revolt.

So that, whereas one of the first causes of their falling off from their prince was to free themselves from taxes and impositions, illegally, as they said, forced upon them, they have drawn upon themselves more arbitrary and illegal payments, than any nation in the world. So true it is, that, a rebellion once suppressed, the king is more king, and the subjects more subject: But if it thrives, and happen to be *prosperum fœdus*, and to advance itself to a Free-State, as they call it, tyranny and oppression are the two pillars, which must support it.

The states being now absolute, and having obtained a sovereign dominion, only the cautionary towns stuck in their stomachs, and might prove a curb to them: But, being unwilling to move the king concerning them, by the great sums of money they then owed him, and being not able to pay him, they would by some projection or other, endeavour to gain them. Thereupon they resolved, as the best expedient, not to pay the English soldiers in the cautionary towns, who, being thereby put to distress for want, would be forced to borrow some monies, for their present support, of the states of Zealand, which they did; who therewith advised the states-general at the Hague. They, consulting with Sir Ralph Winwood, ambassador for his majesty there, who was a favourable instrument to them in this business, sent instructions to the Lord Caroon, then their ambassador in England, to acquaint the lord treasurer herewith. And, in case of no satisfaction from him, to make his addresses to the king, which he did. His majesty being much incensed, that his subjects and soldiers should starve for want of their pay in foreign parts, sent for the lord treasurer, who drawing his majesty aside, and telling him how empty his exchequer was, his majesty told their ambassador, that, if his masters would pay him his money they owed him, he would deliver up those towns.

The next day their ambassador, waiting on the king, to know whether his majesty persisted in the same resolution, his majesty answered, that he took the states of Holland to be his good friends and confederates, both in point of religion and policy; therefore he apprehended not the least fear of any difference that should fall out between them. In contemplation whereof, if they would have their towns again, he would willingly surrender them.

The states hereupon made up the money presently, and sent to the king. And so, Anno 1616, the cautionary towns were delivered unto them.

The king, such was his royal bounty unto them, remitted the interest, and five pounds for every gentleman, and officer, which died in their service.

But having gotten the possession of their towns (which were the lock and key of their provinces) and having compounded for those exceeding great sums of money which they owed his majesty (which sober men did think they never had been able to pay, if rightly stated) they presently, from poor distressed people, are swelled up to those spreading and magnificent titles of High and Mighty States.

Now they make their naval expeditions into America, and other parts of the world: And, by the leave and license of King James. paying some small tribute, they fall to their fishing trade upon the British seas. Wherein they did so exceedingly thrive, that, towards the latter end of King James's reign, they employed yearly eight-thousand four-hundred vessels of all sorts for their trade of fishing upon the British seas, (which number since is vastly increased) whereby they have a seminary of mariners ready for publick service, or navigation. And upon computation it appeared, that they made in one year of the herrings only, caught upon the British seas, the sum of five millions of our pounds; (the custom and tenth of fish advancing to the publick treasury no less than eight-hundred thousand pounds) besides the cod, ling, hakes, pilchard, and other fish, computed to amount unto near three millions more.

By reason of this multitude of ships and mariners, they have extended their trade to all parts of the world, exporting for the most part, in all their voyages, our herrings and fish; in exchange whereof, they return the several commodities of other countries, and sell the same at their own prices. Great part of their fish they sell for ready money, which commonly they export of the finest gold and silver, and, coming home, recoin it of a baser alloy, under their own stamp; which advances a great profit to them. The returns, which they make for their fish in other commodities, amount to a vast sum: And all this wealth, riches, and grandeur, is derived unto them from the indulgency and bounty of the kings of Great Britain.

The Hollanders now beginning to be considerable in the world, by reason of the many royal favours wherewith they are inriched by the crown of England: The English and they having several factories and places in the isles of Molucca's, Banda, and Amboyna, and elsewhere in the East-Indies, (the English being some years settled there before the Hollanders had made any discovery of those islands) Anno 1619, there was a solemn league and agreement by King James, and the states of the United Provinces, in a strict alliance, and social confederacy of the English East-India Company, and that of the United Provinces, for the better advancing and carrying on of the trade and commerce in those islands, and elsewhere in the East-Indies.

Here are so many marks of kindness, such ample demonstrations of favour, as no people could have greater obligations (if any principles of honour or justice could oblige them) to make returns of gratitude, and give the greatest instance of their sincerity and faithfulness to the kings of Great-Britain, and the English nation. But, with them, 'Favours past are not accounted; they love no bounty, but what is merely future.'

At Amboyna (one of the Scyndæ, or Setibe Islands, lying near Seran, and hath many lesser islands depending upon it, it is of the circuit of sixty leagues) an island which bears cloves plentifully, for gathering and buying whereof the English company had placed five several factories: The head of all at the town of Amboyna (so called from the island, the chief town in it) two at Hitto, and Larico, in the same island; and two others at Latro, and Cambello, in the Island of Seran. But the Hollanders observing the English to be better beloved by the natives than themselves, and that they began highly to improve and gain by their trade and traffick, hating that any should thrive but themselves, Anno 1622, upon pretence of a plot between the English and the Japonese to betray their fortress in the town of Amboyna (which was built at the charge of the English, and for the safety of trade and commerce) the Hollanders having about two-hundred soldiers there (to the end they might ingross the whole trade and traffick of the said islands to themselves) most treacherously murdered, and with fire and water tortured the English there, far exceeding the barbarity of all nations, and seized upon their factories and goods, to the válue of four-hundred thousand pounds: All the English and Japonese, which they could meet with, they sent into their own islands to be their slaves.

An act, so horrid! that the Hollanders are infamous to this very day among the rude and savage Indians, for their barbarous inhumanity executed upon the English (the greatest patrons, under God, they ever had in the world). King James, being made acquainted with this barbarous fact, told the states ambassador, that he never read or heard of a more cruel and impious act. ‘ But I do forgive them, said the king, and I hope God will: But my son's son will revenge this blood, and punish this horrid massacre.’ The king was a wise prince; and, believe it, wisdom is next door to prophecy.

Having thus murdered the English (their insolence and ingratitude did not end there, but) they forcibly seized upon the Islands of Seran, Nero, Waire, Rosingen, Latyo, Cambello, Nitto, Larica, Lantare, the Islands of Poloroone, near neighbouring to the Mollucca's, Polaway, and Machasser, Islands of Banda; all which Islands were formerly surrendered, by the general consent and act of the natives unto the English, and under the sovereignty of the kings of England. They seize upon their factories and goods there, and possess themselves of one-thousand eight-hundred English, which they disposed of into their own Islands.

By this artifice they gained to themselves Amboyna, Banda, the Mollucca Islands, Ternate, Tidor, Maner, Rochian, Machiam, and Botono, with some others: In all which the English had their factories, and some castles, Islands productive of cloves, nutmegs, mace, cinnamon, and other rich commodities; from whence the Persians, Turks, Chinese, and Africans fetched them. But, by reason the Hollanders were superior to them in strength, and that horrid act of Amboyna had made a sad impression upon their spirits, (expecting the same measure of cruelty from them, as they of Amboyna) they were forced to quit the said Island and factories.

So that these insolent and ingrateful persons have gained to themselves solely the trade of the whole world for spices.

By the loss of which Islands, there is drained yearly by them out of the king of England's dominions for spices, four-hundred thousand pounds; besides, the loss of the trade in those Islands to the English (which would have much improved and enlarged itself in other places) cannot amount unto less than four millions of pounds sterling yearly, though formerly some inconsiderable quantities of them did grow in Cupe, Duco, Montio, and Mara, but of late not any. The advantage hereof cannot amount unto the Hollanders less than seven millions of pounds sterling yearly: They setting what rates and prices they please upon these commodities.

By these most unjust practices of the Hollanders, the stock of the English company, which did amount unto about sixteen-hundred thousand pounds was the greatest part of it lost.

Poloroone, by the general and voluntary act of the chief men of the country, was surrendered into the power of King James, and the possession thereof was given, to his majesty's use, to Captain Courtrop, December 23, anno 1616. No other nation, at that time, having any interest in it, or pretension to it, being a very rich and plentiful Island: From whence the English might have expected great treasure and advantages. The Hollanders, notwithstanding their league and treaty with King James, anno 1619, the English being then in possession of it, with great force entered the said Island, demolished all their buildings, pulled up all their nutmeg-trees, and sent them into their own Islands to be planted; destroyed all their factories there, and seized upon all their goods, and forced all the English from thence, and to dispeople it, that it might be of no use to the English for the future, under colour of a plot that the Oran-keys and Nobles of Poloroone had conspired with the people of Seran to massacre the Dutch, as well at Poloroone as Poloway: The Dutch governor at Poloway sent command to the Oran-keys, that they should come over to him; a priest and seventy Oran-keys immediately took a prow, or small vessel, of their own, and embarked themselves for Poloway. As soon as they were arrived, they were carried prisoners to the castle. Then the governor, with two-hundred soldiers, went to Poloroone, whence he fetched the rest of the Oran-keys, and committed them prisoners to the same castle; and presently were brought to the torture with fire and water, as they served the English at Amboyna. Two of them died in their tortures; the rest, being one-hundred and sixty-two, were all, upon their forced confessions, condemned and executed. The priest, when he came to the place of execution, spake these words, in the Mallatian tongue; "All ye, great and "small, rich and poor, black and white, look to it, we have committed no fault." And when he would have spoken more, he was taken by the head and feet, laid along, and cut in two by the middle. Their wives, children, and slaves, with all their goods, were seized by the Hollanders, and sent into their other Islands.

And this the Hollanders did, because the Oran-keys had a great love for the English.

So that we may perceive the sole design of the Hollanders is, to get the riches, trade, and dominion of the whole Indies into their own power. And, therefore, they think any medium just, subservient to that end.

The Hollanders having forcibly taken the town and castle of Mallaca from the Portuguese, suffer no ships of any king or prince in Europe to pass the Streights of Mallaca, into the south-seas to China, &c. upon pain of seizure, or confiscation of men, ships, and goods.

And to that purpose they grant their commissions to the captains of their ships, to bring all the Streights of Mallaca, which Streights were free for all ships to pass, till the restraint and usurpation of the Hollanders into Mallaca, or else to sink, or burn them by their sides.

This restraint is loss to the English three-hundred thousand pounds yearly, and advantage to the Hollanders five-hundred thousand pounds yearly.

Anno 1620, *Cabo de bon Esperanza* * was in the possession of the English, and by them taken for the use of King James. But since the English have been forced out by the Hollanders, where they have a flourishing plantation.

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* The Cape of Good Hope.

Thereupon anno 1620, they seized upon two English ships, the Bear and the Star, in the Streights of Mallaca, going to China, and confiscated the ships and goods, valued at fifteen-hundred thousand pounds.

The ship Bona Esperanza, an English vessel, anno 1635, going into China, by the Streights of Mallaca, was violently assaulted by three Dutch men of war; the master and many of his men killed, and brought into Mallaca; and there the ship and goods were confiscated, valued at one-hundred thousand pounds.

The Dragon and Catharine, two English ships of Sir William Curteen, valued at three-hundred thousand pounds, besides their commanders, and others, who had very great estates therein, anno 1636, were set upon by seven Dutch men of war, as they past the Streights of Mallaca from China, and by them taken. The men were tied back to back, and flung over-board; the goods, being taken out of the said ships, were seized to the use of the states there; and the ships sunk, that it might not be known who committed that cruel fact.

In Aru and Manucado in Sumatia, an oriental Island, the English had several factories there, by the consent of the king and natives; but, by the practice of the Hollanders, anno 1625, they were all forced to leave their factories, and the places.

In Pachane, the chief city of Pachane, one of the kingdoms of Siam in India, the English had several factories there; but, by the unjust practices of the Hollanders, they were compelled to quit the country, and their factories, to an inexpressible loss to the English. Pachane being a great country for gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, and many other rich commodities.

The Hollanders, anno 1636, made war against the king of Bantam, one of the kings of Java major, for that he had a great kindness for the English, and for that he permitted them to have several factories in Sunda and Jambe for pepper; and by this art would have driven the English from thence, and their chief pepper trade: And so would have shut them out, both of the Streights of Sunda and Mallaca.

Which, from these men, we may learn, That those, which study to be great by any means, must by all means forget to be good; they must dismiss that puny thing, conscience; for there is no such remora to grandeur, as a coy and squeamish conscience: And it is observed by a learned gentleman, had Alexander boggled at invading other men's kingdoms, he had never wept for the scarcity of worlds.

The oppressions and injuries of these men in India, not only to the English, but to the subjects of many of the kings and princes in Europe, are not to be expressed, (and indeed they are fitter for our wonder than our words.) It were to be desired, that they would set forth a manifesto to the world of the particular losses they and their subjects have sustained by the insolencies and usurpations of these men. And then they would be as much scorned, by every good man in Europe, as they are now hated by the Indians in America: For the Indians, though they have no kindness for the Spaniard, yet they look upon him as a gentleman, but the Hollanders they abhor, for their sordid acts, and unjust practices.

As they have made themselves masters of the south seas, so having, anno 1662, taken Cochen from the Portuguese, and other ports upon the coasts of Malabar, they have the sole command upon the north seas from Malabar to India, Persia, Arabia, the Red-Sea, and Mosambique, all along to Cabo de bon Esperanza; so they will in a short time restrain all kings and princes in Europe, and their subjects, to have a trade or commerce in those parts.

And, whether it may not, by the help of a little logick, be concluded out of their stile, consider, 'The states-general of the united provinces of Batavia, Amboyna, Tewan, &c. commanders of all the seas of the world; protectors of all the kings and princes in Europe; and supreme moderators of all the affairs in christendom:' For so they stile and write themselves in the East-Indies.

Now they are high and mighty states indeed. Ambition is never so high, but she thinks still to mount; that station which lately seemed the top, is but a step to her now; and what before was great, in desiring, seems little, being once in power.

The Method and Arts which the States have used in India, to enlarge their Dominions, and exclude others from Trade or Commerce there.

1. They are in a perpetual state of hostility, ever warring upon some prince or other; and thereby gain either tribute or dominion.

2. When they have to do with any king or prince, they order their affairs so, that he must perform first; and, when he hath done, they are states, and so are free.

3. They encourage the natives, upon every small occasion of discontent, to arm against their prince, promising them their assistance, which they exactly perform. When they have conquered the king, and taken his castles and ports, which they first secure, making themselves masters of the seas and great rivers, then they subdue the natives, and so vest in themselves sovereign dominion, and make both king and natives their vassals.

4. If the natives take up arms against their prince, as many times they do, then they encourage him against his rebellious subjects, and give him their assistance; when the natives are subdued, then they conquer the king himself, or else demand so much for their assistance, that he is not able to pay, and so he must submit himself and his dominions to their boundless ambition.

5. If there be any wars between prince and prince, they will be sure to fall in with one of them, and give him their aid, and so make war in the other prince's dominions. When that prince is subdued, and themselves settled in his dominions, then they reduce

the other prince to their obedience, having some castles or ports in his dominions, which do command the whole.

6. If they have any places of concern, and the subjects of any prince in Europe have any factories there, which they cannot fairly dismiss, then they lay such great taxes and impositions upon the natives, that they are forced to arms. When they are subdued, then they charge the subjects of that prince, as conspirators and abettors of the natives; and so seize upon all their goods and factories, and force them to quit the country, or else send them into some of their Islands to be slaves.

7. If any prince in Europe make any treaty or league with the states, concerning any affairs in India, they send to the states of Batavia private instructions, contrary to their publick agreement; so that all treaties and leagues, as to the affairs of India, are ineffectual.

8. Where they have footing in any Island or dominion, they claim by conquest, and so lay what taxes they please upon the natives. And, being in by conquest, they are proprietaries, and so exclude the subjects of any king or prince from trade there.

9. If the subjects of any king or prince in Europe have factories in the dominions of any prince there, if they begin to be considerable, they take some occasion to war against that prince; and, upon treaty, charge those subjects to be the cause of the war; so, if the prince will have peace, he must seize their factories and goods, and banish them his country.

10. They pretend great kindness to their neighbour princes, and enter into a league offensive and defensive with them; and by that means get the favour of those princes to have some ports or strong castles for defence of their trade, as they pretend, in their territories. When that is done, they either make war themselves, and so those princes must aid them, or else persuade the princes their allies to make war upon another prince; which they do, and so fight one prince against another; and, when they are sufficiently weakened, they conquer them all.

11. If they have any difference with any potent king or prince, they get time; if it be for their advantage, they give good words, but part with no money. That done, they make their addresses to some favourite of that prince, which do all in the court of the Indian kings, and so with small charges they effect great matters.

By these steps they have climbed up to those immense pyramids of dominion and power in the Indies, that they are become formidable to the greatest emperors and princes there; ever making good in their practice that lemma of Loyola, the apostle of their state,

Cavete vobis Principes.

They have excluded the subjects of all kings and princes in Europe from traffick and commerce, where they have any territories or power. And, by reason of the dominion they have in the south seas, and the conquests and fortifications they make upon the north seas, all their subjects will finally be debarred from any traffick or trade there.

Of what dangerous consequence this will prove, it is very well beseeming the wisdom of the greatest kings and princes to consider. For they are a generation which are born to be the plague, disquiet, and scourge of Europe; and they gladly sacrifice the publick peace of Christendom to their own private interest.

If we consider, how many brave and large dominions in the East-Indies were under the sovereignty of the kings of Great-Britain, what flourishing factories their subjects had there, how great kings they might have been in treasure and dominion, how rich their subjects, it cannot but discompose an English spirit, that this king should be outed of all those dominions, and his subjects devested of their riches and hopes, by a people who had nothing but the favour of the king of Great-Britain to support them, nor no fortress to defend them but that of Amboyna, and that built by the money of the English company.

Well, we may see what treachery and perfidiousness can do, being accompanied with ambition and industry; but they will, before long, find, that slippery are those foundations of might and greatness, which are not laid upon the principles of justice, and regulated by the maxims of christian piety.

And as America was the theatre where they acted these tragedies, and unparalleled insolencies; so they have not spared to manifest their ingratitude, affronts, and highest injuries against the kings of Great-Britain, and the English nation here in Europe.

Anno 1639, when his Catholick majesty sent his Armado with some soldiers into Flanders, to strengthen his garisons there, but by cross winds were driven upon the English coasts; the states equipped out a great fleet of men of war, charged the Spanish Armado, ravished his ships out of the harbours of his late majesty * at Dover, and destroyed most of that fleet, though in his majesty's protection and dominions, and against his majesty's express command; thereby usurping sovereignty to themselves, and giving laws to his majesty in his own dominions. A bold affront!

And, certainly, they could not think but his majesty did highly resent it. But, to keep him busied at home, and that his majesty might have no opportunity to bring them to justice for their insolence, there being, anno 1639, some distempers † in Scotland, they did greatly promote them, and contributed their assistance to them, in all manner of military provisions.

Monarchy, and with that the glory of the English nation, was now ‡ departed; the people model themselves into a commonwealth, they take a full prospect of the usurpations, injuries, and oppressions of the states, which had such a horrid complexion of injustice upon them, that the new commonwealth ‖ denounce war against the old states §; they obtain many signal victories, and had

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* King Charles I. † al. Disturbances. ‡ In the time of the grand rebellion of 1641. ‖ Of England. § Of Holland.

much disabled their naval forces. Now, the states being not well able to contest with the English valour, they project how they might deliver themselves from the fury of these men. At last, they having by their emissaries first disseminated sedition amongst the people, whereby the commonwealth became a burthen to the nation, and wise men began to be troubled at the ill face of affairs, they adjudged the best expedient was to set up a single person, the states being now sensible of their former error, in not supporting the English monarchy, as their best safety and greatest protection. Oliver Cromwell, as the fittest person for such a bold-faced treason, by their underhand practice, and paying to him some hundred thousand pounds, is prevailed with to take upon him the government of the nation. The war is continued against them with great success, yet, by their interest, they obtained a treaty. And, thereupon paying a million of pounds to Oliver, a peace is concluded, but the most dishonourable and unjust that ever was to this nation. But such as it was, it continued till his majesty's * blessed restoration.

Anno 1641, there happening some difference betwixt his late majesty and his parliament, they sent over their rabbies of sedition here into England, and infused their antimonarchical principles and dangerous doctrines into some giddy heads of the English nation, who thereby became so intoxicated, that they were never at rest, till, like men infected with the plague, they infected others; and, thereby, a great part of the people became disobservant to the laws of the nation, and rebels to their king. An army of these men were raised, they having their chief officers and commanders, and all warlike provisions, out of the United Provinces, to bring destruction to the king, and desolation to the kingdom; thereby that great king being reduced to streights, notwithstanding the many obligations of the states to his majesty, they could never be induced to contribute any aid or assistance to redeem that excellent prince from so great an abyss of misery, or to preserve the kingdom from ruin and confusion, which with their assistance might have been easily prevented.

But the states were so far from any act of charity or piety, that Amsterdam was made the great emporium, or market for the rebels, to sell those rich and costly goods, which they had plundered from his majesty's best subjects in England, whereas no king or prince in Christendom would suffer them to make use of any of their ports for that purpose, and the best furniture that some of the states have in their houses, at this very day, are many of those stolen goods.

And by this means they brought poverty and misery to this nation, riches and plenty to themselves.

This unfortunate nation being thus in a combustion, and all befried, the Hogan Mogans with joy, as an ingenious man observed, did warm their hands at those unhappy flames, which they them

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* King Charles II.

selves had kindled, tuning their merry harps, when others were weeping over a kingdom's funeral. In England, there being nothing but confusion and ruin, nothing to be seen but the convulsions of a dying state, his now sacred majesty, for his own safety and security, withdrew himself out of England, and resolved to live for some time, in his solitudes, in the Belgick provinces. But the states were so far from affording him any comfort, as a distressed prince, or yielding him any kindness, as their best friend and greatest patron, that, if his majesty had not had timely notice of it, it is credibly said, that he had been delivered up, in their territories, as a sacrifice to the fury of his cruellest enemy.

His majesty, anno 1660, being restored to his kingdoms, forgetting all their former unkindnesses and ingratitudes, his care was to conclude a strict league with the said states. But no sooner was it concluded, but they return to their usual practice of breaking articles, who expect an exact observance of them from others, but perform none themselves. Thereupon his majesty, 1664, was stirred up by the complaints of his people, and the unanimous votes of both houses of parliament, to defend the rights of his crown, and the liberties of his people, which the states had most notoriously invaded; yet his majesty, to prevent the effusion of blood (as tyrants shed blood for pleasure, kings for necessity), spent the whole summer in negotiations to bring them to reason, but all his endeavours proved ineffectual.

Thereupon, anno 1665, ensued the war, and continued to the year 1667, wherein his majesty obtained so many signal victories, that, by their humble supplications and addresses to his majesty for peace, he was induced to a treaty; and, his majesty having the guaranty of the most christian king, and of the said states, that no act of hostility, during the said treaty, should be attempted by them against his majesty, or any of his dominions, thereupon his majesty did forbear to equip his fleet. Yet the said states, contrary to their faith, during the said treaty, with their fleet, though not half manned or victualled, for any time, most treacherously invaded his majesty's dominions, burnt and committed destruction upon several of his majesty's navy royal * in his own ports and harbour. Whereas, if his majesty had set forth his fleet, they had not been able to have put to sea, that year, for want of mariners, and other discouragements upon them, having received so many memorable defeats by the valour and courage of his subjects.

No sooner was there a peace concluded, but every article was broken by them; and no wonder, for it is a maxim of their state, that 'all alliance as to them is inconsiderable; the foundation of their greatness and safety consists in their own power and strength;' therefore, to keep any article is of no consideration to them.

Now they invade his majesty's fishing upon the British seas, without his royal license; they refuse to strike sail, and dispute the sovereignty of the British seas. Affronts so high, and indignities

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* At Chatham in the River Medway.

so transcendent, that no king or potentate, except these men, did ever so much as question any of them.

It doth appear by the records in the Tower*, and the municipal laws of this nation, that the kings of England have had ever from the time of the Romans an absolute and uninterrupted right, and exclusive property in the sovereignty in the British seas, in the passages and fishing thereof; and have power to make laws, and exercise supreme jurisdiction over all persons, and in all cases, within or upon the said seas, as it was agreed, 26 E. I. by the agents and ambassadors of Genoa, Catalonia, Spain, Almaine, Zealand, Holland, Friesland, Denmark, Norway, and divers other places in the empire. And by all the states and princes of Europe, in a case then in question between the king of England and his most christian majesty, concerning Rayner Grimbold, his admiral, exercising some jurisdiction upon the British seas.

The laws of Olleron which, after the Rhodian laws were antiquated, have now near five-hundred years been received by all the christian world for regulating sea-affairs, and deciding of maritime controversies, were first declared by King Richard the First, at his return from the Holy Land, and by him caused to be published in the Isle of Olleron, as belonging to the Dutchy of Aquitain.

If the subjects of any king or prince have a right to fish in the British seas, I do desire to be satisfied, what should be the reason that all neighbour princes have by treaty obtained license from the kings of England, for their subjects to fish in those seas, and have paid tribute, as it doth appear by the licenses granted by Henry the Fourth unto the French; by Henry the Sixth unto the Duchess of Burgundy; to those of Brabant and Flanders by Edward the Fourth; to Francis, Duke of Bretagne, for his subjects; Philip the Second, king of Spain, in the first year of Queen Mary, obtained a license for his subjects to fish upon the north-coast of Ireland, for the term of twenty-one years, paying yearly for the same a thousand pounds, which was accordingly paid into the exchequer of Ireland.

And the precedents, in R. I. King John, Edw. III. and other kings, are almost infinite.

And; if any king, or prince, could pretend to any right, certainly his most christian majesty hath as good a pretence as any. But that king, by the special license of the kings of England, and not otherwise, hath fished upon the British coasts, with a set and limited number of boats; and that for his own family, and being likewise to observe the laws and orders of his own fishermen; for breach whereof, divers of his subjects have been taken and imprisoned in Dover-castle, and elsewhere, as doth appear by many precedents in the times of Edw. III. H. IV. H. VII. &c. in the Tower.

Neither is this singular in the King of England only; for, in Russia, many leagues from the main, fishermen do pay for their fishing great taxes to the emperor of Russia; and, in most places, other nations are prohibited to fish.

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* 26 Edw. de Superioritate Maris Anglici.

The king of Denmark doth the like, and taketh great tribute, both at Wardhouse and the Sound.

And the like he doth now for Norway.

All the bordering princes of Italy do the like within the Mediterranean seas.

The states do take an imposition upon fish which is taken upon the British seas, and within the streams and dominions of other princes.

The Hollanders do allow the tenth fish, both in Russia, Lappia, and other places, or pay a composition for the same; and do also pay a tribute in the Sound, for passage to fetch the said fish.

But I shall not give myself any trouble in a point so clear. I would desire to know of the Hollanders, By what right or title they fish upon the British seas? If they have a right, Why did the Earls of Holland, and themselves after the said earls, take licenses from the Kings of England, for their subjects to fish and pay tribute? As they have done, as it appeareth by many ancient precedents in the Tower.

But now, I remember, it is a principle of their state, "That, "if they get the possession of any thing, never to dispute the "right, so it be of conveniency or profit to them to keep it."

The next is the striking of the sail, which is nothing, but an humble acknowledgment of his majesty's sovereignty of the British seas, and a grateful submission for their liberty to pass upon them. For strangers (by the law and custom of the British seas) being to pass those seas, either in coming to England, or going to any other place (without so much as touching upon any of his majesty's dominions), have used to take safe conducts and licenses of the Kings of England, to secure and protect them in their passage*. The precedents are exceeding many amongst the records in the Tower. The striking of the sail is one of the ancientest prerogatives of the crown of England; for, I observe, in the second year of King John, it was declared at Hastings by the king, with the advice of his lords temporal, for a law and custom of the sea, "That, "if a lieutenant, in any voyage, being ordained by the king, doth "encounter upon the sea any ship or vessel, laden or unladen, "that will not strike, or vail their bonnets at the commandment "of the lieutenant of the king, or of the admiral of the king, or "his lieutenant, but will fight against them of the fleet; that, if "they can be taken, they be reputed as enemies, and their ships, "vessels, and goods taken and forfeited, as the goods of enemies. "And that the common people, being in the same, be chastised, "by imprisonment of their bodies for their rebellion. *Inter Leges* "*Marinas, anno secundo Johannis Regis*, amongst the records "of the Tower."

The Hollanders, therefore, refusing to strike sail, do deny his majesty's sovereignty in the seas (one of the most precious jewels of the crown, and) the principal means of the trade, wealth, and safety of this nation, and which all true Englishmen, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, are obliged to preserve and maintain; for *Imperator Maris est Dominus Terræ* *.

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* See Rot. Franciæ 11 Hen. IV. de salvo Conductu.

And, as they have denied his majesty's sovereignty, so they have, by their artifice, supplanted the trade and traffick of his subjects, which are the only pillars of riches and safety to this nation.

Consult the Muscovia †, Turky, &c. companies, enquire at the Exchange, they will all tell you, It is gone, whither I know not, but into Amsterdam and the United Provinces.

The English are as active and industrious a people as any, but (of a more generous and noble alloy) they abhor to have trade by those base practices, or to gain it by those sordid means, as the Hollanders do. I doubt not but the English nation, being sensible of the injuries and oppressions done them by these men, will, in a short time, by their sword and valour, reduce them to reason.

And, as they have supplanted the trade of his majesty's subjects, so they have endeavoured to make a diminution of his own glory, by abusive pictures and false libels, not only in their own territories, but in most of the dominions of the kings and princes of Europe, where the name of the king of Great-Britain is renowned. "Reputation abroad, and reverence at home, are the pillars of "safety and sovereignty."

By these arts they have endeavoured, not only to lessen his majesty's reputation abroad, but to bring contempt upon him, even amongst his own subjects at home. Without doubt, his majesty's good subjects have a great sentiment of these indignities, and will not only carry an antidote in their ears against the poison of these libels, but, with their swords, lives, and fortunes, will vindicate his dignity, and bring these ungrateful miscreants to justice.

The States having put so many scorns and indignities upon his majesty, and abuses upon his subjects in their trade, for which his majesty was more troubled, than for the indignities done to himself, he was resolved to have satisfaction of them. But they, to give his majesty disquiet in his own dominions, and for a diversion to him, made their addresses to some persons of the Scotish nation with them for their brotherly assistance, promising them they should be furnished with men, arms, and money, what they pleased. But the Scots, too well remembering their late sufferings and calamities, and having as great a sense of loyalty and duty for their king, as any people in the world, with the greatest scorn and abhorrence rejected their most impious and rebellious motion.

Not prevailing there, they set upon some factories of sedition in England, and, by their emissaries here, endeavoured to work upon an honest party ‡ in this nation, though differing, in some minute ceremonies, from the church; but they looked upon it, as the greatest injury and indignity that could be done them, to tempt them from their loyalty to so good and gracious a king.

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* i. e. Whoever is emperor of the sea, is also lord of the land adjoining thereto.

† al. Russia. ‡ The Presbyterians.

And, certainly, his majesty had a very good esteem for them, or else he would never have granted them that act of indulgence; an act so transcendent, and exceeding the bounty and grace of all former kings, that it could not be obtained of them, though there had been many hundred thousand pounds offered for the purchase of it. But, as his majesty hath granted them liberty of conscience, so, there is no doubt, they will make conscience of their liberty.

His majesty of Great-Britain, and the most christian king, of all princes in Europe, have most studied and endeavoured, for the good of their subjects, to advance trade and commerce; yet their subjects cry out they have no trade, and well they may, when the Hollanders are the great supplanters of trade, and obstructors of commerce, to all others but themselves, in the world. And no wonder, for it is a prime principle of their state, "That they "must not be like the jackall, which provides food for the lion; "but they must imitate the prudent cat, who mouses only for "itself."

Nothing can be more becoming the majesty of two such potent kings, not only out of charity to deliver the distressed Dutch, an industrious and well-meaning people of themselves, from the tyranny and oppression of those insolent states; but, out of piety towards God, to settle peace in Christendom; which is only by the power of those two great kings to be effected, and to which all kings and princes are obliged to contribute their assistance.

For, let it be soberly considered, if these men (if we may so call them) since the revolt from their prince, have not made greater distempers and confusions, and caused more effusion of blood, and expence of treasure, in Europe, than the Great Turk hath done for these five-hundred years.

And, as they are more powerful by sea, so they are much more dangerous in their practice; for the Turk is a prince who, with all potentates, doth exactly observe his leagues, and keeps his faith; but it is an apophthegm in their state, that "It is for kings and "merchants to keep their word and faith, but, for States, no lon-"ger than it is subservient to their interest."

And, how exactly they make this good in their actions, I appeal to all the kings and princes of Europe, if ever they kept one article, or their faith in any thing, where it was their interest to break it. Certainly these men live, as if great sins would merit heaven by an antiperistasis.

And it is very well becoming the gravest judgments to consider, if these men may not prove, in a short time, a greater terror and plague to Christendom, than the Turk himself; insomuch as his arms are at a great distance, and only land-forces, but these men are seated in the center of Europe, and, being so potent at sea, and rich in treasure, may cast an army, and, with that, blood and confusion, into any prince's dominion, whom they please to disquiet (especially being first reduced to poverty, which they labour to effect in all their territories, by obstructing of trade.) And they can more speedily and powerfully offend any kingdom by sea, in one month, than the most puissant army is able to march through, in a year.

Well, it is time to reduce these men to justice and reason; prudence teaches us to set limits to that power, which deservedly may be suspected. For, as they grow in puissance and strength; so the more formidable they will render themselves to all kings and princes. From one great king * they have taken so much blood, that he is fallen into a deep consumption; and it is adjudged, by some wise physicians of state, that he will hardly recover.

Did they not lately break the heart of one potent king †, and almost the back of another ‡? Do they not privately engage prince against prince, and, by that means, bring misery and calamity to them both; and, out of their ruin, create riches and plenty to themselves? Do they not undermine the trade of all Europe, and send nothing but poverty, misery, and complaints into all princes dominions?

How dangerous and fatal their greatness will, in a few years, prove to all the kings and princes of Europe, and to their subjects, if not timely prevented, a weak statist, without the help of Galileo's prospective-glass, may easily see. Yet there are a people in the world, which contribute their assistance to them; but let them be assured, that, if these States, by their arts, can extricate themselves from the destruction and calamity which now threaten them, they must, for all their friendly assistance, expect nothing but Polyphemus's courtesy, to be the last that shall be swallowed up. This is too evident by their ingratitude and insolencies to the kings of Great-Britain, and to the English nation.

Nothing can give a check to their growing power, but the naval forces of the king of Great-Britain, whose situation, ports, strength of shipping, courage of people, and experience in sea-fights have always made him very formidable: And that Henry the Eighth understood so well, that he assumed to himself that motto, *Cui adhæreo, præest.*

This naval power of the king of Great-Britain is the security and safety of Europe; for, if that were broken, they would look upon all the other as inconsiderable, because they are so far separate, that they might be destroyed before they could unite; and, in case they did, the issue would be very doubtful.

Then they would sacrifice one prince after another, and bring nothing but confusion, poverty, and misery to prince and people. And, whether this be not more than conjectural, look into their practices in the East-Indies; observe their arts and methods, by which they have reduced so many great kings, with their subjects, vassals, and slaves, to their vast ambition.

I have done; yet I cannot but drop a few tears for some hones people amongst them, who must be inwrapped in the punishment, though innocent as to the guilt.

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* King of Spain. † King of Sweden. ‡ King of Denmark.

Now the most formidable and potent kings in Christendom are drawing their forces against them, all their trade is gone by sea, nothing but horror and confusion in their land; none of their allies durst appear for them. A mournful tragedy! Methinks, like wise patriots, they should seize upon their States, whom they may thank for all their calamities and miseries, and yield them up to justice; set up their prince, whose ancestors have spent so much blood and treasure to vindicate their rights and liberties and not to serve their ends of him (as all wise men think the States do at this juncture of affairs;) for it is an adage amongst them, that *Leo vinciri liber pernegat.*

And the States do as certainly hate a prince, as a prince doth a free State.

Discite Justitiam moniti, &c.

A JUSTIFICATION OF THE PRESENT WAR AGAINST THE

UNITED NETHERLANDS.

Wherein the Declaration of his Majesty is vindicated, and the War proved to be just, honourable, and necessary; the Dominion of the Sea explained, and his Majesty's Rights thereunto asserted; the Obligations of the Dutch to England, and their continual Ingratitude:

In Answer to a Dutch Treatise, intitled,

Considerations upon the present State of the United Netherlands.

BY AN ENGLISHMAN.

Pompeii omne consilium Themistocleum est; existimat enim, qui mare teneat, eum necesse rerum potiri,

CICERO AD ATTICUM, lib. x. ep. 7.

Pudebat nobilem populum, ablato mari, raptis insulis, dare tributa quæ jubere consueverat.

LUCIUS FLORUS.

London: Printed for Henry Hills and John Starkey, and are to be Sold at the Bell in St. Paul's Church-yard, and the Mitre within Temple-Bar, 1672.
Quarto, containing eighty-eight Pages.

The Author to the Reader.

SINCE the Author of the Considerations is pleased to conceal his name, and suffer his book to pass as the work of a private person; it seems requisite, that I do declare this ensuing Treatise to proceed from an hand, not less private, if not more; and this I am the more obliged to own, lest by any mistake of mine, through haste, ignorance, or misinformation, some prejudice might be created against the just and unquestionable rights of his Majesty. The interests of Princes are not proper subjects for ordinary pens; yet in this juncture of our affairs, in these times of universal danger, I hope my attempt shall not be liable to misconstruction, since it hath no other source and original, than the service of my King and native country; and I do profess, that I have not, to my knowledge, made use of any officious untruths, nor in any allegation, or asseveration, imposed upon the credulous reader; nor have I asserted the less probable opinions at any time, out of compliance with the present exigencies of state, in opposition to those which are strengthened with greater authority and reason. I have thoroughly convinced myself in the first place, and therefore hope the discourse may prove more satisfactory unto all others. The infant republick of the United Netherlands, after that it had got some considerable strength by the assistance of England, began to be sensible of the advantages they drew from navigation, and how necessary it was for them, not only to open the commerce unto both Indies, but to secure themselves of the fishing in the British seas. The death of Queen Elisabeth (who would otherwise have been jealous of their growing power, and tender of her own rights) together with the peaceable disposition of King James, seemed to make way for their ambitious designs; and the cabal of Holland, whereof Grotius was one, did publish an anonymous Treatise, called, 'Mare Liberum,' wherein the freedom of the sea, to navigate, or fish in, was maintained as a due right of mankind, according to the law of nature, and nations; which foundation they esteemed more suitable to their ends, than if they should depend upon a revocable privilege, or tacit permission. The book was the less resented at that time, because it was in appearance levelled against the Spanish Indies, and the prohibition of commerce there; and then all Europe was willing to see the pride and power of Spain abated by any means. Howsoever, King James was angry at the pretended liberty of fishing, and his ambassador Charleton complained thereof to the States; but they never avowed the principles, but owned the rights of King James, though indeed slighted them, and usurped upon the fishing, in such manner, as I have shewed in this Treatise. That single book hath occasioned a multitude of discourses upon that subject; Mr. Selden defended the English dominion over the British seas: Others that of Venice, and Genoa: The Dutch advocates undermining by their writings all the regalities of Princes, as their masters have done by their actions. After that the troubles of Scotland and England had disabled King Charles the First, from attending unto the dominion of the sea, according as he most generously purposed, the Dutch thought that the English, being weakened with the civil wars, and distracted with intestine factions, by reason of the alteration of the government, could not resist their ambition, should they usurp the universal dominion of the seas; and to secure themselves therein, they sent Van Tromp to destroy the English navy, without declaring any war; but neither did that attempt, nor the war ensuing thereupon, prosper, as they hoped they would. But ever since that fierce war, they have determined upon the ruining the English navigation, and not only to exclude the English from the East-India trade, but to expel them from, and deprive them of the dominion of the British seas. It is a received aphorism amongst the Hollanders, that the flourishing condition of England is a diminution of their glory; also, that trade, and the repute of strength, are inseparably linked together, and hereupon they have so many ways contributed to the embroiling of our kingdoms, and omitted nothing that might represent us as ridiculous and contemptible unto foreign Princes. After they had usurped the fishery, they began to assume a freedom to act all manner of hostilities upon our allies (if at enmity with them) not only upon our seas, but in our ports; and hereof there are many instances, besides the destruction of the Spanish fleet, in 1639. After this, their pride increasing with their power, they refused to strike sail to our ships of war; now they will allow it to be but a ceremony and civility, and dispute the paying thereof, unless we come up to such terms as are insupportable. Thus by degrees they have reduced the nation to the present weakness and contempt; nor can any concessions, any indulgence, satisfy their arrogance and covetousness: They who covet all will not acquiesce in any grants, that are not answerable to their desires, how unjust or vast soever they be: And their friendship is sooner purchased by a brisk opposition, than complaisance. If we look upon the number and quality of the injuries which we have received from the Dutch, the Turks of Algiers, and Tunis, are less offensive, and less perfidious. If we consider the courses, by which the Dutch attack us, the Algerines are more supportable to an English spirit, since they act by force, and open piracy, what the Hollanders do by finess and deceit. And since it is our unhappiness to have so ill neighbours, that we must either fall by a lingering and inglorious death, or hazard, by war, a more precipitate end; I think his Majesty hath made that choice which is most conformable to the genius and temperament of his subjects; and, instigated by his honour, justice, and necessity, put into the hands of the English an opportunity at least of perishing bravely. But, as we ought not in a righteous cause to distrust the mercy of God, so, upon so auspicious a beginning as the Lord of Hosts hath favoured us with, under the conduct of our undaunted admiral, we may hope for a prosperous success, over our treacherous and ungrateful enemies.—It becomes the nation now to express their generous resolution and courage, whereby the first advantages may be timely and vigorously pursued. It is true, war is expensive; yet it is not to be esteemed so, when the effects of peace will be more fatal, and cost us more: It is expensive, yet in the beginnings of war, even prodigality is wisdom; and he that lays out most lays out least. Small supplies may foment and continue a war, but great ones put a speedy end thereunto. Let us then shew ourselves unanimous and resolute. Let us add to our usual boldness all that fury which despair infuseth. Our circumstances are such as admit of no after-game; either we must be the distressed kingdom of England, or they once more the distressed States of Holland; and it will be more insupportable for us to fall into a condition, we never yet understood, than for them, who return only to their primitive estate. The Dutch presume not so much upon their own strength, as upon our divisions, animosities, and poverty. Let us undeceive them in these surmises. Let us convince them, that the English have yet much to give, as well as all to lose; and that they can abandon all private emulations and jealousies, where the publick is so highly endangered; and either totally extinguish them, or lay them aside till they have a more fitting time to resume them. If we can form our minds to such sentiments as these, we may have, in a short space, what peace we desire; if we act by other principles, we can have no peace, but what pleaseth the insolent and enraged Hollander.

WHEN I perused the treatise, intitled, '*Considerations upon the present State of the United Netherlands*,' I could not but recal to mind that raillery of Charles the Fifth, who, when he adjusted the usefulness of several European languages, said, 'that the Dutch was fittest to be used unto an horse.' Certainly, the expressions they use against his sacred majesty, the present king of Great-Britain, are so rude and barbarous, the suggestions so palpably false, that, in a controversy betwixt private persons, such a procedure were intolerable in any part of the civil world? How much more then ought we to resent it, where the dignity and honour of our prince (upon whose reputation abroad and at home, not only the national renown, and general commerce, but the welfare and being of each particular man is suspended, is concerned? I do not endeavour to serve the present juncture by this high insinuation of what importance it is, that the majesty of our sovereign be upheld; I do not act any thing of the courtier herein; it is a document of the best politicians, and the experience of all ages doth confirm it for a truth. It is no vain, or empty design, for a prince to preserve that credit and renown which appertains unto his quality; it is hereby, that he shall insure himself of those that waver in their friendship or allegiance; it is hereby, that he shall retain his armies in discipline and courage; it is hereby, that he shall continue in his other subjects their due reverence and respect. In fine, the reputation of a prince is all in all; and, that being once lost, the most powerful and prudent remedies become ineffectual to the support of his crown, and tranquillity of his dominions. Neither do I upbraid the Dutch with the violation of those edicts, whereby christianity regulates men so in their deportments, as, 'not to speak evil of dignities; not to blaspheme the gods, or magistrates; being reviled, not so much as to revile again; whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any praise, if there be any glory, to think thereof:' No, no, I should injure Christendom to reckon the United Netherlands a part thereof; such are their practices, that it is a crime in them to profess that religion, and a great mistake in those that intitle them thereunto. I know not, whether I do not speak too mildly concerning those deluded persons, since it is a wilful error in them that imagine so; the Dutch themselves have avowed it, and those that managed their trade in Japan, when the christians there, at the instigation of the Dutch, were all, by horrible tortures, put to death, and every housekeeper enjoined to declare in writing, 'that he was neither a christian, nor retained any christians in his family;' Melchoir Santvoort, and Vincentius Romeyn, subscribed themselves, 'that they were Hollanders;' most impiously, for lucre's sake, declining that profession of christianity, to which Christ and his apostles oblige them. If they were ashamed or afraid to acknowledge Christ then, I know what our Saviour will do to them hereafter; and, if we be ashamed to own them now, or positive in denying them to be christians now, we are justified by an infallible authority. I would willingly palliate the matter, by casting the scandal upon a few particular persons, who might be surprised with the imminent danger at that time: But their reputation is not to be salved so; for the conditions (upon which the trade continues to be managed there, with the knowledge and approbation of the States-General and the provincials of Holland), are these:

They are, at their first arrival, faithfully to deliver up all the books, which they bring along with them to Japan (not a bible, or prayer-book, is reserved) which are not to be restored till their departure again. They are to refrain from all manner of outward profession of christianity, in word or deed, amongst the Japanners; insomuch that it is death and confiscation of their ships and goods, if they do so much as verbally give God thanks for the meat they eat, or, by any motion of their hands or eyes, testify any inclination thereunto. Upon these terms, the emperor permitted them to trade thither; the conditions were sent into Holland to be approved of there, it being added in the close of the letter, 'that, if they did make any of the least shew that they were christians, they should not obtain any favour at the hands of the emperor.'—And the Dutch have so exactly submitted to these conditions, and do so absolutely, in words and deeds, dissemble their christianity, that, not only the common people, but the rulers and magistrates of Japan, do really believe, 'that they are as perfect heathens as themselves.' What would those ancient christians do to these irreligious Hollanders? What sentiments would they entertain against these practices, who proceeded so severely against such of their number heretofore, as did, amidst a fierce persecution, deliver up the sacred scriptures into the hands of the Paynims?* With what zeal would they exterminate these Traditores, these Gnosticks, out of the church, and sacred society of christians? I cannot parallel these actions with any exorbitancies of the primitive hereticks, how detestable soever they were. But it is most manifest, that, by their rigour against those Traditores, &c. they would have ejected the Hollanders out of the number of christians, and anathematised them above any upon record, since the Dutch act that for gain, which no terrors could excuse under a Dioclesian, or Maximianus. Whatsoever may be alledged in behalf of Vincentius Romeyn and his associates, if any thing can be said, extends not to the subsequent traders; and, even before the persecution in Japan, the Hollanders demeaned themselves no otherwise than afterwards; for, amongst the motives which induced the emperor of Japan to allow them to trade, it is expresly said, 'that he permitted them this liberty, because that, during all the precedent years in which they traded thither, he never observed that they intended the propagation of their religion, or seemed at all concerned for it.' One would think, that any professing christianity would not demean themselves thus unworthily; but these men proclaim and publish to the world their impiety, without remorse, or shame. The director of their factory there, Francis Caron, printed this in his description of Japan, and Varenius, upon strict inquiry, found it to be really true. Their books were printed at Amsterdam. And let who can style them christians, reformed churches, or protestants, I am sure none can communicate with such publicans and heathens; and, had an Hollander been Bishop of Carthage, then Donatism had been no schism. An Hollander! this is the name of a people that esteem nothing sacred but their own profit, and live under no obligations of honour, morality, or religion, but interest. I must ravage over Africa, so famed for monstrous productions, and, in the most inhuman parts thereof, seek a parallel for these European monsters; they are not to be ranked amongst the tolerable Paynims: Old Rome would have taught them that there are certain laws of war, as well as peace, and those such as cannot be silenced by the noise of cannons: And I will, from Athens, borrow an expostulation against them. We do not complain, that, being enemies, they act as enemies; there are some conditions and laws of war, which may be equitably practised on both sides; to harrass the fields, plunder towns, kill, slay, and take captives, how miserable soever these things be to those that suffer them, yet they are not unjust actions. We do complain that these Netherlanders, who, even in the treatise which I now animadvert upon, do so highly pretend to piety and protestancy, should violate all divine and human rules of civility, that they rail instead of fighting, that they attack us with contumelious language, and aggravate their unjust enmity with an insolence that is not to be endured. I am as much perplexed to find out the rules of their politicks herein, as I am elsewhere to seek for those of their religion, seeing that this deportment must needs exasperate all mankind against them, and common humanity obligeth every one to endeavour their extirpation. Provocations of this kind, injuries of this nature, admit of no composition, and render the most bloody wars to be most just. The indignities done to our king do extend unto all princes, and become examples of what they universally must expect, in time, to suffer from the continuance of their High and Mighties; but these affronts particularly, and most sensibly, touch the subjects of the king of Great-Britain, and turn their just anger into implacable fury. As the Dutch are to the English, such were the Vejentes to the Romans; they were a vexatious, rather than terrible enemy, and irritated them more by their contumelies, than their armies. But it is observable, that there never was a fiercer or more cruel war, and the Romans did never testify so high resentments as for those indignities; and, from such like considerations, arose that cautious advice of Scipio Ammiratus and Machiavel (no Dutchmen) That men ought to be cautious how they irritate an enemy by contumelious language, and other indignities, since the impressions thereof are more violent and durable in the minds of men, than what are occasioned by common, and even grievous injuries.

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* The Portuguese refused to trade there upon those terms. Which are the best christians, those Papists, or these Protestants? Is it not manifest, that the Dutch are hereby obliged to deny themselves absolutely to be christians, in case any Japanner doth put such a question unto them?

I smiled when I read the high commendations which they bestow upon their country and government. O! the rare situation of it! It is a Canaan, but seated in a bog, and overflows with water, instead of honey. It is a Canaan, in which there are many Jews, but scarce one Israelite without guile. No Espials yet have informed me of those prodigious grapes, such as the Israelitish discoverers met with in Canaan; and these cheating Hollanders obtrude upon us turneps for pomegranates. Yet do they assure us, their land is a true Canaan: But it is more true, which they add, ‘that it is a land of promise;’ for all Europe and the East-Indies do complain there is nothing of performances there. They magnify their excellent government; which is an anarchy: They subsist not by any wise reiglement, but combination of interest, and sense of common danger. They have been an * hundred times in danger of a total rupture; each province is sovereign, and independent of the rest, and can send ambassies, contract leagues, and otherwise negotiate with foreign princes, without the privity of the others: Never was there sheaf of arrows so ill made up into a bundle.—Their liberty, whereof they boast, consists of paying more taxes

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* The provincial States of Holland and Westfriesland demonstrate this, in their Declaration printed at Leyden in 1654.

than any prince in the world exacts, and in being subjected to the most arbitrary proceedings, as to life, exile, and imprisonment, that ever I read of: And, if I am deceived, Grotius, in his 'Apologetic,' who suffered thereby, with many others, deluded me into that sentiment. But though these Canaanites do live under an ill government, in a bad country, upon pickled herrings, groot, butter, and cheese; yet they enjoy, for their souls, that immortal part, as much as from God they can desire, namely, the food of his word, which nourisheth them to life eternal. And this is the celestial diet of all the Jews, Socinians, Anabaptists, Papists, &c. that abound there. The States-General have nothing to do with religion; the several provinces and towns can only intermeddle therewith; and that they so do, that the Ecclesiasticks can neither preach otherwise than what the magistrates please, nor exercise any church discipline as they ought. Upon these terms, the ministers are pastors, and feed them with heavenly food, being servants rather of the Burgomasters, and of Mammon, than God. Were our nonconformists there employed, they would find it unlawful to assert the *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici*, and they would be * banished, should they discourse there about the duty of magistrates, and power of ministers, as they do in England. These zealous protestants have declared, 'that it was indifferent to them what religion any province or city were of, so they would but unite with them.' The league at Utrecht, which is the foundation of their union, doth run thus, and Grotius shall justify all I say: They say, 'they have always highly interested themselves in the friendship of his majesty:' And to preserve his friendship, they have made all those ignominious pictures, medals, and monuments; they refused him the honour of the flag, and informed his majesty, 'that the dominion of the sea is an usurpation, and that upon God Almighty; to whom alone this state attributes it.' They say, 'their great interest consists in the peace and tranquillity of Christendom.' Oh! happy interest of a christian state.——I believe their interest now consists in the peace of Christendom; because that war menaceth them, which they would have turned upon England; and, I believe, they did not swerve from their interest, when they formerly sowed divisions betwixt the Swedes and Danes, and other German princes; and of late endeavoured to embroil all Europe in wars, thereby to counterpoise France. I might reflect upon their confining their interest to the peace of Christendom; whereas they place it otherwise in the East-Indies, embroiling those parts as much as they can in wars, and destroying our merchants upon all occasions. But it is very observable, that the real interest of these most amicable Dutch consists, in Europe, in doing all those things which may justly incense princes to make war upon them, and yet in cajoling them into a tame and dishonourable acquiescence.

Such passages as these, I confess, did add to my divertisement upon the reading; but a different passion seized me, when I met with those insolent expressions with which they affront our sovereign, who, not only by reason of his personal excellencies, but by the right of his English crown, is ranked amongst the *reges superillustres*. Had his majesty been of a lesser quality, yet, since his ancestors have, by their favour, protection, and vast expence of men and money, raised the Dutch into a republick, ordinary gratitude might have engaged them to civiler language. To give the lye to any man, is reputed a just cause of quarrel; and if we allow princes but equal concerns for their honour, this alone authenticates the war. They charge him with injustice, dissimulation, and piracy: They call his courtiers a company of stupid fellows, and say, 'his majesty can as little adhere to reason, as with reasonable offers he will be satisfied.' They say, 'that the war hath no other prospect, than the limits of an unlimited ambition, endless covetousness, and a spirit of revenge not to be glutted. That, his mind is misled and obnubilated with a desire of war, the most accursed and unruly of all desires. That, his declaration contains plain untruths, malicious interpretations, and gross impertinencies. That, no precedents of violated faith, out of any chronicles, can be produced, which, in this case, can parallel the example of the said king.'

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* See the Apology of Oldenbarnevelt, printed in English in 1618.

These, and many other such like passages, occur frequently in this treatise. I should not have presumed to repeat them, but that I am confident they will be efficacious to animate all the subjects of his majesty, to vindicate the honour of their injured prince, especially when they shall understand how undeservedly he is aspersed by these ignoble, ungrateful, arrogant, and perfidious Netherlanders. Behold, how unfortunate his majesty is, to contend with a mean and ungenerous adversary! How civil and prince-like was the king of Great-Britain in his declaration! What was there that could exasperate, besides the truth of his allegations? Let any man impartially consider the motives whereupon his majesty proceeds; let him forget himself a little while that he is a subject, thereby to judge the better of the actions of his sovereign, and I am assured he will concur with me in opinion, That the present war with the Dutch is honourable, just, and necessary: And, consequently, if his majesty's loving subjects do value, either their allegiance to their king (which is not to be doubted) or the honour and prosperity of the nation, and of each particular member thereof (all being involved in this contest, and depending upon the issue of it), they will unanimously assist his majesty in the present juncture, as far as their prayers, lives, and fortunes can advantage him.

I acknowledge myself to have been of the number of those, who, by reason of their ignorance of private negotiations, and the real transactions of state, together with that epidemical jealousy of court designs, did believe that this war was needless and unseasonable: That it was projected by some courtiers, and others, who sought to advantage themselves by the publick calamities, or by pensions from the crown of France; that the Dutch were so humble and submissive, that it was our obstinacy to refuse all satisfaction, not any perverseness and pride in them so as to deny us any. I was jealous of the growth of popery, and thought it to be the interest of this kingdom, not to weaken or destroy a republick pretending to protestancy, and for the erection whereof, so many of our progenitors had hazarded and lost their lives. I brought with me all those surmises and misapprehensions which any Netherlander or English male-content could wish infused into me: But when I came to a better intelligence concerning affairs; when I had seriously inquired into the transactions betwixt the Dutch and us, how condescending his majesty had been, and with what insolence the Netherlanders had deported themselves; when I found the reality of his majesty's pretensions, and that the declaration was so penned, that the contents were capable of much higher aggravations, but no way to be extenuated or invalidated: Then did I begin to detest the petulant humour of this age, whereby every one is prone to examine the actions, and censure the prudence of his governors, without understanding the prospect those elevated spirits have concerning such affairs, or the grounds and circumstances by which they regulate their councils; and most commonly we, not being able to determine of matters, were every punctilio and intrigue represented unto us. I thought the times happy, when men employed themselves in other discourses, and practised obedience, rather than disputes: When they believed that prudent and solid doctrine of the casuistical divines, that it was only for the counsellors of kings to debate and examine the utility and prejudices, the justice and injustice of wars; the other subjects not being to expect an ample account of all the motives and inducements by which their king is swayed, nor to be so infatuated, as to think they can debate or decide such matters, without any better cognisance, than what ariseth from a vulgar brain, a narrow prospect of things, and popular reports and suggestions: But to presume so well of their superiors, as to imagine they understand what is right or wrong, honourable and dishonourable, advantageous and inutile; and that they have so much of common sense as to understand, that the welfare of the people is the grand interest of the prince, and that the king is the greatest sufferer in the ruinating of his kingdoms.

To the end that others may be undeceived, as well as myself, and fortified against all misapprehensions, which either their own ignorance, or the clandestine artifices of these ungrateful and most malicious Netherlanders may subject them unto, I shall represent unto the world the most important passages, whereby they endeavour to elude or refute the most just and sincere declaration of his majesty, and evince unto the most suspicious or prejudiced persons, that it is incumbent upon the subjects of his majesty, and there is an unavoidable necessity of reducing these insolent and treacherous Dutchmen into such a posture, that they may not only pay their due submissions, with reparations of honour, unto our king, but be obliged to continue them for the future. They are a nation, with whom no league can take effect, any longer than their advantage leads them thereunto, or want of strength and opportunity doth restrain them. It is impossible for any civilian to fetter them by a treaty: If they cannot evade it by equivocation, mental reservations, common elusions, and such artifices as become not sovereigns, these Hollanders will impudently deny all such matters as interfere with their designs, and supply the injustice of their actions by violence and fraud. They have no honour to lose, no conscience to stain, no certain principles to recede from. The Tartars and Moors prove the sincerer confederates; and humanity itself is concerned, that there should not be any longer upon earth so fatal an instance; that there are not in men, naturally, such seeds of morality, such inclinations to civil society, such laws of nature and of nations, as those authors teach us, who never thoroughly understood an Hollander. I might give evident proofs of this so heinous a charge several ways, but I shall confine my discourse to what these Dutch considerations lead me unto; and it is from thence that I will manifest to the most ordinary capacities, and the most prepossessed judgments, that these adversaries are not injured by this character; and, to make the case more plain, I will write their words:

Considerations upon the present State of the Affairs of the United Netherlands. Published by a Lover of his Country, for the Encouragement of his Countrymen in these troublesome times.

Whosoever looks upon the first beginning of the state of the United Netherlands with a curious eye, and serious consideration of the histories, and discreetly observes by what means the fabrick of the said state, out of the lowness of its original, is raised to this present height, must needs be induced to confess, that Divine Providence (which not always appears visible to the eyes of the world) hath so clearly been manifested in the framing and exalting of this state, that with just reasons it must be acknowledged, that God Almighty was the external and visible erector of this famous republick.

An age is now expired (when before the country, through an unhappy disorder of government of those times, was fallen into a lamentable confusion) since William Earl of Marck, Lord of Lume, Admiral of the Prince of Orange's navy, by a strict command from the queen of England (who not only denied him liberty to stay in her country, but also refused to supply his seamen with necessaries) was constrained to leave England, arrived beyond his intentions, forced by cross winds, but indeed the winds of God's directions, before the Brill, of which he easily possessed himself, not with a design to keep, but only to ransack the same, and so to leave it again. But, being informed by others of the convenience and importance of the place, brought the same into a posture of defence, keeping it for his principals and superior commanders. And in this manner was the first foundation of this precious structure laid, or rather, in regard of the external instrument, cast up by chance, but, in verity, by the direction of the supreme builder, whose omnipotent hands oftentimes make use of mortals, as the blind instruments of his wonderful destinies.

It is not my design, here, to make a relation of the progress of our affairs, and by what means our ancestors have, through troubles and adversities, struggled and ascended to the heighth of that felicity, which by God's goodness we enjoy at present. But my intentions only aim, by this short discourse, to move my worthy countrymen, to fix their assured confidence, that the same God, which hath exalted us from lowness to a state, whose high and flourishing condition now, for a long continuance of time, hath stirred up as much envy, as formerly its misfortunes moved compassion, shall graciously protect and preserve the works of his Almighty hands; if, imitating our predecessors, we, in this juncture of time, do join two principles together, which ever ought to be inseparable, viz. An intire resignation of ourselves to the Divine Providence; and, an unalterable mind, and vigorous courage in these troublesome times, to act as much for our preservation, as our fore-fathers have done for their first deliverance: Desiring my countrymen, that, in comparing our present anxieties, with the perplexities of our ancestors, and the necessities under which we ourselves have laboured, they will look back in the histories, for the primitive times of our predecessors, and for that time, within compass of their own remembrance, whereof still we preserve the memory.

We shall find in the histories, that the affairs of our predecessors, in their first progress, and growing infancy, were reduced to that inconvenience, that the consideration thereof moved the supreme person, at that time, who, with an indissoluble bond, had linked his own prosperity to the fate and destiny of these countries, to urge this hopeless advice, viz. To cause by cutting of the banks, and pulling up the sluices, these lands to be swallowed down in an irrecoverable condition, and, with God's mercy, with that small remainder of their ruinated fortunes, to seek other countries beyond seas, there, either to live more happily, or to find a period of their lives with less misery.

I shall not blame the considerer, for reflecting upon the mercies of God, extended towards his countrymen. I commend the least sense of religion in him, but I have most suspicious thoughts, concerning piety in an Hollander. And, I believe, every Englishman will approve this jealousy to be just, seeing all this specious preamble is made use of, to no other end, than to evade all acknowledgments to Queen Elisabeth, and the English monarchy. It is not the pleasure of the Almighty, that subordinate means and instruments should be deprived of their proper elogies. He, by his Providence, appointed means: He, by his sovereign will, doth prosper or frustrate them; yet, so that the Divine interposition doth not usually derogate from the efficacy of second causes, or exclude us from confessing their concurrence. Whosoever shall reflect upon the ambitious designs, joined with the extraordinary power of Spain, in those days: the intentions of that monarchy, to reduce the Belgick Provinces, under a more absolute obedience, than the Brabantine constitutions consisted with; the obstinate humour of the Dutch in adhering to their privileges, how irrational soever: also the apprehensions, which France, Germany, and England had, concerning the excessive growth of the Spanish and Austrian power; such a considerer will not admire so very much, that the rebellion of the United Netherlands did continue so long, and succeed so well; nor discover such an extraordinary series of Providence, in the erection of their republick. And the most partial men must grant, that it is a most fallacious way of reasoning, to argue from the happiness of the event unto the justice of the cause, or peculiar favour of the divine author. There is not any thing in this Dutch suggestion, which might not have been more rationally alledged by a Goth, or Mahometan, since the juncture, wherein those monarchies advanced themselves, was attended with less favourable circumstances than I can observe, in the revolutions of the Netherlands: But I am confident, no Goth, or Saracen, would have so intitled to God the original of their successes, as to exclude the intermediate assistances, which they received from others, at any time. Such ingratitude is singular in the Netherlanders; and all this impudent harangue hath no other tendency, than to elude the obligations, which that unworthy people have to Queen Elisabeth, and the royal progenitors of his majesty. Here is no mention made of any protection or aid, given them by the English queen; but one action related, which, as it seemingly carries with it somewhat of unkindness, so it is insinuated merely to this end, that they may alienate the people from a reverence and regard for our nation. It is not to be denied, that Queen Elisabeth did contribute much to the first support of these Dutch, giving them reception here in England, when the fury of the Duke of Alva forced them, as exiles, to seek an habitation in foreign countries; this most gracious queen compassionated their miseries, and gave multitudes of them leave, to fix at Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Maidstone, and Southampton, A.D. 1568. Here the exiles had the advantage of a quiet life, and the opportunity of pursuing their designs, in order to the regaining of their country. Nor was it a small favour to the Prince of Orange, and his partisans, that, when they were ready to sink under their losses in Friesland and elsewhere, this queen seized upon two-hundred thousand pistoles of gold, which were transporting from Spain to the Duke of Alva; the detaining whereof, as it was a great disappointment to the duke, who stood in great need of it, for the reinforcing of his designs, so it begat great animosities betwixt the queen and him; the merchants ships on each side were seized upon, letters of reprisal granted, and the English estranged from the Spanish Netherlands, by the translation of our staple, from Antwerp to Hambourg. It is manifest, that our queen did, by that action, and by the hostilities and contrivances of a new trade which ensued thereupon, contribute effectually to the fomenting of the Netherlandish discontents; the Duke of Alva was diverted from prosecuting the Gheusians, with his former violence; his subjects were exasperated by the damage of the English trade; the English were, by the removal of our staple, disengaged from all dependence on the Spaniards there, by way of commerce, and inclined to abet and assist the distressed followers of the Prince of Orange. And if the Dutch will not acknowledge these actions, for a great assistance and courtesy to them, the Spanish Ambassador, de Speci, in his remonstrance said, they proceeded from some that bore no good-will to the Spaniards, and favoured the rebels of the Netherlands. After this, the distressed Netherlanders betook themselves to practise piracy at sea, upon the Spaniards, under the command of the Prince of Orange, but were immediately under the conduct of William, Earl Vander-Marcâ, and others; and the queen, notwithstanding that she was resettled in a good correspondence and league with the Spaniards, did permit them, by connivance, the free use of her ports, every where throughout England, so that they provided themselves here with victuals and ammunition upon all occasions, and here they usually vended their prizes, which they took upon the Uly, Texel, and the Ems. By which means, these exiles sustained themselves well (the Prince of Orange receiving the tenths or fifths of their prizes), gave much trouble to the Duke of Alva, continued those discontents in their partisans, which otherwise would, in all probability, have been extinguished, by reason of the power and terror of the Spaniards, and the weak and declined condition of the exiled Prince of Orange. I would willingly understand from any ingenuous persons, whether these actions did not highly contribute to the erection of this republick? And might not as well have been thankfully acknowledged, as the subsequent decree of Queen Elisabeth is most ungratefully mentioned, viz. 'That William Earl of Marck, Lord of Lume, Admiral of the Prince of Orange's navy, was, by a strict command from the queen of England, denied liberty to stay in her country, and also refused to supply his seamen with necessaries; whereupon ensued the taking of Brill, as is specified.'—— The insinuation of this edict is maliciously urged here, thereby to extenuate the favours of the English nation: The queen was engaged by articles, not to entertain openly any rebels unto the crown of Spain; she could not harbour them any longer, without a rupture with that potent monarch, and she was unwilling to involve herself in so great a war, for so weak confederates. Whereupon she, by a strict proclamation, did forbid them the use of her ports, and that her subjects should sell them any provisions, after a certain time, which was March. Whereupon, they were necessitated to depart, and seek some other receptacle, and Providence cast them upon Brill. But had not the queen harboured them, how had they ever imbodied themselves, or increased to the strength of forty sail of ships, most of them fly-boats, wherewith they possessed themselves of Brill, and took two rich ships by the way? No sooner was Brill taken, but Flushing in Zealand, and some other towns revolted to the Prince of Orange; yet were his forces so small, though joined with those of Vander Marck, as not to be able to subsist against the Spaniards, but that the queen permitted multitudes of English to repair thither. The first that went was Sir Thomas Morgan, who carried over three-hundred men to Flushing; the report of whose coming is said to have stayed the Duke of Alva, when he was in a readiness to recover the town. Afterwards, through the procurement of Morgan, arrived there nine companies of English, under Sir Humphrey Gilbert. With these aids, and other auxiliaries from France, though the Prince of Orange atchieved great things, and reduced many towns in Holland and Zealand unto his party, yet, such was their distress, that, An. Dom. 1575, they entered into a debate of putting themselves under the protection of some foreign prince; lest, through want of money, and of soldiers, and also the fickle inclinations of a discontented populace, they should suddenly fall under the power of the enemy.

And, in the name of the states of Holland and Zealand, and Prince of Orange, was an ambassy sent into England, to offer unto the queen, not only what was agreeable to equity, reason, and religion, but to the exigency of their condition, and what self-preservation and extreme necessity prompted them unto. The commission of the ambassadors was, either to make a league with the queen, or to submit themselves under her protection; or (if necessity required it) to acknowledge her, for their princess and sovereign lady, issued from the Earls of Holland and Zealand, by the Lady Philip, daughter to William, the third of that name, Earl of Hainault and Holland, &c. The queen thanked them for their good-will towards her, but fearing the enmity of Spain, the envy of France, and the charge of the war; as also not being satisfied, how she might with her honour, and a safe conscience, receive those offered provinces into her protection, much less possession, she declined the overture; yet promised to intercede for them with Spain, and in the mean space gave them leave to raise what soldiers they could in England, either from out of the English, Scots, or exiled Netherlanders; and to furnish themselves, with what provisions and ammunition they wanted, and to transport them. Notwithstanding all this transcendent favour of the queen's, the ungrateful Zealanders, the next year, affronted her majesty, and seized upon sundry of her merchants ships, upon various pretences; whereupon, she was so incensed, that there had been an absolute difference betwixt them, had not the Prince of Orange prudently composed all. After this, when Don John became governor of the Netherlands, and withal aspired to marry the Queen of Scots, and render himself King of England, the queen enters into a more strict league and confederacy with them, to aid them with men and money; and it was at her charge principally, that Prince Casimire came to their aid with a German army: And, out of England, there went over the seas to them the Lord North's eldest son, John North; the Lord Norris's second son, John Norris; Henry Cavendish, and Thomas Morgan, colonels, with very many volunteers; and, after that the Germans mutinously deserted the states, the queen furnished them readily with a great sum of money, the ancient jewels and rich plate of the house of Burgundy being mortgaged unto her for it. After this, for several years, the United Netherlands cast themselves under Archduke Matthias, and the Duke of Anjou; but, with so ill success, that they found themselves not able to continue long; Antwerp and sundry other places being taken, and William Prince of Orange murdered; the French King not being able or willing to receive the sovereignty of those provinces, so that they determined, by a solemn ambassy, to render her majesty the intire dominion and principality of the Netherlands. They had treated with her before, by J. Ortelius about protection, but the queen refused to espouse their quarrel, except she might have cautionary towns, that her expences might be repaid at the end of the war. But now, that the desperate condition of their affairs made any terms to be prudential, they resolved to subject themselves unto her, or contract any league for protection, which she would enjoin them.

Upon the sixth of July, 1585, their deputies came to London, which were these: For Brabant (although, by reason of the siege of Antwerp, not fully authorised) was sent Jacques de Grise, chief bailiff of Bruges; for Guelderland, was Rutgert van Harsolt, burgomaster of Harderwick; for Flanders (although likewise not fully authorised) Noel Caron, seignior of Schoonwall, burgomaster of Franc; for Holland and Friesland, was John Vander Does, lord of Noortwick; and Joos van Menin, counsellor of the town of Dort, and John van Oldenbarnevelt, counsellor of the town of Rotterdam; Dr. Francis Maelson, counsellor of the town of Enekhuysen; for Zealand, was Jacob Valek, a civil lawyer, and one of the council of state; for Utrecht, was Paul Buys, Doctor; for Friesland, was Jelgher van Seytzma, counsellor of state, Hessel Aysma, president, and Laest Joughema. They were kindly received by the queen, and nobly feasted at her cost. Upon the ninth of July, they were brought to their audience at Greenwich; the audience was most solemn and publick, the queen being seated on her royal throne, and all the privy-council attending on each hand of her majesty. The deputies, being introduced, fell upon their knees, before the throne of the queen, and Joos van Menin, with great reverence and submission, made an oration to her, in the name of the distressed states of the United Netherlands, unto this purpose:

* That the states of the United Netherlands Provinces humbly

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* The Dutch, at their return, did coin medals of copper, in memory of this audience, and the protection which Queen Elisabeth afforded unto them. I received two of these from Elias Ashmole, Esq. Windsor Herald.

thanked her majesty for the honourable and many favours, which it had pleased her to shew unto them, amidst their extreme necessities; having, not long since, received the testimonies of her princely clemency, when, after the cruel murder of the Prince of Orange, it pleased her majesty, by her ambassador, Mr. Davidson, to signify unto them the great care she had for their defence and preservation, and, after that, again by the Lord of Grise; by whom she let them understand, how much she was discontented to see them frustrated of their expectations, reposed upon the hope they had in the treaty with France; adding, that, nevertheless, her majesty's care, for the support of the Netherlands, was rather augmented than diminished, by reason of the difficulties which multiplied upon them. For the which, not only the provinces in general, but every particular person therein, should rest bound unto her majesty for ever, and labour to repay so transcendent obligations, by all possible fidelity and obedience. And, therefore, the states aforesaid, observing that, since the death of the Prince of Orange, they had lost many of their forts and good towns, and that, for the defence of the said United Netherlands, they had great need of a sovereign prince, who might protect and defend them from the insolencies and oppressions of the Spaniards, and their adherents, who sought daily, more and more, all the means they could, with their forces, and other sinister practices, to spoil, and utterly root up, the foundation of the aforesaid Netherlands, and, thereby, to bring the poor afflicted people of the same into perpetual bondage, and worse than Indian slavery, under the insupportable yoke of the most execrable inquisition. Finding likewise, that the inhabitants of the said Netherlands were persuaded, and had assured confidence, that her majesty, out of her princely inclination, would not endure to see them utterly overthrown, as their enemies expected, by molesting them with long, unjust, and bloody wars; the which the states (according to their duties, and in respect of their places, in the behalf of their fellows and brethren) were forced to withstand, and, as much as in them lay, oppose themselves against the manifest slavery, which they thought to impose upon the poor common people, and, by their best endeavours, to maintain their ancient freedoms, laws, and privileges, with the exercise of the true Christian Religion (whereof her majesty truly, and by good right, did bear the title of Defendress) against the which, the enemy, and all his adherents, had formed so many leagues, attempted so many fearful and deceitful enterprises and treasons, and yet cease not daily to invent, practise, and devise, the destruction of her majesty's royal person, together with her state and kingdoms; which the Almighty God, under the protection of his everlasting goodness, hitherto hath preserved from all dangers, for the good and upholding of the church of Christ here upon earth. For these reasons, and many other good considerations, the states aforesaid, with one full and free consent, had altogether determined, and fully resolved to fly unto her majesty, in regard it is an usual thing, for all oppressed and distressed people and nations, in their great distress and necessity, to seek just aid and assistance, against their enemies, from kings and princes, their neighbours, and especially from those that were endued with courage, fear of God, uprightness of heart, and other princely ornaments; and, to that end, the states aforesaid had enjoined and commanded them, to beseech her majesty to accept of the sovereignty, and supreme dominion over the said United Provinces, upon certain and reasonable conditions, especially tending to the upholding, maintaining, and furtherance of God's true religion, and the ancient freedoms and privileges to them due and belonging; together with the government, and managing of the wars, policy, and justice, of the said United Provinces of the Netherlands. And although the said Netherlands had endured divers losses, and that many of their towns, and forts, had been won from them by the enemy, during these wars; nevertheless, in Brabant, Guelderland, Flanders, Mechlin, and Overyssel, there were yet many good towns and places that held out against the enemy; and the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Friesland, were, by God's grace, and wonderful providence, still kept and preserved, in their whole and intire possessions, wherein they had many great and strong towns and places, fair rivers, deeps, and havens, whereof her majesty, and her successors, might have good commodities, services, and profit, whereof it were needless to make any longer discourse; but one in special, that, by uniting the countries of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Friesland, the towns of Ostend and Sluyce, unto her majesty's kingdoms, and dominions, she might have the full and absolute dominion over the great ocean, and procure unto the subjects of her majesty perpetual and most assured safety, together with their prosperity.

They did, therefore, most humbly beseech her royal majesty to vouchsafe, out of her royal favour and princely bounty, to yield to the aforesaid points of their request, and so to accept for her, and her lawful heirs, or successors in the crown of England, defenders of the true Christian Religion, the sovereign rights, principality, and dominion of the said Netherlands; and, in regard thereof, to receive the inhabitants thereof, as her majesty's most humble and obedient subjects and vassals, into her perpetual safeguard and protection; a people as true, faithful, and loving, to their princes and governors (without vain boasting be it spoken) as any other in Christendom. And, so doing, she should preserve and protect many fair churches, which it had pleased Almighty God, in these latter days, to gather together in several of the said provinces, being now, in many places, in great fear, peril, and danger, and to deliver the Netherlands, and the inhabitants thereof, from miserable thraldom; who (not long before the wicked and hostile invasions of the Spaniards) were so rich and flourishing, in all sorts of wealth, by reason of the great commodities of the sea, havens, rivers, traffick, manual trades and occupations, whereunto they are much given, and naturally inclined. She should likewise preserve them from utter destruction, and perpetual slavery, both of body and soul, and so effect a right princely and most royal work, pleasing to God, profitable for all Christendom, worthy of eternal praise and glory, and fitting well with the magnanimity, and other royal virtues of her majesty, as also most advantageous to the security and welfare of her particular subjects.

This being said, they presented their articles unto her majesty, with the greatest humility imaginable, beseeching God, who is the King of Kings, to defend, protect, and preserve her from all her enemies, to the increase of her honour and greatness, and perpetually to keep her in his holy protection and safeguard.

The queen heard them graciously, and received their overtures with very obliging acknowledgments; the deputies, kissing her royal hands, retired with much satisfaction, and her majesty was no less pleased with the honour of that day's audience; for, although the King of France had the first tender of their sovereignty, yet, neither was it made with such submission and deference, as to her majesty, neither was the tender so absolute then as now. The deputies, to France, were sent indeed with a general pretence, and declaration, of surrendering up the dominion of the Netherlands to that crown, but they had separate instructions from their several principals (the which they never imparted one to the other, but kept secret) with different procurations. The deputies of Brabant, Flanders, Zealand, and Mechlin, were enjoined to finish the negotiation upon any terms they could get, so as that religion, and general privileges, were confirmed unto them; whereas Holland and Utrecht had so limited their deputies, that they were to insist upon better terms, and rather not to come up to the general instructions of the states, than to exceed them. I do not read of any such difference in the procurations sent over hither, neither do I find any reason to believe there were any such. The queen, for several weighty reasons, declined to take upon her the sovereignty, or perpetual protection of the Netherlands; yet did she consent to enter into a league with them, to aid them with five-thousand foot, and one-thousand horse, and to pay them, during the war, which the states were to repay, when a peace should be concluded. In the mean time Flushing, and the Castle of Ramekins, in Walcheren, and the Isle of Brill, with the city and two forts, were to be delivered into the queen's hands, to be kept by her garisons for caution; the governor-general, and two Englishmen, whom the queen should name, should be admitted into the council of state, &c.

The confederacy was finished upon the tenth of August, and, accordingly, Sir John Norris was sent over with some soldiers; the Earl of Leicester followed, as general of her majesty's forces. The Netherlands received him with more honour, and conferred on him more power, than the queen approved of. They made him general of all their forces; stadtholder and governor of all their provinces; invested him with all that power, which Charles the Fifth used to commission his governors with. The queen reproved the Earl of Leicester, for accepting of such power, and the states for giving it to him. But the earl soon found himself deceived by these Netherlanders; for, notwithstanding that they had chosen him to be their governor, in so solemn a manner, and sworn, themselves, and the soldiers, obedience to him, yet they pretend to rule him, model sometimes, sometimes oppose his orders and constitutions; insomuch that the earl found that he should have but a titular government, being subject to the commands and authority of those pitiful states, and ordinary burgomasters; whereupon he relinquished the government, proclaiming, even in medals, the ingratitude of those fellows. Let them make what complaints they please against his deportment there, it is certain, that all the clergy adhered unto him, and regretted his departure; the soldiers did mutiny in his behalf; Utrecht and Friesland, besides other provinces and towns, did solicit for his return; and I find, that all the clamour against that earl did arise from the province of Holland, and some Zealanders only; as they themselves boast, in a remonstrance against the other provinces. To invalidate that power, which they had so publickly given him, Holland, a province always branded for faction and ingratitude, having advantaged themselves much by the credit of the assistance, more by the auxiliaries of the English, began to think it unfitting, that, according to the articles, the English should be privy to the secret transactions of the council of state; and, by the advice of Oldenbarnevelt, they found out an evasion, not daring openly to violate the treaty, nor to infuse jealousy into the queen, by holding clandestine cabals; and it was this, that only ordinary matters, and such as the English might know, should be dispatched in the council of state; but that another assembly should be formed, termed the Convention of the States General, unto which they should draw all matters of importance, and which required secrecy, under the pretence, that the council of state had so much business already, as not to be able to dispatch the other.

Thus early did they abuse the favours of Queen Elisabeth, and, by this illusion, did they lay the foundation of their High and Mighties. It is evident, that, during the whole reign of Queen Elisabeth, they were never faithful to the league; they treated with France, and aided that king, without the queen's knowledge, which was a breach of the league. And whereas by the express words of the articles, the queen was to conduct them to, and settle them in a firm peace; and this being done by her means, the money was to be repaid: She never could prevail with them to come to a treaty, much less any accord; but they had the impudence to sollicit her to continue her aids to a war which they never purposed to end, it proving so beneficial to them. When the queen urged, that, by the treaty, she was to be arbitress of war and peace; they evaded it, by saying, those expressions were but complimental, and argued their respects to her, not their dependence on her judgment. I find them upon their knees again, and beseeching her most humbly, that she would not conclude a peace with Spain, A. D. 1598. And this Grotius saith was done, because it is the custom of the English court to petition the king in that suppliant posture; but certainly this usage extends not to the ambassadors of their High and Mighties. But, in the same year, when they thought that Queen Elisabeth might stand in some need of their friendship, whether they bended their knees unto her majesty, I cannot find, but I read that they dealt with her, not as formerly, but with more arrogant language. The English court did then look upon the Hollanders as notorious cheats, who pretended poverty, and had collections here, when the splendor and growing opulency of their towns (besides the vast bribes which their treasury could spare occasionally) were demonstrations of their riches: That they declined to repay the queen her monies, not because they could not do it, but that they might tie her unto their fortune and assistance, by the hopes of a re-imbursement of those vast sums which she had expended for them, her constant charge being above one-hundred and twenty-thousand-pounds each year. And it is not to be doubted, that she would have reduced them by force to a better observance of articles, and punished them for their fraudulent dealings with her, but that she prudently foresaw, that France to depress her, and Spain to ruin her and disable France, were ready to assist and protect them.

In fine, the histories I have read do seem to demonstrate this, that the Dutch were a most ungrateful people towards Queen Elisabeth; that they never rendered her any service, but when it was to their proper advantage. All their pretensions to religion contained little of reality; and their acknowledgments were but verbal, and consisted principally in extraordinary submission and deference, which prevailed much upon the spirit of her, who was a woman, and had much of haughtiness. When she first undertook publickly to aid them, the chief inducement thereunto was not the necessity of her affairs, not the concern for the protestant religion, for she advised them to be very cautious how they changed their religion; but a feminine humour, carried away by their flatteries and humble applications, and delighting to see greater submissions paid to her than to the King of France, by the King of Spain's subjects. No sooner had she concluded upon an open amity with them, but the Zealanders triumphing with joy, and to honour her, did stamp money with the arms of Zealand, viz. a lion arising out of the waves, and this inscription, *Luctor & emergo*, that is, I struggle and get above water; and on the other side, with the arms of the cities of Zealand, and this, *Authore Deo, favente Reginâ*, that is, God being the author, and the queen favourer. And I find it to have been an usual form of speech amongst the Dutch in that age, which they applied to all discourses where it might be suitable, 'By the mercy of God, and the goodness of Queen Elisabeth.' And by such wheedles did they inveigle the queen to take (as the King of Sweden then said) the diadem from her head, and set it upon the doubtful chance of war. And it is an action not to be paralleled out of the annals of impudent and ungrateful persons, that, the Dutch having been so effectually obliged by that queen, and having by such a continued series of protestations averred, that they did owe their welfare and being to the mercy of God and favour of Queen Elisabeth, they should now take no notice, that the English contributed any thing to their support. So detestable baseness doth make me judge, that, if it were not their interest, their religion is such, that they would proceed to ascribe nothing unto God himself. And all they write, to that purpose, is no more than a compliment from their High and Mighties to the Almighty.

'We shall omit to relate, how often the republick, after that by the hand of God she was raised from that desperate condition, hath trembled and quaked, both for fear of foreign enemies, and intestine combustions.'

Histories will declare unto us, that not only the state of the United Provinces, but all the Netherlands, which together (but not with a strict obligation) were tied, were sufficiently plunged into the extremest inconveniencies, by the perfidiousness of the Duke of Anjou, brother to the King of France; and that, afterwards, the United Provinces were brought into a deplorable disorder, and beyond all posture of defence, by the craft and ambitious designs of the Earl of Leicester, sent hither by Queen Elisabeth for our protection.

I have already spoken concerning the Earl of Leicester, and their ingratitude towards him. The French do form the like charge against them, in behalf of the Duke of Anjou, that they violated their agreements with him, gave him only an empty title, but referring and drawing all the power into their own hands. The sense of which indignity, considering that he was a brother of France, and had brought them powerful succours in their distress, made him take the courses specified. And it is observable, that, in all these and other emergencies, where the Dutch are branded for their ingratitude, perfidiousness, and unworthy dealings, the particular province of Holland is always the sole author, or principal occasion; whereof they themselves boastingly give a relation, in their manifesto published at Leyden, 1654. It is thence that I derive my intelligence, that the infant states, being jealous of the power and popularity of William Prince of Orange, did, without ever acquainting him therewith, invite the Archduke Matthias to be their governor. And it is there that I read of a great peril, that Holland, &c. was in, and how they were delivered from it; the which our Considerer might have seasonably inserted here, as well as the rest; viz. 'The states of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht were determined to make Prince William Earl of Holland with all the prerogatives heretofore enjoyed by such earls; and, though Amsterdam, Gouda, and some other towns dissented, yet were they resolved to pursue their intentions: But the prince was assassinated a month before the installment could be effected; and God most providentially did, thereby, free the subjects of Holland from that subjection, into which they were running precipitately.' There cannot be a greater testimony of the degeneracy of this age, in which such ingratitude is publickly avowed and authenticated by a solemn declaration of the states of Holland and West-Friesland, and the most infamous actions in the world (and such as would create a blush in the countenances of any men but Hollanders) are recited as the most glorious. It is there that I read, how the states of Groningen and Ommeland, immediately upon the murder of Prince William, did deprive his son, Grave Maurice, of all his dignities, honours, and emoluments in their provinces, and never admitted any of their line to be their governor, unto this day. It is there that I read a defence of their secluding the Prince of Orange from being a stadtholder, or admiral, or general of the forces of the United Provinces (a separate article, which Holland concluded with Cromwell), wherein they extenuate and deny any obligations they have to the whole house of Orange; and therefore they might, without breach of morality and civility, proceed as they did. I confess, I was amazed to read such things, and wondered not that Queen Elisabeth, and our English kings, meet with so much immoral usage amongst these Hollanders, since Prince William and his heirs are thus treated; and, whilst others behold the Dutch as Protestants and Christians, I cannot but rank them amongst the worst of mankind, not to be paralleled by any known race of Pagans and savages.

'We will likewise pass by in silence the relating of those passages, of which many of us have been living witnesses; as, when the whole country, by a sudden invasion on the Veluwe, and the taking of Amerford, was in the like manner alarmed, as Rome, when Hannibal appeared before her gates.'

This invasion happened Anno Domini 1629. The * Spaniards, joining their forces with those of the emperor under Montecuculi, did make the said irruption, and surprised Amerford, being already masters of Wesel. All Holland was affrighted, and their High and Mighties forsook the Hague to sit at Utrecht. The recent memory hereof might suggest unto the Hollanders more of moderation in their deportment, since they are no more assured of their good fortune, than the world is of their good manners. I could not but compassionate the distress of old Rome, the memory whereof this passage renewed; and I wished that victorious Montecuculi had prevented our Prince and the King of France in the reducing of Holland, whose baseness represents them to have a greater affinity with Carthage than Rome; and the Belgick faith imports as much of treachery, as ever did the Punick.

'And, for as much as comes within the reach of our own memories, we have yet fresh remembrances of the war with the Lord Protector Cromwell, into which, by a certain destiny, and an interest beyond interest, we were drawn, at a time when the nation, for want of ships and guns, was reduced to a perplexity, the thought whereof we cannot entertain without grief and alteration in our hearts.'

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* This is largely described by D. Heinsius, in his Siege of Bois le Duc.

All, that are acquainted with the transactions of that war, do well know, that the Dutch began their preparations for that war, long before the English apprehended it. They ordered an hundred and fifty ships to be equipped out, and beat up their drums for volunteers to man them, amusing the English with a declaration, That this was done to secure the commerce; so that no preparations extraordinary were then set on foot in England. And, whilst they were in league with this nation, and in the midst of a treaty for a stricter alliance, their admiral most perfidiously comes into Dover road, with an intent to destroy the English navy, and ascertain thereby to his masters the dominion of the sea. I more willingly mention these things, because they are an instance, to some people, not only of the perfidiousness of the Dutch, but of the equity of his majesty's present quarrel; for that war was grounded upon the striking of the * flag, and the dominion of the seas; and it is apparent faction, not any colourable reason, which can sway any man, that approved of that war, to condemn this. It is also an instance, that the present quarrel of the Dutch is not with his majesty, his royal highness, and the court, but with the nation. In other cases, it is irrational and imprudent to distinguish betwixt the political and private capacity of our king; but, in this, they are so inseparable, that the interests of the people, king, and court are all one, and equally concerned in the evil success of our fleet: And, were we, by a detestable faction, deprived of the king and court, the controversy would still remain betwixt the Dutch and the unhappy survivors in England. It was not the want of force, at that time, which occasioned the misfortunes of the Hollanders, but the courage and valour of the English. And what may we not, under God, promise ourselves from the same persons now, who, besides the sense of their past victories, have this further incitement, That they fight under their lawful prince (a prince so just and generous) and the auspicious conduct of his royal highness?

'Through all these difficulties, and innumerable others, we have, by the mercies of God, waded, and would have wished with all our souls, by a long continued unity (the true and innocent interest of our peace-coveting republick) to have tasted the fruits of our sharp labours and dangers; but it hath pleased God to order and dispose it otherwise, who, by his just and adorable judgments, forceth us to acknowledge, that we now, as much as ever, stand in need of his powerful protection, since we find ourselves, at this present time, encompassed with a necessity to oppose the extremest assault † of the greatest forces of Europe, with a power, which, indeed, is inconsiderable, in comparison of that of our ene-

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* This is expressed in the declaration of the pretended commonwealth; and they determined to assert the right of the flag, not only as an honourable salute, but as a testimony of their undoubted right and dominion upon the neighbouring seas.

† These expressions argue fear in the authors: And it ought to add to the courage of the English, that besides the terrors of an evil conscience, and the apprehensions of divine vengeance for their present perfidy, and former barbarities to the murdered and ruinated English; they are also sensible of the puissance of their enemies, now in conjunction against them.

mies, by which yet, how weak soever, we do not despair to defend and secure ourselves; strengthened with hopes, that God shall please to look upon the equity of our innocent case, with the eyes of his justice, and our sins and defects with the eyes of his mercy.'

'And, in truth, if ever the sword is drawn in time of necessity, and for innocent defence of our dear country, it is at this present, in which it seems the grandees of this world have, in the counsel of the power of darkness, concluded the ruin and destruction of the United Netherlands, assuming, to their associates, all such as value christian blood, no more than that of sheep and goats, delighting their eyes with the devastation of countries and cities, even as if they beheld comedies.'

Wise people do frequently look back upon things passed; and, by comparing those with the present transactions, they from thence form unto themselves documents and rules whereby to regulate their deportment. If our enemies, the Hollanders, had, amongst the difficulties through which they have waded, called to mind the meanness of their own condition when they sought refuge here, and when Queen Elisabeth supported them; the vicinity, strength, and generosity of the English nation, the candor and sincerity which hath been constantly expressed unto them by the royal ancestors of his majesty, whilst they favoured these infamous Netherlanders. Had they considered the vicissitudes of fortune, how great and unexpected they are; the dangers of growing too puissant, though the foundation of grandeur be not laid in the wronging and depressing of others; that it is requisite for them who advance themselves by fraudulent means, and the injuries of others, to retain some firm allies, and by the repute of their sincerity, to some, efface the ignominy, and allay the odium which their perfidiousness to others would create them. Had they assumed such thoughts as these, they had never contracted so universal an enmity as they are now in danger to sink under. Their condition is altogether like that of the earl of St. Paul, who having inriched and advantaged himself, by a constant practice of treachery to the kings of England and France, and the Duke of Burgundy, none of them being safe from his machinations, nor being able to rely upon any promises of his, how solemn and sacred soever, they altogether resolved to establish the common tranquillity, by the ruin of that perfidious man. And when the city of Venice had by several artifices aggrandised herself, and incroached upon the dominions of sundry princes, the emperor, French king, pope, and others, did all join against that republick (for their so many practices in raising and fomenting of divisions and wars of Italy, breaking of former, and entering into new leagues, as advantage, not right, did excite them) and deprived the Venetians of all they held in the *Terra firma.* It is in vain for the Considerer to justify the present war unto his countrymen, by urging necessity and innocent defence of themselves. How specious soever those pleas are, they avail not in this case, because they, by the manifold injuries and contumelies done to the king of England, have provoked him to attack them, and created to themselves this necessity of warring; nor is their defence innocent, because it includes a defence of the most barbarous criminals, against all laws, divine and human. And, certainly, if ever any war was justified by the laws of nature and nations; if self-preservation, the protection of injured subjects, vindication of rights, revenge of great injuries and indignities, be just motives to commence a quarrel (as each one of them is) never was any prince more wronged than his majesty is, when the glory of his present actings is extenuated or soiled by any charge of injustice; nor do I find amongst his associates any such as value christian blood, no more than that of sheep and goats; but I find he hath, for enemies, those that so exquisitely tormented, and so barbarously put to death the * English at Amboyna, and, by a thousand actions no less cruel, have testified their little regard to christian blood.

The Considerer, that he might evince the equity of their cause, pretends to deduce its original: The sum of his prolix discourse is this: That,

'The king of France urging his pretensions on a considerable part of the Spanish Netherlands, in right of his queen to whom they were devolved: The United Netherlands, moved by a peace-loving inclination, and apprehension of a terrible neighbour, did endeavour to extinguish the fury of that war, whose flames, they feared, would not only consume the adjacent countries, but also scorch the more remote places. And, to that end, they associated counsels with the kings of England and Sweden, and jointly concluded a triple alliance betwixt themselves, by which they have mutually obliged each other to promote the peace betwixt France and Spain, on the terms and proffers of the alternative, and, by the same peace, to secure the quiet and tranquillity of Christendom: Promising each to other, for further confirmation of the said triple league, That betwixt them always should be, and continue a sincere unity, and serious correspondence from their hearts; and, in good faith, to advance each other's profits, utility, and dignity; and whatsoever should oppose itself thereunto with their best endeavours to remove. And if at any time it should happen, that this their amicable intention should meet with a wrong interpretation, and, by chance, an untimely revenge of war by any of the said parties, or any others on their behalf, should be offered to any of them confederated, that in such case they should faithfully assist one another.'

This is the substance of the triple alliance: After which, he adds, That

'The king, the king of England, is sensible in his own conscience (though with words he dissembles, and disowns the knowledge thereof) that, by reason of the triple alliance, the Dutch are

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* The depositions of their cruelties against his majesty's subjects in the East-Indies, Guiney, and other places, are to be seen in the register's office of the high court of admiralty, kept at Doctor's Commons.

menaced with a war from France, and that, whatsoever the most christian king pretends, this is the true reason of his designs, and which he hath plainly discovered in all courts, and is no more than he threatened them with at first, in case they ratified the triple league. And, therefore, by virtue of this triple league, the king of England owes the Dutch an unconfined aid; as also limited succours of forty ships of war, six thousand foot, and four-hundred horse, by virtue of the defensive articles concluded in 1668. To which his majesty is obliged, if their High and Mighties be attacked by any prince, or state, on what pretext soever. The king of England being under these obligations, and being extimulated by ambition, avarice, and an insatiable thirst after blood. determined to take the opportunity of this juncture (wherein the most potent king of France did threaten the Dutch with a terrible war) to pursue his unchristian designs, and to disengage himself the better from all obligations of aid to the Dutch, doth of himself previously begin a war, and, with a specious declaration, palliates and dissembles his foul and malicious designs.'

This is the intire substance of what the Considerer tediously doth insist upon, and is the sole foundation whereupon he proceeds to justify the Dutch, and with all possible aggravations of language bespatters the king of England, as if no chronicles ever produced such a precedent of violated faith, as his majesty doth now give an example of. I do confess, that nothing ought to be more sacred, than the word and faith of princes: That war is the last of remedies whereunto they ought to have recourse, and which ought not to be commenced, but upon just, honourable, and necessary grounds: I do acknowledge the tenor of the triple league, and the defensive alliance. But I do avow that his majesty is no way concerned in the violation of them; nor is the allegation of them pertinent to the present quarrel: And of all the futile pretexts, which I have read of in history, this is the worst whereon the Dutch do bottom themselves. The triple league doth no way interest his majesty in their defence; for it doth not appear that the most christian king doth invade them for entering into it: There is no authentick declaration or testimony, that this is the motive which prevails with him to undertake this enterprise: The secrets of his mind are known only to himself, and to the searcher of all hearts: It is not for men to proceed upon conjectures and surmises (which oftentimes prove vain and false) as if they were certain truths; nor can any prince be obliged indeterminately (and such is the present unreasonable plea of these Hollanders) where the condition of the aid to be given is particularly specified, viz. If it should happen that this their amicable intention should meet with a wrong interpretation, and by chance, an untimely revenge of war by any of the said parties, or any others on their behalf, should be offered to any of them confederated, that in such case they should faithfully assist one another. Can there be any thing more clear, than that the aid to be given is suspended upon this one circumstance, that the triple alliance should fall under a wrong interpretation, and that thereupon the party demanding the aid should be attacked by a revengeful war? How doth it appear that the entering into the triple alliance is misinterpreted, since it doth not appear that his christian majesty did ever debate it, much less declare himself therein? How doth it appear, that he plainly discovered this sentiment by his ministers in all courts, since it doth not appear that he gave them private or publick instructions to say so? Must a prince answer for every expression, or every particular action of his ambassador? Can there be no other cause but this found out, Why the king of France should attack the Dutch? Cannot we imagine, that the French retain a secret and inveterate desire of revenge, for the notorious perfidy of the States-general, when they concluded a peace with Spain, without mentioning the crown of France, or having any regard to the French interest? Or, is it not possible for the christian king to make war upon them without a cause? Or merely for enlargement of empire? Or for other concealed reasons, or unknown indignities? What pregnant proof, or legal presumptions, do the Dutch alledge then, that This is the cause of the present war? And with what impudence do they upbraid our king, as if the thing were so, and he knew it in his conscience to be so, when, as the Considerer himself, in the conclusion of this treatise, says, It is not so? viz. I shall hint at nothing else in the king of France's declaration, but that it appears visible therein, that the war of that high renowned king proceeds from nothing else but a formed design to enlarge the limits of his territories, as far as his ambition is extended; yet that we hope that God Almighty shall, by the same hand by which he hath hitherto preserved us, confound the designs of the king.—I doubt not, but hereby it is manifest, that his majesty is no way concerned by the triple league to assist the United Netherlands in this juncture: And even so the Swedes, by their indifference, shew how much they approve of the judgment of his majesty: And no man can say otherwise, but such as either regard not what they speak, or else take the freedom to surmise, and aver, whatsoever is for their interest.

I come now to the defensive alliance, whereby his majesty, A. D. 1668, did oblige himself unto that state, to give them an assistance (if attacked by any prince or state on what pretence soever) of forty ships of war, six thousand foot, and four-hundred horse, upon promise, three years after the expiration of the war, to be re-imbursed of the charges of the said succour. But neither is this alliance of any more validity, at present, than the other. It is the common opinion of the civil lawyers, and reason itself dictates it, that, in all articles and treaties for peace, there is this exception to be supposed in the contractors, unless some new cause intervene; unless it be by the default of him with whom the league and compact is made; or, affairs continuing in the same posture and state, in which they were at the time of the contract. And that saying of Ulpianus and Pomponius concerning private compacts, viz. That an agreement is not violated, from which a man recedes upon a just reason and motive; this, by interpreters, is extended to national leagues betwixt princes and states. This being supposed, it remains that we inquire, Whether the king of England had any new cause or provocation given him? For, if such a matter do appear to have happened, though it be slight, nay, disputable, yet is his majesty absolved from breach of faith, though not altogether from the imputation of injustice: But, if the provocation be weighty, and of high importance, nothing can be more legitimate than the present rupture which his majesty hath made with the Dutch. I would willingly know, if any Englishman can think that his majesty could be obliged to this defensive alliance, without any regard to the peace concluded upon at Breda, that is, without any supposition, that he was, in 1668, in any terms of amity with these Netherlanders. If this be unimaginable, then it is apparent, that the observation of these articles, on his majesty's part, depends upon the observation of the precedent peace, on the part of the Dutch. His majesty never contracted this league with them, so as to derogate from that, and to tie himself up to the assistance of the Dutch, against the king of France, or any other invader, notwithstanding that they should violate their articles, and multiply injuries, indignities, and acts of hostility against him, and his subjects. No prince ever fettered himself thus; no laws of nations, no common reason admits of such a fancy; and, therefore, the notorious violation of that peace doth plenarily absolve his majesty from the bonds of this subsequent alliance.

The Considerer, no doubt, foresaw this defence, but would not take notice of it, lest he should have been obliged to refrain from the aspersions of unparalleled perfidiousness and violated faith, the name and noise whereof might advantage him amongst the Dutch populace, and the more ignorant sort of men. And, to give a further colour to his calumnies, he says, That the reasons which his majesty alledgeth are not the reasons which he proceeds upon; they are but forged pretensions, whilst the true inducements to this rupture are ambition, avarice, and insatiable revenge. Since the man so little understands his majesty's inclinations and deportment, which have been, hitherto, such as yield no ground for a charge of this nature, I will not stand to refute his insolent and barbarous conjectures, nor believe so ill of the most generous, mild, and peaceable prince in the world, as that he diligently sought occasions for a war, when the injurious Dutch rendered all peace unsafe, and dishonourable unto him.

I shall therefore examine what my author doth urge against the declaration of his majesty, wherein, when my countrymen shall be satified, I doubt not, but they will approve of the justice of his majesty's cause, and be inflamed with a zeal to vindicate the honour of their king, and the necessary rights of the kingdom.

Concerning the business of Surinam (my author doth not consider every thing) all that is said amounts to this:

'That the place, being taken in March, 1667, by Abraham Crynsen, of Zealand, with the forces of their state, and so, under certain covenants, reduced to their obedience and subjection, was indeed, in the month of May next following, retaken by the English; but that the same, in pursuance of the sixth article, providing, That all lands, cities, fortifications, and colonies, taken, during the war, by any of the parties then in arms, from the other, and, after the $\frac{10}{20}$ of May, retaken, should be restored to the first taker, was delivered up again into the possession of the States — He wonders that the king of England should offer to stile any of the inhabitants of Surinam to be his subjects, since, by the rights of war, and the articles of peace, the plenary dominion, and right of sovereignty, is transferred to the Dutch; and they, being now subjects to that state, ought to complain to their States-General, if the said capitulations be not observed duly; but that the king of England is no more interested in them, than is the king of Spain.'

To this I answer, That, by the third article instanced in, though the plenary right of sovereignty over Surinam were transferred, yet it is expresly said, They are to have it altogether, after the same manner, as they had gotten, and did possess them, the $\frac{10}{20}$ day of May last past. It remains then, that we inquire, What manner of sovereignty the Dutch had in Surinam, by their conquest thereof, by the capitulations of Abraham Crynsen? And this appears to be no other, than what the Dutch had over Bois le Duc, when Grobbendonck capitulated to surrender it to the Prince of Orange upon terms, to march away with flying colours, and such inhabitants, as pleased, might remove their estates and goods into the king of Spain's dominions, within a certain time, &c. A. D. 1629; so were the inhabitants of Surinam to have convenient liberty to transport themselves, and their estates, into the king of England's dominions. And as Grobbendonck, by his capitulation, together with those comprehended therein, did not become the subjects of the United Netherlands, no, though he, or his followers, had stayed several months in the surrendered town, but retained to the king of Spain; so neither did these of Surinam become, by their capitulation, subjects to the Dutch. It is true, they gained thereby the sovereignty of the territory, but not of their persons; and, to deny this, is to act by the Punick or Belgick faith; to deny that Abraham Crynsen, at that distance, had power to grant articles, and to act as Hannibal did, when he refused to ratify the conditions granted by Maharbal, because he, though absent, was the superior, and had not signed them; which deed is censured by Livy, thus: *Quæ Punicâ religione servata fides ab Annibale est, atque in vincula omnes conjecti.* This being premised, I cannot understand why the king of England might not call them his subjects, and send for them; and, as an high injury, resent their detaining, since thereby he is deprived of so many serviceable planters in his other colonies thereabouts.

'The king proceeds, from the grievances of the business at Surinam, to a complaint of pretended affronts, which he alledgeth to have suffered from the states, as well in making, as shewing of pictures, medals, and pillars, as in refusing to strike the flag; declaring, that the first alone, viz. the making and shewing of pictures and medals, hath been a sufficient motive of his displeasure, and the resentment of all his subjects, that is, in one word, of the war. God preserve the world from such christian princes, as, for a picture or medal, make no scruple to stir up commotions in Christendom, and to cause the effusion of so much innocent blood.'

I never yet apprehended, that christianity obliged its professors to abandon their concerns for a good repute and honour. They have, indeed, some such aphorisms in Holland, where the regards of virtue, piety, justice, and honour do yield to those of gain; but, in other places, the case differs, and the most honourable considerations prevail above the infamous, though profitable. St. Augustine, and all casuists, do agree, that those wars are just, wherein such injuries are avenged upon a nation or kingdom, which that kingdom, or nation, hath either neglected to punish in their own subjects, or refused to yield satisfaction for unto the party injured. And, if the Considerer had employed his time in any diligent research into the just causes of war, he would have found the most knowing, prudent, and learned christians to teach, that sometimes private indignities, always the indignities put upon princes, are a just cause of war. Thus did David, though a man after God's own heart, who, we are ascertained, did not ill, in making war upon the Ammonites, because they cut off half the beards of his ambassadors. It is most certain, that, besides the defence of his people, there are other titles, and other considerations, which put arms lawfully into the hands of a prince; there are other wounds to heal, and other breaches to make up, than the ruin of his subjects; the outrages, acted against his honour, are to be revenged, and the spots wiped off, which are imprinted upon the reputation of his crown, as one of the pillars which bear up his greatness, and therefore to be carefully preserved from blows, that it fall not into contempt. The reputation of a prince is, by some, compared to the credit of merchants, which maintains them in honour and lustre, though they be, in effect, poor, and gives them, oftentimes, means to fill up the concealed emptiness of their coffers, and to repair the weak invisible condition of their fortunes. But, when a prince is wounded in his reputation, and his forces are cried down; when his prosperities are lessened, and his disgraces increased; when endeavours are used to obscure the lustre of his greatness and puissance, wherewith the eyes of strangers ought to be dazzled, and to draw a curtain before the exterior face of his affairs: This is the subject of a just war, and whatsoever private christians may do, in some cases, princes do not discharge their duty, nor take requisite care for their subjects, if they do not avenge notorious contumelies and indignities: Nay, I dare add, that such of them, as are negligent in this case, do not only run into great perils from foreign kings, but their domesticks and subjects, who will be prone to despise, trample upon, and ruin them, whom they see universally contemned and affronted. The casuistical divines, and civilians, are herein agreed, and they do not allow a prince the liberty to pardon indignities and contumelies done to his person, because his reputation is not properly his own, his subjects share therein, and whatsoever indulgence he grants, in such cases, they are null and invalid.

It is further adjudged, that whosoever doth act or speak any thing, to the defamation of another, is obliged, in conscience, to make the injured party reparation; not only as to the indignity itself, but as to all the damages which he received, by reason of the disparagement done unto him. And should the English pursue, herein, what in justice they may, the greatest part of the Dutch trade in Guiney and the East-Indies, as also Russia should be put into their possession; for these insolent Hollanders have advanced themselves to the present grandeur and height, as well as vastness of trade, by affronting the English merchants, defaming and belying, most contumeliously, the person, conduct, and strength of their prince, and by exposing him to scorn and derision, by ridiculous pictures, and odious medals. And, because that this last instance is a part of the present contest, and would indeed alone authenticate it, I will relate the evil effects of these medals and pictures, which they occasioned unto the English in Muscovy, as the deceased Dr. Collins, who was physician to the Czar, hath left it upon record:

'The Hollanders have another advantage, by rendering the English cheap and ridiculous, by their lying pictures, and libelling pamphlets; this makes the Russian think us a ruined nation.—They represent us by a lion painted, with three crowns reversed, and without a tail; and by many mastive dogs, whose ears are cropped, and tails cut off; with many such scandalous prints, being more ingenious in the use of their pencils than pens. These stories take much with the barbarous people, when no body is present to contradict them.'

It is no justification, for the States-General, to say, That these are, for the most part, the actions of particular persons, for which the publick is not accountable. It is enough for the English, that the States themselves published some, and that no sollicitations and complaints could make them recall, suppress, and prohibit the others. This deportment of theirs doth amount to an authorising of them, and it is a rule, that a ratihabition, in deeds, is more powerful, than a ratihabition in words; and the republick involveth itself in those crimes, which it refuseth to punish. So Agapetus, in Justinian, declares, It is the same thing to offend one's self, and not to prohibit the offences of others.

This controversy, about indignities and contumelies done to princes, doth recall into my mind the violence wherewith former kings have resented them. David, without any formalities of denouncing war (that I read of) attacked the Ammonites, and, with horrible torments, revenged the indignities done to his majesty upon the inhabitants of Rabbah. And Gustavus Adolphus invaded the German empire, without ever declaring war, to revenge the contumelious usage of his ambassadors at Lubeck. Had either of those potent kings received any such injuries and affronts, as his majesty of Great-Britain hath had multiplied upon him, How fierce a vengeance would they have taken upon their barbarous and insolent enemies, whose outrageous doings do give unto any rigours the face of justice, and absolve from the usual solemnities of war.

I suppose it now manifest, that our king might, with a great deal of justice, make war upon the Dutch, merely in vindication of his own honour, and that without the usual form of declaring war. But, because this last circumstance is represented so tragically, as if thereby the English ships, though acting by a royal commission, were pirates, and as bad as those of Algiers and Tunis, I shall demonstrate, that the solemn declaration of war, before it begin, is not always necessary.

It is not any part of the law of nature, that a prince denounce war before he begin hostilities: All that nature directs us unto in this case, is, that we repel force with force, and avenge ourselves, or take reparations for injuries committed against us. All that can be alledged for it out of Grotius, is, that it is a fair and laudable course, and not always practised by the Romans themselves. For, when the Carthaginians in two wars had shewed themselves an ungenerous and perfidious enemy, such as the Dutch are to all the world, they did not denounce the third war against them, but proceeded by surprise against that vexatious, treacherous, irreconcileable people, and used them not as other nations, because that others were not like unto them. And Xenophon, in his Romance of Cyrus, thought it no ill character of his hero, that he should without denunciation make war upon the king of Armenia. So did Pyrrhus; so did Gustavus Adolphus. As in the civil courts of judicature a formal citation is not always necessary; in like manner, a prince may sometimes omit the proclaiming of war before he practise hostilities. But, to evince the intire justice of that encounter of ours with the Smyrna fleet, it may be convenient for us to consider, that those ships, meeting with our fleet, did refuse to strike their flags and lower their topsails unto the ships of war of his majesty, contrary to the nineteenth article of Breda: And, that being refused, it was not only lawful for our ships to destroy or seize them, and for his majesty to confiscate them, but it was the express commission of the ship-captains (and hath been so to all men of war for above four-hundred years), and an inseparable regality of the king of England, which authorise and authenticate that action in full. It is no new doctrine in England, to say no ship can be protected in point of amity, which should in any wise presume not to strike sail: Queen Elisabeth gave the same form of commissions and instructions to her admirals; and, if there never happened any rencounters in her times like unto this, it was because no prince disputed the thing with her, and the Dutch were then the distressed States. This regality of having the flag struck to the navy royal, or any part of it, is paramount to all treaties, so far is it from being limited and restrained by the treaty at Breda; and whatsoever contravenes it, is not to be construed so as the breach of inferior articles. The right of the flag is not demanded by vertue of the treaty from the Dutch, though they cannot refuse it without annulling that treaty, but recognised there as a fundamental of the crown and dignity of the king of England. Such points are not the subject of treaties, and no concessions were valid against them. In such cases we say, *Plus in talibus valere quod in recessu mentis occultatur, quam quod verborum formula concipitur.* It is therefore evident, that nothing was acted on our side contrary to the said league, in reference to the Smyrna ships: And the ensuing war, notwithstanding the twenty-third article, is to be imputed to the perfidiousness of the States-General. Not that the private act and obstinacy of the Smyrna ships did make it to be so, but the States-General had justified Van Ghent in the like case; and, by that solemn and notorious violation of the nineteenth article of Breda, in effect declared war against us; and we needed not to declare any thing on our side; it not being judged necessary, but a superfluous ceremony, for both parties to denounce war.— And if the one party, as here the Dutch, do rescind a treaty (leagues are individual acts, and the violation of one article doth annul the obligation of the whole) then are we, *ipso facto*, in a condition of war, nor is it requisite the king declare himself: They, that violate their faith, render themselves incapable of wrong; and it is a vanity to multiply demonstrations of what the Dutch had already made publick. In fine, the laws of war inform us, that the war is sufficiently declared, when all applications and ambassies become fruitless. And divines tell us, that there are some cases when a man is absolved from the obligation of fraternal correption and admonition, viz. when the person offending is notoriously known to be so perverse and obstinate, that all reproofs and warnings would be fruitless, for, say they, 'He that ploweth ought to plow in hope,' 1 Cor. ix. 10. And where there is no hope of any good success by friendly applications, there no man is bound in conscience or prudence to pursue them. Though this relate to private persons, yet the condition is the same in reference to princes, seeing that the chief ground of ambassies, and such like remonstrances amongst christian potentates, is fraternal dilection; and therefore, if the inutility and fruitlesness of a negotiation absolve us justly from it there, it will also do the same here: Wherefore, since his majesty was convinced by the ill event of all his amicable applications to the Dutch, and understood so well the resolutions of the Hague, that they would not strike sail, he might justly omit all such formalities, and immediately proceed to carve out his own satisfaction by an advanced war.

'Concerning the right of the flag, it is in the first place to be remarked, That it is clearly intimated in the said declaration, that, That king by the said right understands the sovereignty of the seas; since speaking of the antiquity of the said right, he adds thereunto, that it is an ungrateful insolence, that we should offer to contend with him about the said sovereignty: Whereby it plainly appears, that the flag, and sovereignty of the seas, are words of different sounds, but according to the king's meaning of the same signification; so that we may easily conjecture, that the difference betwixt the King of England, and this state, about the said pretended right of the flag (which is insinuated to that nation, as the most important grievance, wherein the people's honour is concerned) is not at present a controversy, about saluting and striking of the flag, and consequently no dispute in relation to the sense of the nineteenth article of the treaty at Breda, but only a contest about the sovereignty of the sea, which this state attributes to God Almighty alone; and the King of England usurps to himself, although perhaps, *per gratiam Dei*, by which the most absolute princes govern their lands and territories. And the Ambassador Downing also, concerning the aforesaid sense of the nineteenth article, in his memorial, delivered in the name of the king, demanded of the states a plain and clear acknowledgment of the aforesaid pretended sovereignty of the seas.

Every one then can tell of our countrymen, and the impartial world may see, that not the refusing to strike the flag, in pursuance of the said article, which was fully performed, as shall hereafter be made evident, but only a refusal of the said acknowledgment, hath been the subject of the King of England's complaint. And it is likwise easily to be apprehended, that at present the said acknowledgment is demanded from the states, not by reason of the justice of right to the pretended affair, but only out of a plotted design to war against us, which design could not be put in execution, but by a demand of impossible satisfaction; for which intent, the Ambassador Downing propounded nothing else to the states than the acknowledgment aforesaid, lest having made propositions of other things, he might receive satisfaction for his king, who (he knew) would not be satisfied.

Of what importance the said acknowledgment so demanded is, is not unknown to any of the subjects of this state, whose only subsistence is commerce, and consequently the liberty of the seas. I do believe, that not one single fisherman in our country can be found (be he never so simple) that apprehends not his chiefest interest to consist herein, and that to force the said acknowledgment out of his throat, and thereupon to cause the effects of the said pretended sovereignty to follow, is one and the same thing, as to tie up his throat; or, at least, there is no other distinction than betwixt a speedy and a tedious, yet assured, death; since after the said acknowledgment there can, at the best, nothing else be expected from the King of England's grace and favour, than an option and choice of a sudden period, or a lingering disease, which is worse than a precipitated death.

And although the King of England extends not his pretended dominion, further than the British seas, yet it is evidently known, that the limits of the said seas are by the king stretched out so far, that not the least part for a passage out of our country is left, which is not in respect of his pretended sovereignty subjected to the king, according to his sense; considering that not only the channel, but also the North Sea, and a great part of the ocean, is by the King of England accounted the British sea; so that we should not be able, out of our own country, to set out to sea, but only by the grace and favour of the King of England, of which we should be assured far less than now we are of his faith and promise.

We shall not enter at present to confute the aforesaid pretences to the sovereignty of the sea, not only because the same would prove too prolix, but also (and that principally) by reason it cannot be judged necessary to contradict what all the world holds to be impertinent, except the King of England, who as little can adhere to reason, as with reasonable offers he will be satisfied. We shall only say, that it is false, and never can be proved, that we ever fished in the sea, with license and permission of the King of England's father, and that for paying tribute, as the aforesaid declaration expresseth.

We confess, that in the year 1636, some of the King of England's ships of war seized upon our defenceless herring busses, and that, by mere violence, they forced a sum of money from them, which they called, tonnage money; but we deny that from thence any right or title can be derived, not only because violence can create no right (no not by continuance) but also because the aforesaid violent exaction was not continued; complaints being made in England, of the aforesaid exorbitance, the same afterwards was no more demanded.

We shall, with favour of the courteous reader, passing to the business of the flag, so as the same, in the nineteenth article of the treaty at Breda, is regulated (which article must decide this controversy) briefly demonstrate, that nothing was committed by the Lord of Ghent, in the late encounter, contrary to the said article; and moreover, that what hath been offered to the King of England, by this state, over and above the obligations of the said article, is so convincing a concession, that we need not fear to refer it to the judgment of the English themselves, as promising to ourselves, from the said people's discretion, that (in respect this state hath given abundant satisfaction to them in point of honour) they will scorn and detest to demand that we should acknowledge the sovereignty of the sea (proceeding only from a desire of war) to belong to them.

It is evident, and amongst all discreet persons, without controversy, that saluting at sea, either by firing of guns, or striking the flag, or lowering of some sail, must not be interpreted as some sign of subjection, but merely for an outward testimony of respect and civility, which then with a resolute and the like civility is required; and forasmuch as concerns the first saluting, whereof we only here shall make mention, it is conceived, since those commonly first salute, that own themselves inferiors, in rank and worth, to those they meet, although they are not under subjection to them, that ships of republicks, meeting at sea with ships of war belonging to crowned heads (to which republicks yield superiority in the world must give the first salute, either with one or other sign of respect, which respect, notwithstanding, as all other acts of civility, must proceed from a free willingness, and an unconstrained mind, in those that shew the same; yet, it hath often been seen, that the strongest at sea hath forced the weakest to this submission; and that likewise the necessity and manner thereof hath been expressed in articles.

Such is likewise concerning the same agreed on betwixt the King of England and this state, in the said nineteenth article, in conformity to former articles, as well concluded with the present king, as the protector Cromwell, that the ships and vessels of the United Provinces, set out to sea, as well for war, and defence against enemies, as others, which at any time should meet, in the British seas, with any of the ships of war of the King of Great-Britain, shall strike their flag, and lower their top-sail, in the like manner, as formerly hath been customary.

To apprehend the true sense of that article, as it ought to be, let the reader be pleased to take notice, that the same proceeded originally from the articles, betwixt this state and the Protector Cromwell, concluded in the year, 1651; and that, at that time, the same was not expressed in such terms, as after a long debate of some words, which the Protector Cromwell would have added thereunto, thereby not only to oblige single ships, but intire fleets of the states to the said salute, in case of meeting with any of the ships of war belonging to England; which words afterwards, upon the earnest instance of the ministers of this state, were left out of the said article; so that the aforesaid nineteenth article, drawn out of the tenth article of the peace, in the year 1662, which tenth article, on the king's side, was delivered in out of the thirteenth article of the year 1654, must not be so understood, that an intire fleet of the states, by vertue of the said article, shall be obliged to give the said salute to one single ship of the English; but the said article must be taken for a regulation, according to which single ships and vessels of this state, in point of saluting the ships of England, are to govern themselves.

Now to apply the said article, according to the true sense, to the late accident of the Lord of Ghent; it is, in the first place, to be observed, that the King of England's pleasure-boat (suppose, in respect of her equipage, it must pass for a ship of war, which we will not dispute) not having met with any single ships or vessels of the states, but coming in amongst a fleet, then riding at anchor, (undoubtedly, with a wicked design, to seek matter of complaint) it, with no fundamental reasons, can be maintained, that the Lord of Ghent, by vertue of the said article, was obliged to strike.

Secondly, It is likewise considerable, that the aforesaid article, peaking of meeting, cannot be applied to a formed design, to cause a quarrel, by requiring, in the uncivilest manner in the world, an act of civility and respect.

And Lastly, It is notorious, that the said accident happened in the North Sea, not far from our own coast; as likewise, it is well known, that the North Sea is not the British sea, not only because in all sea-plats (yea in the English map itself) it is distinguished from all others, but also and especially (which in this case is an invincible argument) by reason the same, in the seventh article of the treaty of Breda, are distinctly mentioned one from the other; where it is expresly said, that all ships and merchandises, which, within twelve days after the peace, are taken in the British sea, and the North Sea, shall continue in propriety to the seizer; out of which it plainly appears, that, even according to the King of England's sense, the North Sea differs in reality from the British Sea; but *(vice versâ)* that the North Sea is made the British Sea, and consequently, that distinct things are confounded together, where there is a design to raise commotions and disturbances in the world.

And, though their High and Mighties might have kept to the nineteenth article of the said treaty, according to the true original interpretation; yet they declared to the King of Great-Britain, that upon the foundation and condition of a firm friendship, and assurance of a real and sincere performance thereof (upon the fifth article of the triple alliance, in case France should fall upon this state) they would willingly cause the intire fleet, when they should, at any time, meet with any ship or ships of war, carrying his majesty's standard, to strike the flag, and lower the top-sail, in testimony of their respect and honour, which they, upon all occasions, will publickly shew to so faithful a friend, and so great a monarch: Provided, that from thence no occasion, either now or hereafter, should be taken, or the least inducements given, to hinder or molest the inhabitants and subjects of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, in their free use of the seas: Which declaration the King of England wrongly interprets, because that the same is joined with the true performance of the triple league, that is, with his honour and word; as also, with the assurance, that no prejudice should be offered, in regard of the free use of the seas; being an infallible argument, that the King of England is as little inclined to leave us an undisturbed use of the seas, as he is to keep and perform his word.'

I have already demonstrated the justice and honour of his majesty's arms. This discourse gives me occasion to manifest the necessity thereof. All that is recited, here, was alledged by the Dutch ambassadors to our king; and if it appear hence, that his majesty would not continue his alliance any longer with the Dutch, unless he would abandon the sovereignty of the sea, exchange his proper rights into mere civilities (and those not to be forced) and put himself, and his dominions, into the power of the Dutch: there is none, then, can doubt, but that the king was unavoidably engaged into this war, by the insolence and arrogance of the treacherous and usurping Hollanders, and that he did not seek or feign pretensions, to quarrel with them.

The nineteenth article of the treaty at Breda doth run thus:

'That the ships and vessels of the said United Provinces, as well men of war, as others, meeting any men of war of the said King of Great Britain's, in the British seas, shall strike the flag, and lower the top-sail, in such manner, as the same hath been formerly observed in any times whatsoever.'

This article was transcribed out of a former treaty, made betwixt O. P. and the states-general, and he was the first that ever inserted any such article into any treaty; our right and dominion over the British seas having never been disputed before, but by an immemorial prescription and possession transmitted unto us, and supposed as unquestionable by all princes. These ungrateful Dutch are the first that controverted it, disowning it in the time of the late wars, when our civil distractions rendered our prince unable to attend unto the maritime dominion, and to curb their growing pride; yet was the long parliament so concerned to preserve the rights of this nation, that they made an ordinance, April the fifth, 1643, commanding their admiral and commanders at sea, to force all persons to pay the usual and due submissions unto the men of war, appertaining to this kingdom. And the pretended republick here, did vigorously, and by a dreadful war, assert the said sovereignty of the seas. So that it ought to be deemed, the concurring sentiment of all parties in England, that these submissions, by striking the flag, and lowering the top-sail, are not mere civilities, and unnecessary punctilioes of honour and vain-glory, but a fundamental point, whereon the being of the king and kingdom is in great part suspended; and it hath been so studiously insisted on, by our princes, that for above four hundred years, it hath been a clause in the instructions of the admiral, and the commanders under him, that, in case they met any ships whatsoever, upon the British seas, that refused to strike sail, at the command of the King's admiral, or his lieutenants, that then they should repute them as enemies (without expecting a declared war) and destroy them, and their ships, or otherwise seize and confiscate their ships and goods. And these instructions have been retained in use, as well since the treaty of Breda, as before it. The like instructions are given by the Venetians, to their captains, in reference to the Adriatick sea, and by several other princes.

It is manifest, and agreed upon by the Considerer, that this article must decide the present controversy; and it is no less evident, that this article doth decide it to their prejudice, and that they are inexcusable, as to the breach thereof. I will not stretch the words of the article so far, as to infer, that they ought to strike the flag, in acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the sea; since otherwise they do not strike it, 'in such manner, as the same hath been formerly observed in any times whatsoever;' though the words oblige them not only to the thing, but circumstantiate the manner of it. Let their sentiments be free; but yet let us see, how they comply with the article, as to matter of fact They say, that O. Cromwell would needs, after a long debate, have those words put in, whereas the article was otherwise penned at first. But this allegation is impertinent, since we now inquire not into what was at first debated, nor insist upon the first draught of the treaty, but what was, at last, ratified and confirmed on both sides: For it is thence ariseth the obligation. Secondly, They say, that, by the earnest instance of their ministers, O. Cromwell was so far prevailed upon, as to relax that article, and leave out the said words; and therefore the article must not be so understood, as if an entire fleet of the states, by virtue thereof, should be obliged to give the said salute to one single ship of the English; but the said article must be taken for a regulation, according to which, the single ships and vessels of their state, in point of saluting this ship of England, are to govern themselves. To this I reply, that it is not credible, nor believed here by any, that were privy to the transactions of O. Cromwell, that ever he consented to any such alteration in the said article: There is no proof of any such thing alledged, and it is notoriously known to all our admiralty, that he never did vary his instructions and commissions in the navy, but enjoined them, as before, to force all ships to strike, without regarding, whether they were intire fleets, or single ships. And I think this to be a demonstration of the falshood of the Dutch, in this suggestion. Lastly, I find the articles of peace, published at Amsterdam in 1655, in Latin, where is not any such thing to be seen, as is here insinuated.

Artic. 13.

‘ 13. Item quod naves & navigia dictarum fœderatarum provinciarum, tam bellica & ad hostium vim propulsandam instructa, quam alia, quæ alicui è navibus bellicis hujus reipublicæ in maribus Britannicis obviam dederint, vexillum suum è mali vertice detrahent, & supremum velum demittent, eo modo, quo ullis retrò temporibus, sub quocunque anteriori regimine, unquam observatum fuit.’

This is sufficient to disprove this impudent forgery of the Considerer; but had any such thing intervened betwixt the state and O. P. if it do not appear, that his majesty did make the like accord, how comes it to pass, that the expressions of his majesty must be construed by the sense of Cromwell? If this notion of exempting fleets from saluting any single man of war were never thought upon, nor mentioned, much less debated and decided at the treaty of Breda: Doth not common equity and reason oblige the Dutch to acquiesce in the plain sense of the words, and not to distort or pervert them, by far-fetched interpretations and evasions? It is usual, in the last articles of treaties, or in the ratifications, for princes to express, that they do sign, consent, and ratify the agreement in its true, proper, and most genuine sense, or sincerely, and *bona fide*;* and where it is not so declared, yet it is understood in all contracts, but more especially, in the contracts of sovereign princes; Charles the Fifth, and Lewis of France, are blamed for making use of those little shifts and elusions of treaties, which better become a pettifogger, than a king. This is the common tenet of the civil lawyers, and consonant to the law of nations. It is true there lies a ready evasion; for all this is averred concerning princes and their contracts; but the Dutchmen have nothing that is royal amongst them, their High and Mighties are not princes, and they have different *jura Majestatis*, as they have different ends, from the generous and sincere part of mankind. After an impertinent harangue concerning God, piety, protestancy, they are absolved from giving honour to them, unto whom honour is due, reverence to whom reverence, or right to whom right; they can plausibly recede from, and evert an article, that is prejudicial to their interest and insatiable ambition, and impudently exempt fleets from amongst the number of ships. Such men presume strangely upon their power, or the stupidity of the world, that impose thereon such glosses as these. There was no such word mentioned, no such interpretation proposed at Breda, much less assented unto. The common usage of that naval term admits not thereof, and the immemorial practice at sea to the contrary doth sufficiently refute this sentiment. The ambassadors had no power delegated them to part with such a regality; and perhaps it may be said, that the king himself hath no such authority, as can devest the crown thereof. However, if any such thing had been done, had such a sense been admitted of, or intended by the Dutch, why did not they urge it sooner, and demand, that the instructions to our admiral, and the commanders at sea, should be changed from what they have been, during the space of above four-hundred years? Their High and Mighties have very much prejudiced themselves, in the opinion of all prudent men, by so long a silence; and in the judgment of all honest persons, by remonstrating thus now, since thereby they declare that to be the right sense of the article, which is indeed nonsense; and that to be justice, which is as notorious an usurpation, as any chronicles inform us of.

But, lest this sense of the article should not be admitted of, they say further in defence of themselves, 'That since, in the judgment of the king of Great Britain, the striking of the flag and the acknowledging the sovereignty of the sea, are equipollent things, and that, by the one, his majesty understands the other; they cannot consent to the striking of the flag, lest it should be construed to a yielding him a sovereignty and dominion over the sea, which is too much for these High and Mighty zealots, and such protestants, that, abominating all image-worship, cannot endure any monarchs, because they are (as I may say) visible deities, and mortal representations of that one God, who providentially rules the universe; nor can they tolerate their usurpations upon the rights of God Almighty, who is alone sovereign of the sea.'

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* In the 35th article at Breda, it was agreed, that both parties should truly and firmly observe the league. And article 36, that the confederacy should be duly and *bonâ fide* observed.

If I were not in haste, I would animadvert upon that passage of the Considerer, whereby, he intimates, that all absolute princes are usurpers, governing their lands and territories, *per gratiam Dei*, by which, the king of England usurps the dominion of the sea. In another place, he intimates, as if all princes were tyrants, and all monarchy tyranny. In a third, he detracts from monarchy, alledging, that monarchs are generally swayed by their wills and lusts, and that the most efficacious reasonings of princes and monarchs are their arms. Such insinuations as these ought to exasperate all princes against them; and indeed, this other controversy, about the dominion of the sea, extends not only to the king of England, but to the kings of France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, &c. to the republicks of Venice, Genoa, &c. all which are no less notorious usurpers, than his majesty of Great Britain; and, if the king of England be an usurper upon the rights of God, by exercising a sovereignty over the British seas, the Dutch have contributed very much to such usurpation, by permitting him to continue it so long: when they were the distressed States, and tendered the sovereignty of their provinces to Queen Elizabeth, their ambassadors, urged this unto her, as one inducement, that thereby she might ensure herself of the dominion of the great ocean: from whence, any Englishman may collect, how much it importeth us, that these Hollanders be rather distressed, than High and Mighty.

Concerning the dominion of the sea, that we may the better understand the controversy, and the justice of his majesty's demands, it is requisite, that we distinguish upon the word dominion, which is equivocal. Dominion imports one thing in respect to jurisdiction and protection, which the doctors of the civil law call sovereignty, or universal dominion; such is that of a prince over the persons and estates of his subjects; and another thing in reference to propriety, which they term particular dominion, whereby any private person is invested in his goods and estate. Thus the king of England hath an universal dominion over the British seas, whilst yet his subjects retain their proprieties in their several fisheries.

The effects of this dominion universal, or sovereignty, which accrue to a prince, are these:

1. Not only the regality of the fishing for pearl, coral, amber, &c. but the direction and disposal of all other fish, according as they shall seem to deserve the regards of the public, as in Spain, Portugal, &c. is used.

2. The prescribing of laws and rules for navigation, not only to his own subjects, but unto others, strangers, whether they be princes of equal strength and dignity with himself, or any way inferior. Thus the Romans did confine the Carthaginians to equip out no fleets, and forbad Antiochus to build any more than twelve ships of war. The Athenians prohibited all Median ships of war to come within their seas, and prescribed to the Lacedemonians, with what manner of vessels they should sail. All histories are

full of such precedents, which princes have enacted, either upon agreements forced upon the conquered, or capitulations betwixt them and others (their equals, or inferiors) for mutual conveniences.

3. The power of imposing customs, gabels, and taxes upon those that navigate in their seas, or otherwise fish therein; which they do upon several rightful claims; as protecting them from pirates, and all other hostilities, or assisting them with lights and sea-marks: for which advantages, common equity obligeth those, that reap benefit thereby, to repay it by some acknowledgment, which ought to be proportioned to the favour received, and the expence which the prince is at to continue it unto them.

4. As it is incumbent on a prince duly to execute justice in his kingdoms by land, so, the sea being his territory, it is requisite, and a necessary effect of his dominion, that he cause justice to be administered in case of maritime delinquencies.

5. That, in case any ships navigate in those seas, they shall salute his floating castles, the ships of war, by lowering the top-sail, and striking the flag (those are the most usual courses) in like manner as they do his forts upon land: by which sort of submissions they are put in remembrance, that they come into a territory, wherein they are to own a sovereign power and jurisdiction, and receive protection from it.

These are the proper effects of a real and absolute sovereignty over the seas; which, how they are possessed by the Venetians, this following account will shew:

'The gulf of Venice is nothing else but a large bay, or inlet of the sea, which entering in betwixt two lands, and severing them for many miles continuance, in the end receives a stop, or interruption of further passage, by an opposite shore, which joins both the said opposite shores together. It is called the gulf of Venice from the city of Venice, situated upon certain broken islands, near unto the bottom thereof. It is also called the Adriatick sea, from the ancient city Adria, lying not far distant from the former. From the entrance thereof, unto the bottom, it contains about six-hundred Italian miles; where it is broadest, it is one-hundred and sixty miles over, in others but eighty, in the most one-hundred. The south-west shore is bounded with the provinces of Puglia and Abruzzo, in the kingdom of Naples; the marquisate of Ancona and Romagnia, in the Pope's state; and the marquisate of Trevisana, in the Venetian state. The north part of it, or bottom, hath Friuli for its bounds. The north-east is limited by Istria, Dalmatia, Albania, and Epirus, whereof Istria doth not so intirely belong to the Venetians, but that the emperor, as Archduke of Gratz, doth possess divers maritime towns therein. In Dalmatia, saving Zara Spalato, and Cattaro, they have nothing of importance, the rest belonging to Ragusa and the Turks. In Albania and Epirus, they possess nothing at all, it being intirely the Turks. So that he, who shall examine the circuit of this sea, which must contain above twelve-hundred miles, shall find the shores of the Venetian signiory not to take up two-hundred of them, omitting some scattered towns, and dispersed islands, lying on the Turkish side of the Adriatick shore. For the securing hereof from the depredations of pirates, and the pretences of divers potent princes, as the Pope, Emperor, King of Spain, and the Great Turk, who have each of them large territories lying thereupon; also to cause all ships, which navigate the same, to go to Venice, and there to pay custom, and other duties, the republick maintains continually, in action, a great number of ships, gallies, and galliots, whereto also they add more, as there may be occasion; whereof some lie about the bottom of the gulf in Istria, others about the islands of Dalmatia, to clear those parts of pirates, who have much infested those seas; others, and those of most force, have their stations in the island of Corfu and Standia; in the first of which commonly resides the captain of the gulf, whose office it is to secure the navigation of the gulf, not only from the Corsairs, but to provide, that neither the gallies, nor ships of the Pope, the King of Spain, nor Great Turk, do so much as enter the same, without permission of the signiory, and upon such conditions as best pleaseth them; which they are so careful to effect, that, in the year 1638, the Turkish fleet, entering the gulf without license, was assailed by the Venetian general, who sunk divers of their vessels, and, compelling the rest to fly unto Valona, he held them there besieged, although the same city and port, whereon it stands, be under the jurisdiction of the grand signior. And, notwithstanding that a great and dangerous war was likely to ensue thereupon, betwixt the grand signior and the republick, because the Venetian general, being not content to have chaced them into their own ports, did, moreover than that, sink their vessels, and, landing his men, slew divers of their mariners, who had escaped his fury at sea; yet, after that, a very honourable peace was concluded again betwixt them, wherein, amongst other things, it was agreed, that it should be lawful for the Venetians, as often as any Turkish vessels did, without their license, enter the gulf, to seize upon them by force, if they would not otherwise obey: And that it should likewise be lawful for them so to do, within any haven, or under any fort of the Grand Signior's, bordering on any part of the Venetian gulf.

In the year 1630, Mary, sister to the King of Spain, being espoused to the emperor's son, Ferdinand, King of Hungary, the Spaniards designed to transport her from Naples, in a fleet of their own. The Venetians suspected that they had an intention, hereby, to intrench upon, and privily to undermine, by this specious precedent, that dominion of the sea, which the signiory had continued inviolate time out of mind; and that they took this opportunity, when Venice was involved with a war abroad, and infested with the plague at home, and therefore not in a condition to oppose their progress. The Spanish Ambassador acquainted the state, that his master's fleet was to convoy the Queen of Hungary, being his sister, from Naples to Triesti. The duke replied, that her majesty should not pass, but in the gallies of the republick. The Spaniard repined thereat, pretending that they were infected with the plague. The senate, being consulted, came to this resolution: That the sister of his Catholick Majesty should not be transported to Triesti, any other way, than by imbarquing on the Venetian gallies, according to the usual manner of the gulf; and that, if the ambassador would acquiesce herein, her majesty should be attended, and used with all that respect and deference, which became her quality: But, if she proceeded in any other way, the republick would, by force, assert her proper rights, and attack the Spanish navy, as if they were declared enemies, and, in hostile manner, invaded them. Whereupon, the Spaniard was compelled to desire of them the favour to transport the queen in their gallies, which Antonio Pisano did perform with much state and ceremony; and the courtesy was acknowledged, by solemn thanks, from the court of the Emperor, and of Spain.

Joannes Palatius doth furnish me with many more cases, wherein the Venetians have practised immemorially, and foreign princes approved of their sovereignty of the Adriatick sea; and, had our nation been hitherto as prudent, in the perpetual vindication of their rights, as that republick, his majesty had not been put to this trouble, nor his subjects endangered, as they are, by this war with Holland. Howsoever, it is manifest that they did always, immemorially, challenge the dominion of the British seas, and have never abandoned that regality; but, so as to preserve their right unto it, by the exercising of several acts, that result from the intire dominion of the said seas.

1. As to that universal dominion, which is inferred from the protection of the seas, it is evident that our admirals, by their commissions, have ever been charged with the guardianship and protection of the said seas; and they were stiled, of old, Guardians of the seas, the denomination of Admiral is more modern. But, with the name, their power and instructions were not varied, they being still designed *pro salvâ custodiâ & defensione maris.* And there was a particular tax raised on every hide of land in this kingdom, called Danegeld; at first exacted by the Danes, in lieu of their protection of the said seas, and continued, after their ejectment, by our English kings, before and since the conquest, unto the reign of king Stephen, and Henry the second, for the guardianship of the seas; and, after that the Danegeld was abolished, several lands were charged particularly for the defence of the seas, and subsidies have been demanded of the people to the same purpose.

2. As to that dominion of the sea, which is exemplified by acts of jurisdiction, it is manifest that the English have been, immemorially, possessed thereof. Thus Edward the first made laws, for the retaining and conserving of the ancient superiority of the sea of England, and for the maintaining of peace and justice amongst all people, what nation soever, passing thorough the sea of England; and to take cognisance of all attempts to the contrary in the same, and to punish offenders, &c. In the like manner did his royal

predecessors. And the so famed laws of Oleron (an island seated in Aquitaine, at the mouth of the river Charente) were published in that isle, by King Richard the first, as sole ruler and moderator of sea-affairs; which hold in force to this day, and are the laws of our Admiralty. And this dominion is further elucidated from hence, that our kings. (as appears by the parliamentary records of king Richard the second) imposed a tribute, or custom, upon every ship that passed thorough the northern admiralty; which stretched itself from the Thames mouth, along the eastern shore of England, towards the north-east, for the pay and maintenance of the guard, or protection of the sea. Nor was it imposed only upon the ships of such merchants and fishermen, as were English, but upon any foreigners whatsoever; no otherwise, than a man, that is owner of a field. should impose a yearly revenue, or rent, for the liberty of thorough-fair, or driving of cattle, or cart, thorough his field; and if any were unwilling to pay the said tribute. it was lawful to compel them, there being certain officers, that had authority to exact it, having the command of six ships, men of war. The original record is penned in the Norman language (as were almost all records of Parliament in that age) and is thus Englished:

'This is the ordinance and grant, by the advice of the merchants of London, and other merchants towards the north. by the assent of all the Commons in parliament, before the Earl of Northumberland, and the mayor of London, for the guard and tuition of the sea, and the coasts of the admiralty of the north, with two ships, two barges, and two ballingers. armed and fitted for war, at these rates following:

First, To take of every ship and barque, of what burden soever it be, which passeth thorough the sea of the said admiralty, going and returning, for the voyage, upon every ton six-pence. Except ships laden with wines, and ships laden with merchandises in Flanders, which are freighted for, and discharged at London; and ships laden with wools and skins at London, or elsewhere within the said admiralty, which shall be discharged at Calais; which ships the guardians of the said sea shall not be bound to convoy, without allowance.

Item, To take of every fisher-boat, that fisheth upon the sea of the said admiralty for herrings, of what burden soever it be, for each week, of every ton six-pence.

Item, To take of other ships and fisher-boats, that fish for other kinds of fish upon the sea, within the said admiralty, of what burden soever they be, for three weeks, of every ton six-pence.

Item, To take of all other ships and vessels, passing by sea, within the said admiralty, laden with coals from Newcastle-upon-Tine, of what burden soever they be, for a quarter of a year, of every ton six-pence.

Item, To take of all other ships, barques, and vessels, passing by sea, within the said admiralty, laden with goods, of any merchants whatsoever, for Prussia, or for Norway, or for Scone, or for any other place in those parts beyond the sea, or for the voyage, going and returning, every last six-pence.'

The imposition here laid upon all fishers that took herrings, or other fish, upon the sea, within the northern admiralty, sheweth the antiquity of the right his majesty hath unto that regality, within the British seas; but the benefits, accruing to the crown from this specialty of the maritime dominion, were not always raised in one and the same manner. In the ordinance aforesaid, the fishermen purchase their liberty of fishing, by a sum of money to be paid weekly. At other times I read, that the Hollanders and Zealanders, every year, did repair to Scarborough castle, and there, by ancient custom, obtained leave to fish, which the English have ever granted them, reserving always the honour and privilege to themselves. Amongst the records of the time of Edward the First, there is an inscription, '*Pro hominibus Hollandiæ*,' &c. For the men of Holland and Zealand, and Friesland, to have leave to fish near Jernemuth; and that king's letter for their protection is extant. And if we do not continually read of special licenses granted to foreigners, in reference to the fishery; the reason is, because, by the leagues that were made with the neighbouring princes, a license or freedom of that kind, as also of ports, shores, passages, and other things, was so often allowed by both parties, that as long as the league was in force, the sea served as if it were a common field, as well for the foreigner that was in amity, as for the King of England himself, who was lord and owner. But yet in this kind of leagues sometimes the fishing was restrained to certain limits; and the limits related both as to place and time; so that, according to agreement, the foreigner in amity might not fish beyond these limits; the King of England retaining absolute dominion over the whole adjoining sea. Thus, by an agreement betwixt France and England, the French are excluded from that part of the sea, which lies towards the west, and south-west, and also from that which lies north-east of them; but permitted freely to fish throughout that part of the sea, which is bounded on this side, by the ports of Scarborough and Southampton, and on the other side by the coast of Flanders, and the mouth of the river Seine; and the time is limited, betwixt autumn, and the calends of January following. But in the league of mutual commerce, betwixt Henry the Seventh, and Philip, Duke of Burgundy, &c. Earl of Holland and Zealand, A. D. 1459. Chap. 14. it was agreed, that the fishermen of each part, of what condition soever they be, shall sail and pass freely every where, and fish securely, without any impediment, license, or safe-conduct. From the which leagues, it is a genuine inference, that his majesty hath the dominion of the seas, as to fishing, and that the liberty thereof is not to be obtained but by license, or compact, wherein the general emolument, arising from the league, supplieth the advantage that wou'd otherwise accrue from particular licenses. It being thus evinced, that the sovereignty of the English seas, as to the fishing, doth appertain unto his majesty, I proceed to Scotland, where I find the same power invested in the crown thereof; so that the right of his majesty, unto the fishing there, is as unquestionable as his succession to the kingdom. I have not read in the Scotch laws, that ever there were licenses given to any for fishing; but every fisher, as well foreigner, as native, was to pay an assize-herring unto the king, and this assize-herring is an unalterable regality of that king.

Jacobi 6, p. 15. c. 237.

'It is statute and ordained, that all infestments, and alienations, in few-firme, or otherwise, and all rentalls, assedationes, and dispositiones quhatsumever,, in all time by gane, and to cum, of the assise-herring, is null, and of nane availe: Because the said assise-herring perteinis to our sovereigne lorde, as are part of his custumes, and annexed property.'

Concerning the nature and antiquity of the assize-herring, I find this most authentick account, given by Mr. John Skene, clerk of the king's register, council, and rolls, in a treatise, *De Verborum Significatione*, annexed to the laws of Scotland, and printed at Edinburgh, A. D. 1597. *Cum privilegio regali.*

'*Assisa Halecum*, the assize-herring, signifies ane certaine measure and quantity of herring, quilk perteinis to the king, as ane part of his custumes, and annexed propriety. Jac. VI. p. 15. c. 237. For it is manifest, that hee shuld have of every boat, that passis to the drave, and slayis herring, ane thousand herring, of ilk tak that halds, viz. of lambmes tak, of the winter tak, and the lentrone tak.'

What dues and customs the kings of Scotland had upon other fish, I know not; but that he did exact some, and exercised the dominion of the sea, in reference to the fishing there, is apparent by these laws, ordaining,

'That all manner of fischeres, that occupies the sea, and utheres persons quhatsumever, that happenies to slay hering, or quihte-fish, upon the coast, or within the iles, or out with the samen within the Frithes, bring them to free ports, &c. where they may bee sold to the inhabitants of the same kingdome, quhuirby his majesties custumes bee not defrauded, and his Hienesse Lieges, not frustrate of the commodity appointed to them by God, under the paine of confiscation, and tynsell of the veschelles of them that cumes in the contrair thereof, and escheating of all their movable guddes to our soveraigne lord's use.'

In this condition were the rights of the fishing, until the Dutch did advance themselves to that height and puissance, that they esteemed themselves able to infringe them, and such was their covetousness (which prompts them, that are infected therewith, to value the smallest and most unjust gains) that they determined to do it.

In the year 1594, James the sixth, king of Scotland, apprehending the growth of these Netherlanders, and their influence upon the English nation, by reason of the multitudes of our nobility and gentry, which resorted thither into the armies, and being desirous to fortify by all possible means his right of succession to the crown of England, invited the states to be god-fathers to his son, Prince

Henry, together with the kings of France and Denmark, and Queen Elisabeth; they sent a splendid ambassy, Walravius van Brederode being principal, and so richly presented the royal infant, that they much endeared themselves to King James, and no less exasperated Queen Elisabeth, in that they should dare to rival her, at the baptism of the prince, and also demean themselves with so much munificence or rather prodigality. King James, either out of interest, to ascertain himself of their friendship, or being captivated by their presents and flatteries, granted (but not by any deed, that I know) unto the Dutch, the privileges which had been formerly granted to the Belgick provinces, upon leagues betwixt the house of Burgundy and England, in reference to the fishing; whereby, according to articles made with Philip of Burgundy, and with Charles the fifth, they were to fish in the British seas, without any impediment, or the suing for a special license. It was by virtue of the same treatise and confederacies, with the house of Burgundy, that Queen Elisabeth did permit them the fishing of our English seas, for that queen did always pretend and declare, that by reason of sundry alliances betwixt England and the house of Burgundy, she did aid and support the Netherlands. At first, the Dutch, either out of pure respect (a rare quality to that sort of people), or because their busses were not so very numerous, as in the subsequent times, did fish at a good distance from the land; and leaving convenient space for the natives of Scotland to pursue their small employment in the fishery, there was no notice, or at least no complaints against them upon that subject. But when a series of prosperous successes, gained by the English and Scotch valour, had raised the Dutch to a great power at home, and renown abroad, and that their ships became exceeding numerous, and their fleets potent; and Queen Elisabeth's death had advanced a more peaceable prince to the English crown: they began to incroach upon the English and Scottish shores, to disturb the natives in their fishing, not leaving them so much sea room upon their prince's coast, as to take any fish, but such as were the gleanings of the Hollanders busses; who driving at sea do break the skull or shole of herrings, and then they fly near the shore, and through the sounds.

I find King James to have complained against their insolence, and the incroachments of the Dutch fishermen upon his seas, and to the prejudice of his subjects: but that prince dealt most in remonstrances, an ineffectual course with Hollanders, and equipped out no ships to assert his rights on the whole British seas. At last, in 1609, he established commissioners for to give licenses, at London, to such as would fish on the English coasts; at Edinburgh, for such as would fish in the more northern sea; and, by proclamation, interdicted all unlicensed fishers. The licenses were to be demanded yearly for so many ships, and the tonnage thereof, as should intend to fish for that whole year, or any part thereof, upon any of the British seas; and the offenders against the king's proclamation to undergo due chastisement. But this edict of his majesty proved but a *Brutum fulmen*, an insignificant noise and thunder: The Dutch contemned it; and grew more pervicacious, in opposition to his majesty's officers, which came to disturb their unlicensed fishing. The States did mingle their concerns with those of the fishermen, and sent wafters, or men of war to protect their busses against the Spanish pirates, and to awe the king's officers. They refused to pay either the assize-herring, or to take licenses; and in 1616, Mr. Brown being ordered by the Duke of Lenox (who, as admiral of Scotland, was commanded to vindicate the king's rights in those seas) to insist upon the assize-herring, which was the king's old and indubitable right, they did contest about it, and, after much dispute, paid it according to the laws and customs of Scotland. But the next year, being the year in which King James did gratify that people with the surrendry of the cautionary towns, the busses obstinately refused it, saying, they were commanded by the States of Holland to pay it no more. Mr. Brown, wanting sufficient force to chastise their wafters, did only take witness of this their refusal; whereupon the insolent Dutch seized the King of England's officer, and carried him into the Netherlands, where he was detained awhile. The king repeats his complaints at the Hague, and to their ambassadors here at London; the Dutch amused him with treaties, and sent commissioners to London, not to submit, or adjust differences, but to heighten them: they pleaded a right of their own, by immemorial prescription, and confirmed it with divers treaties, viz. one of the year 1459, betwixt Philip of Burgundy and Henry the Seventh. Another betwixt Charles the fifth, as Duke of Burgundy, and Henry the Eighth: by both which it had been agreed, that the subjects of the Belgick provinces should fish in the English seas without impediment, and without license. But what influence have those treaties upon the kingdom of Scotland? or, how do they extend unto the assize-herring? for those capitulations do not leave them at liberty as to this point, any more than they absolve them from paying customs? To observe the laws, and pay the dues of a country, are no illegitimate impediments of fishing.

To proceed: suppose we that the subjects of the house of Burgundy had any such privileges granted them by the said treaties; what doth this concern the rebels of the house of Burgundy? What doth it concern the States-general of the United Netherlands, who by their change of government, and rupture from the majority of the provinces, are no longer the same people? They have nothing to pretend unto but the connivance of Queen Elisabeth, and the indulgence of King James, during the time of their distress: nor doth the whole age of their infant republick amount unto an immemorial prescription: and, if in the said treaties with the house of Burgundy, the ancestors of his majesty did think fitting, in consideration of other advantages accruing to them by the said agreements, to dispense with the licenses unto Belgick fishermen; where is this consideration now betwixt us and the Dutch? And, what hinders us to resume our rights, when the reasons cease for which we parted with them to the generous and noble house of

Burgundy, but to these Hollanders never? How come we to forfeit the dominion of the sea by such indults, whereas other nations, French and Spaniards, Lubeckers, &c. did pay? This plea being null, they had recourse to another, that, by the laws of nature and nations, the sea was free. This defence seemed intolerable to King James, and, upon complaint of the Lord Ambassador Carleton at the Hague, they gave his majesty this most satisfactory answer: That the commissioners went beyond their limits in their terms of immemorial possession, and immutable Droict de Gens; for which they had no order. All that King James could obtain from their now High and Mighties, was a verbal acknowledgment of his right, whilst it was more and more invaded daily.

The Prince of Orange, at that time, made a motion to the Lord Carleton, about purchasing the freedom of fishing with a sum of ready money; but he replied, it was a matter of royalty. The insolence growing every day greater and greater, and they proceeding to impede, obstruct, and destroy the fishery of his majesty's subjects, King Charles the First did sollicit them about redress; and, finding the states intractable, in 1636, he issued out a proclamation, to restrain the fishing in the British seas, without license obtained, and seconded it with a fleet of ships, commanded by Algernon Earl of Northumberland, as lord high admiral of England, who, with much honour, acquitted himself of that employment. The journal of his expedition, signed with his own hand, is preserved in the paper-office; and I find thereby, that, upon the appearance of the English fleet, the Dutch busses did take licenses of his lordship, so that he distributed two-hundred, though he went out late in the year. He exacted twelve pence in the ton from each vessel, and avows they departed away well satisfied. The busses were not defenceless, as the Considerer says, but guarded by ten men of war, or more; and, on the twentieth of August, 1636, whilst his lordship was busied in dispersing his licenses, the Dutch admiral, Dorpe, came to him, saluted him with lowering his topsail, striking of the flag, and discharging of guns, and came a-board of him. He had in his company twenty men of war; which, if joined with the other wafters, made a greater fleet than that of the English; yet did he never protest against the actings of the said earl, but left his lordship freely to pursue his design upon the busses. The sum, which his lordship received for licenses, was 501 l. 15s. 2d; besides which, at that time, I find that the Dutch paid to Captain Carteret, Captain Lyndsey, Captain Slingsby, Captain Johnson, and Mr. Skinner, 999 l. for convoy-money.

It is not to be doubted, but King Charles the First had vigorously asserted the English rights and sovereignty of the sea, the Earl of Northumberland being high admiral, had not the Scotch troubles diverted his cares; the which troubles and wars were chiefly fomented by these peace-loving christians of Holland, that he might not attend unto his dominion of the seas.

I observed, in the perusal of the journal, that, when his lordship was returned, and at anchor in the Downs, he received notice of the arrival of a Spanish fleet of twenty-six sail near Dunkirk, who, in the sight of Calais, did their duties to his majesty's ship, called, The Happy Entrance.

Concerning the Scottish fishery, it may not be impertinent to fortify the rights of his majesty, by shewing his original title to a great part of it; and it is this: The kings of Norway exercised an absolute dominion, time out of mind, over the seas adjacent to Norway, Iceland, Shotland, and the Isles of Orkney, and, in a manner, over all that part of the North sea; nor could any foreigner practise fishing there, but by his leave and license (which license was renewed every seven years by the English) as appears by many leagues and compacts betwixt that crown and the English, and also betwixt it and other nations. The old inhabitants of those Scotch Islands are originally Norwegians, and speak that language. The islands Hebrides were conquered from the Norwegians by Alexander the Third, king of Scotland, the dominion whereof was confirmed unto him by Magnus king of Norway, and the said cession reiterated, by Haquin king of Norway, unto Robert Bruce, king of Scotland. But, all this while, Shotland and the Isles of Orkney remained in the hands of the Norwegians, until Christiern the First, king of Denmark and Norway, did marry his daughter Margaret unto James the Third, king of Scotland, and, upon the marriage, did make an absolute surrender of these Islands unto his son-in-law, in the year 1468, together with the jurisdictions thereof. As the Scotch title to those seas is primarily deduced from the kings of Norway, so their jurisdiction and sovereignty over those seas is the same with that which those kings possessed; but the kings of Norway had an intire dominion and right of disposal over the fishing in those parts, so that none could come and fish there, upon pain of death, without license obtained. All which is averred and proved, out of the Danish records, by Joannes Isaacus Pontanus, a Dutch writer, of Harderwick in Guelderland, and historiographer to the king of Denmark. This discourse doth further justify the present king of England in his rights unto the British seas, in that he is not singular in challenging the dominion of the seas, and the particular regality of the fishing, the like having been immemorially challenged by the kings of Denmark and Norway. The like royalty, as to fishing, is practised by the king of Sweden, who hath, in some of his seas, the tenths of the fish; elsewhere he disposeth of his royalty by special licenses. The same is done in Spain and Portugal, Venice, &c.

This universal sovereignty and dominion of his majesty over the British seas hath been acknowledged by foreigners, time out of mind (even safe-conducts and passports desired through his seas) and is justified by the precedents of the Rhodians, the Romans, and others; which to relate now were too prolix a work. As to the right, by which his majesty holds this sovereignty, it is a better title, than most princes can shew for their kingdoms and principalities; it is a prescription truly immemorial; we cannot tell the time when we had it not, nor by what degrees we arose up to it. But we can thus fortify it beyond that of Venice, That it was never disputed by any, except the Dutch, and that within the memory of this present age: And they so disputed it at first, as to acknowledge our right, but yet to plead an exemption as to fishing (in nothing else) by virtue of the capitulations of intercourse betwixt the English and the house of Burgundy; the vanity of which claim being so notorious, they at last began to be so impudent and insolent, as to renounce the concessions of the Burgundians, and their own, and now to plead universally, That the sea is the Lord's, and not capable of, or subjected to the dominion of any prince or state. It is an unparalleled and most imprudent attempt for these upstarts to shake thus the tenures, not only of kings, but even private persons, and to deny, that an immemorial quiet possession of a land, or territory (the sea is called a territory) is a just title thereunto; whereas, hitherto, it hath been allowed, by those that treat of the laws of nations, That he, who can alledge this, needs not to prove his acquest and title: That prescription doth not require any right, but supplies it, and doth itself create a right; nor ought there any proof to be admitted against it. Nothing is more received amongst mankind, than that prescription and long usage should be deemed equivalent to mutual pacts, and the assent of the voisinage; and that practice seems to be adjudged to be legitimate, where all parties, though otherwise interested to oppose it, do, without any extraordinary awe, or other indirect motive, silently and peaceably acquiesce. Jephthah, when the Ammonites demanded that the Israelites should surrender up the cities held by them on that side Jordan, replied, That the Israelites had possessed them three-hundred years, during all which time, the Ammonites had not redemanded them. The law of nations doth generally allow a less space to authenticate a prescription and just occupancy: It is esteemed to have an immemorial prescription, the contrary whereof no man can say he ever saw done, or heard related by others to have been done; and it is commonly declared, That one-hundred years of usage, or possession, do suffice to determine the controversy. Our case is such, that I need not make use of this last plea, though so many allow of it, and Rome urged it against Antiochus; it is really immemorial, and consequently as valid, morally, as if it had been conferred upon us at the primitive distribution of lands, unless there can be produced most unanswerable reasons to the contrary.

I shall therefore examine the reason alledged by the Dutch, to invalidate this prescription, and long occupancy of his majesty. The Considerer alledgeth but one, which is, That the dominion of the sea appertains to God alone, in the judgment of the States-general; and the king of England doth usurp upon the divine prerogative, by assuming it to himself. I answer, that in the judgment of them that are as intelligent, and more honest than the States-general, The dominion of God Almighty over the land is as much appropriated to him, as that over the seas: Since that the same scripture which saith, that The sea is his, and he hath made it, doth likewise inform us, that His hands prepared the dry land, Psalm xcv. 5. and, that The earth is the Lord's, and fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein, Psalm xxiv. 1. So that, without a more express declaration, a more revealed will of God, we cannot conclude from the text any thing else, than the general providential sovereignty of God, which (where he doth not in a particular manner publish his will, as when he gave the Israelites the land of Canaan) doth no where interfere with, or exclude human propriety: Otherwise the earth must likewise become common, and all people be free from subjection to any government. As to this last point, I find Mr. Schookius (a Belgick professor) to write, that it is proverbially said in the United Netherlands, That the placarts of the States-general are not in force beyond three days: But they ought not to oblige one minute, since the world, and they that dwell therein, are the Lord's. Of all the arguments which ever I read in behalf of the freedom of the sea, this is the most fanatical. If it were granted, that the kings of England, France, Denmark, Sweden, &c. were usurpers upon the rights of God Almighty, what commission have these wicked Hollanders to vindicate them? A people worse than Sodom and Gomorrah (if you believe Mr. Schookius) the most unworthy delegates in this world. Who made these Skellums to be of the star-chamber? May they run before they are sent? Are all apostles? But, to wave this foolish pretence, I will, for the instruction of the more ignorant, remove such objections as men of more high and mighty reason, than the States-general, do press vehemently against the dominion of the sea.

1. The nature of the sea is such, that it is in a perpetual flux, and never settles in any certain place; therefore it is not capable of being subjected under a certain dominion, possession, or prescription. I answer, That though it be not strictly and physically the same, it continues to be so legally, and in respect of its bottom, sand, and channel. If this objection were valid, even rivers would not be subject to impropriation: They do continually flow, and, which is more, without reflux: And the same reason would render every man uncapable of a legacy, or inheritance; because a constant transpiration varieth our bodies. *In idem flumen bis non descendimus:* Neither do we twice swim in the same river, nor are we the same persons who attempt to swim twice within the same channel. Besides, a man may retain a propriety in things variable; as in money lent, and to be repaid in specie, not numerically. A man may have a right unto the air, or light, and an action lieth in case of nuisance. And shall a remedy be allowed, in case an incroaching neighbour doth obstruct the light, or annoy the air; and shall not a prince take care that no foreign fleets shall, without warning or license, approach his territories? Provision, in this case, is much more allowable, by how much greater the danger is.

2. There cannot be any peculiar and distinct bounds prefixed to particular dominions upon the seas: And since nothing can be

privately possessed which is not bounded, therefore God and nature seem to have ordained the sea to be free, since it is not limitable. I answer, That the inundation of the Nile and the storms upon the Lybian sands do render the bounds undistinguishable; yet are the lands subject to propriety. Besides, the shores, promontories, &c. may stand as well for sea bounds, as trees, posts, hedges, rivers, &c. are bounds on land: And, where they fail, imaginary lines and contrivances may supply the defect; since we are no more in contracts betwixt princes to expect rigour of law (but *Æquum et bonum*) than in mixed mathematicks indivisible points and lines. Several leagues of this nature have been made betwixt Spain and Portugal, Sweden and Denmark. In fine, Are not the seas distinct, as the Adriatick, Ligurian, Tyrrhene, and, in the articles of Breda, the British and North-seas? Yet are there no precise and geometrical bounds to them.

3. If the sea can be reduced under any dominion, then may the commerce be hindered by the proprietor of the same, as to such as he pleaseth. But commerce ought to be free, according to the law of nature and nations; and the denial thereof (as also the denying of an innocent passage) or the laying an extraordinary tax of license to pass (which is, in effect, a denial of passage and commerce) is a just cause of war. Therefore the sea ought to be free. I answer, That perhaps the pretence of wants not to be supplied, but by commerce, is not serious and real; but if it be, it doth not follow, that our domestick indigency and necessities are to be remedied by the detriment or injury of others, but we must purchase the opportunities of a supply, by complying with the conveniencies of our neighbours. No man must trespass upon another's ground, because he cannot otherwise attend unto his own utility. The freedom of commerce and passage are no solid arguments, when insisted upon by Hollanders: Both may be refused, if there be a suspicion of danger. I concur with Albericus Gentilis herein. 'I am of St. Austin's mind (who held the opinion of Grotius in these cases) provided I may have befitting security that the persons trading or passing will not hurt me; and that I be ascertained that they cannot hurt me. This is conformable to sundry scriptural examples, and the resolutions of all ages, before and since christianity. Nor doth the imposition of a tribute for the fishing, or erecting and preserving of sea-marks, and light-houses, or convoy-money, infringe the liberty of commerce, but continue it with security. I do not find that the Dutch have contested thus about the customs upon the Rhine, or plead that it is unlawful to pay toll upon the passage of several highways and bridges, in order to the repairing of them: Yet a logician of Holland would by the same reasons condemn those exactions, and deny tribute to whom tribute is due.

To conclude this point: After so many treatises, and fierce disputes, concerning the dominion of the sea, upon mature consideration, the controversy is now reduced to this state: That as to property, the sea can fall to no man's dominion, by reason of its fluxile nature; but as to sovereignty of protection and jurisdiction, whereby tributes are imposed for the defraying of convoys, providing of sea-marks, &c. and fishing: This may be assumed, and is lawful, as to particular seas and gulfs; but as to the vast ocean, whose bounds are unknown, and whose extent makes the sovereignty to be indefeasible, this is denied. Thus Jo. Isaac. Pontanus, and others, do decide the controversy. And this decision establisheth the King of England's right, whose seas are not boundless, nor incapable of the aforesaid dominion of jurisdiction. Such a dominion the Dutch professor saith is practicable, and necessary for the Hollanders; thereby to secure their vast trade into all parts of the world, and exclude others from merchandising into the richest parts. From whence we may gather what we are to expect from the prevalence of the Dutch, viz. to be prohibited trading through the seas, but to what places, and on what conditions they please: And whilst our king shall be decried as an usurper of the divine right, by challenging the dominion of the sea: These Hollanders shall affect and assume (without any such usurpation) the dominion over the seas. Which is all one in effect, the discrepancy is but verbal, and such as any one may see into, who is not infatuated with the specious and pious harangues of the peace-loving christians in Holland.

Another argument, enforced by them here against his majesty's lawful dominion over the British seas, is this: That since the subjects of their state do only subsist by commerce, and consequently by the liberty of the seas, should they acknowledge the said sovereignty of his majesty, and the effects and consequences thereof be reduced into practice upon them, they should be brought to such a condition, as to expect no less than an apparent and inevitable ruin after some time. And that, since the King of England challengeth not only the channel, but also the North sea, and a great part of the ocean, as the British sea; they should not be able to set sail out of their ports any whither, but by the grace and favour of the King of England.——To this I reply, That the king of England, by pursuing his own rights, doth them no wrong: But the Dutch, by intrenching thereupon, do his majesty apparent injury, and violate all divine and human laws, whereby propriety is established and secured to particular princes and persons, and that community, of all things by nature, is, by a subsequent and intervenient right, limited and restrained. And that this may be done according to the law of nations, and the general equity, no divine or civilian can deny or disprove: and there is, as to this case, no difference betwixt sea and land. There is not any inhability in the nature of the sea, as is granted by their writers (except as to the vast ocean, and that too in reference to its utmost and unknown extent, not as to determinate parts of it) and is evident from the several kings and republicks which have heretofore, and do now engross the dominion of it. There is not any divine precept against it; no dictates of nature repugn thereunto: for whatsoever is common by nature, may be impropriated by occupancy; neither can there be a better title to such things than occupancy, prescription, and custom. And that his majesty hath this title intirely, I have evinced, and Mr. Selden before me. Whereas, they say, that should any such right be acknowledged to reside in his majesty, they should not be able to fish in the North sea, or to drive on their necessary commerce by navigation. This is no argument for their unjust actings, any more than it would justify upon land, that one prince, or private person, should usurp upon another's territories or free-hold, because it was most opportune for his trading, or requisite to his subsistence in a flourishing condition. I do not read that this pretext was ever any cause of war betwixt England and the House of Burgundy: The Turk, Pope, Emperor, and King of Spain, might urge the same reason against the Venetian sovereignty in the Adriatick sea, there not being the least part of a passage for their adjacent subjects, which is not, in respect of their pretended sovereignty, belonging to the republick. But these princes understand the difference betwixt right and wrong; whereas the Dutch comprehend nothing but what is advantageous and disadvantageous. They detain Renneburg, and other strong towns belonging to the Duke of Brandenburgh, the Bishops of Cologne and Munster, because their provinces cannot be safe without them. They would usurp our seas, because they cannot manage their trade without them. And they will seize hereafter upon our principal ports, because their navigation cannot be secure without them. Certainly, it is not a sufficient ground for them to deny his majesty the proper rights of the British crown, because They do not know how he will use them. They have no reason to imagine that he would treat them worse than his royal predecessors have done, who never made the utmost advantage of their just rights against the Netherlanders, nor ever practised such a sovereignty as the Venetians exercise in their seas. It is true, that the case is much altered, by their questioning his royalty, which was never before disputed by them, or any else: And it is but equitable that they should be in some manner frank in their acknowledgments, who have been so arrogant in the contest. They that begin a precedent, are more criminal than they which follow it; and since they, by an ungrateful insolence, have instructed others to imitate their demeanor, it is but just that they should contribute to the necessary charges whereupon they put his majesty to ensure that royalty, which they, above all others (being supported by Queen Elisabeth, and owned for a free state, by the interposition of King James, and strengthened by the surrendry of the cautionary towns upon most easy terms) should not have controverted; at least, not in so barbarous a manner, as to say, That all the world holds the King of England's claim to be impertinent. Whereas it may be with more truth said, That all the world, in all ages, hath and doth justify his right in general, or *in Thesi;* and it is manifest by the concessions of all princes concerned, and of the House of Burgundy, and of the Hollanders themselves, as to the British seas; or *in Hypothesi.*

Whereas they deny that ever they fished in our seas with license and permission of the Kings of England. It is a lye; for since they hold their privilege of fishing, by means of a general license or league, contracted betwixt the Crown of England and the House of Burgundy; it is manifest, that whosoever fished in the English seas, before, fished with a particular license, from which they were then excepted, and that, from thenceforward, they did fish all by the general license or indult of the Kings of England in that league. I have already shewed his majesty's right unto the fishery, and how it hath been exerted: And there is equivocation in what they say concerning the tribute of fishing, That they never paid it to the King of England's father. The fishing-busses did pay tonnage-money for their liberty to fish, unto the Earl of Northumberland, as admiral under the present King of England's father. They, knowing the legality of the thing, paid it with satisfaction, not regretting, or protesting against it. The Dutch admiral, Dorpe, did not except against the actions, much less oppose the said honourable person: Nor do I find that the States-general did remonstrate against that tonnage-money, as an exorbitant and illegal demand: But, according to the usual demeanor of these Hollanders, they gave it out all over Europe, that they would not pay any more, and that they refused it in 1637. To shew that this was but a scattered report, not any publick complaint, or refusal of the States-general at that time; behold this extract of a letter from Mr. Secretary Windebank, to Captain Fogge, who at that time commanded five or six ships under the Earl of Northumberland.

'Here hath been a report raised here, that the Hollanders have refused his majesty's license to fish in his seas, pretended to have been offered them by Captain Fielding. But it is utterly mistaken, seeing Captain Fielding was sent to the busses to offer them protection; his majesty having understood that the Dunkirkers had prepared great strength to intercept them in their return from the fishing, which his majesty, in love to them, sent Captain Fielding to give them notice of, and to offer them safe conduct. This you are publickly to avow wheresoever there shall be occasion; and to cry down the other discourse as scandalous and derogatory to his majesty's honour.

'*August* 10, 1637.'

Thus you see (to return upon them their own language) it is a lye that the said tonnage-money was protested against: it is a lye, that it was no more demanded: for Captain Fielding did demand it (I am sure by letters in the paper-office) though I have not had leisure to examine what he received. And it is a foolish report, to say, that the single attempt of the Earl of Northumberland, being violent, could not create any right: whereas we do not claim it in right, because it was then paid, but because, as an immemorial royalty, it was always due, and acknowledged by them to be so.

I cannot allow of that parenthesis of the Considerer, That violence can create no right, no not by continuance. For, if prescription of an hundred years, or less time, according to particular countries, does create a right, how violent and unjust soever the first occupancy be, according to the law of nations, which formally approves thereof, even betwixt prince and prince; and fundamentally, according to the law of nature, which disposeth us to mutual peace, and amicable society, and to the means conducing thereto, in the number whereof are prescription, occupancy, and custom; How then can he say, that violence can never create a right? How do they hold their freedom, but by violence? Are these the principles of the peace-loving Hollanders? Do not these suggestions tend to the involving of all the world in blood?

As to the meeting of the yatcht with the fleet under Van Ghent in the North Sea, and their not striking sail or flag: The Considerer yields it to be a ship of war, by reason of its equipage, commission, and standard; and so it was, according to the precedents of our law, which stiles barges and ballingers, if armed for war, to be ships of war; but neither he, nor any man else can say, that the refusal to lower the top-sail, and strike the flag, was not a breach of the treaty at Breda. It is alledged, that, 'This happened in the North Sea, which is not the British sea, being distinguished therefrom, in all sea-plats, yea, in the English map, and, which in this case is an invincible argument, by reason that, in the seventh article of the treaty at Breda, the same are distinctly mentioned one from the other; where it is expresly said, that all ships and merchandises, which within twelve days after the peace are taken in the British Sea, and the North Sea, shall continue in propriety to the seizer. Out of which it plainly appears, that even, according to the king of England's sense, the North Sea differs in reality from the British Sea.' These reasons are so far from being invincible, that they are null and altogether invalid. For the argument from popular maps, and vulgar sea-plats, imports nothing at all: Those being made for common instruction in such cases, as they are usually made for; but not to decide cases at law. There are several counties in England, which are not specified in the maps, which yet the laws do exempt from those in which the maps do include them. The distinction in the article at Breda, betwixt the British and North Sea, is popular, and mentioned, only to prevent future quarrels, about prizes taken, not to decide the king's rights unto that sea, as one of the four seas; and, that taking place, it is not an invincible argument, but an affected ignorance in this Hollander to urge it here. In the treaty at Torstrop, betwixt the Dane and Swede, I read that Schonen and Wien were distinctly named, and consented unto by the Dane, to be transferred unto the Swede; and in a subsequent agreement at Roskild, the Swede hath only Schonen transferred by name; hereupon he claims also Wien; the Danes deny the rendition, and evade it as the Dutch do now; The king of Sweden rejoins thus, and any man may accommodate the passage to our case:

'Though the Danes do grant there hath ever been a joint alienation of the said isle with Schonen; nevertheless, they would fain

‘ wave this by an odd exception, pretending that Wien could not
‘ really be alienated, as a member of Schonen, because, in the
‘ treaty, Wien is expresly named, as well as Schonen, which, they
‘ alledge, need not have been, had it been inclusive in Schonen.—
‘ But this poor plea is of little importance, if it be observed, that
‘ in the Charter of Alienation, where Wien is separately named
‘ with Schonen, there also Lister is separately named with the province
‘ of Blekingen, which, however, the Danes do unanimously
‘ acknowledge to be a part of Blekingen; it being distinctly named,
‘ rather for prevention of further disputes, than out of necessity:
‘ *Nam clausula abundans non nocet, ut nec ejus absentia obest.*’

I shall conclude, with two brief observations upon the remaining part of this paragraph, not yet replied unto.

1. The Considerer saith, That the striking of the flag is but a civility to his majesty's ships, and consequently not to be enforced, but must proceed from a free willingness, and an unconstrained mind, in those that shew such respect. They, that will not learn manners, must be taught them; yet it is a difficult task to teach the boors of Holland. But where did he learn, that the striking of the flag in the British seas was merely an act of respect? Or, how can he say, that the Dutch, or others, might not be constrained to strike, considering the instructions of our admiral, and the usage of England? Whosoever refuseth to strike, is to be prosecuted as a rebel, not as an uncivil person. And I find, that the crown of France, where it pretends to any sovereignty of the sea, doth enforce the striking of the sail and flag in an uncivil manner, since those that refuse to do it are to be attacked with cannon-shot, and, if taken, their ships confiscated. The same is done by the State of Venice, and universally. The world is coming to a fine pass, when these butter-boxes presume to teach all Europe civility.

2. The Considerer saith, That since the yatcht did not meet with any single ships, or vessels of the states, but run in amongst a fleet riding at anchor: It cannot be maintained with any fundamental reasons, that the Lord Van Ghent, by vertue of the said article, was obliged to strike.—I answer, That the article doth make it fundamental to the peace; and the admiral's instructions, and the usage of England do expound the same sufficiently, to the prejudice of Van Ghent. Is this the sincerity, the *bona fides*, with which they observe the treaty? Our laws and customs of the Admiralty know no distinction betwixt a ship or fleet found riding at anchor, or met under sail: Nor do they distinguish betwixt a casual meeting, and a voluntary seeking of foreign ships, or fleets; nor whether our ships be at anchor, and the foreigner under sail, or both be navigating: And it is the duty of our men of war, in case they discover, or hear of any foreign ships or fleets upon our seas, to make up to them, and to see whether they come in a peaceable, or hostile manner, by demanding them to strike their sails and flags. I need not add any thing to this point, every one may sufficiently comprehend the case, but these Hollanders, that will not understand it.

The conclusion of this paragraph doth manifest the integrity of his majesty, in the penning of his declaration; seeing that the Considerer acknowledgeth, That the States-General did offer to strike the flag and sail unto his ships of the navy royal, upon condition he would assist them in this juncture (for that they mean by his observing the Triple Alliance) and provided no construction be made to prejudice them in the free use of the seas, viz. in reference to fishing, as well as sailing. It is hence evident, that his majesty did not represent the arrogance of the Dutch in so heinous a manner, as he might have done, without injuring them. The Considerer hath done it; and I refer it to the consideration of all Englishmen.

Thus I have exactly replied unto all that the Considerer hath alledged against the declaration of his majesty, and what else he hath written in reference to the present quarrel; and I think I have made it evident to the meanest capacity, that the present war is authorised by all those circumstances which make it just, and honourable, and necessary.

I intend in a second part to address myself to my fellow-subjects, as the Considerer doth to his, and excite them to do no less to avert injuries, and defend their honour, and the rights of his majesty, than he exhorteth the Dutch, to do, contrary to all right, to our detriment and dishonour. I will therein shew those that were concerned for the war against the Dutch, under the pretended commonwealth, that the quarrel is fundamentally the same now, that it was then, and that they cannot have any tenderness for the Hollanders, at this time, who did so heinously complain of their oppressions and usurpations then. The Hollanders are the self-same people still; as much Hollanders in Europe, as they are at Japan, or ever were at Amboyna. I know not why we should not demonstrate ourselves all to be as true Englishmen; and to convince such persons, I will print the speech of Mr. St. John, their ambassador to the States, at the Hague, during the pretended commonwealth.

A LETTER

WRITTEN BY AN UNKNOWN HAND,

Whereof many Copies were dispersed among the Commanders of the English Fleet.

This Letter was printed in the Year 1673, *4to. But it may be thought as proper to be sent into the Mediterranean in the Year* 1744.

Dear Cousin,

GOING yesterday to your father's house, partly to see him, but chiefly to learn when he heard from you, and what news was lately from the fleet, he told me, you were in health, the fleet near ready to sail, and then shewed me a letter, he was just ready to send you, wherein (among other things) I found these words:

Have a care of yourself, be not fool-hardy, by venturing too far into the fight; there are ships enough to beat the Dutch, without yours; and captains enough in the fleet, who will prudently shew you the way to keep farthest off, when danger is nighest; and then you need not fear the aspersion of a coward, as long as you have good company: Therefore I say again, be wisely cautious, for your death would certainly break the heart of my daughter, and bring my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.

I had scarce patience to read out so much, without tearing the letter, in a thousand pieces, and I could not forbear such language, as did but ill agree with the friendship between us. If you are (said I) so mighty fond of your son, send for him home presently, and let him run no other danger, than what he may meet in a London tavern, or bawdy-house; when he has a mind to fight, let bowls be his bullets, and broad oaths and curses his gunpowder; at other times, let him have nothing else to do, but treat his wife, or, as the fashion is, his wench, at the Play-house, Hyde-park, or Spring-Garden. As soon as I had vented my passion, and grew calm, I so far convinced your father of his fault, that himself burnt his letter; and desired me to write one, more suitable to my own inclination.

According to that little notice I have taken of sea-matters, I think our captains in general (and you among the rest) rather need a spur than a curb, when you are going to fight; and therefore, quite contrary to the former advice, I will set before your eyes the justice, and the danger, that attends a cowardly commander.

1. He robs the king and kingdom, not only of the money himself receives, but likewise of so much as the whole charge of the ship, with provisions and wages, amounts to, by rendering the same of no use, just when it should do the king service; he murders all those gallant men, which are slain by the enemy, and loses those ships, which fall into their hands, for want of being well seconded; he betrays his own party, to the enemy, by keeping back the expected assistance; and the weakening of us, and the helping of them, is all one; nay, as if he had received a bribe, to do mischief, he fires both over, and into the ships of his friends; so helping both ways, to bring them to ruin, he compleats in himself the character of a traytor. By these means it is, our battles are lost, or at best so balanced, when they might have been won, that after a fight, the enemy, sooner than we, are in a condition of disputing the victory. No common high-way robber is half so great a rogue, as that officer, who takes wages, and dares not, or does not fight bravely, when there is an occasion.

2. As he largely contributes to the loss of the battle, so he hazards doubly his own loss: For it is observable (I am sure in land fights) that where one is killed standing stifly his ground, five are destroyed in the running away; and I am told, in your sea-fights

too, you lose most men, when you fight at greatest distance from the enemy. But then, besides the danger of the enemy, the coward has more reason to be afraid of his friends, they being likely to hate him the most, who before had the best esteem of him; and a gallows may easily catch him at home, whom a bullet abroad could not reach. So that to him may be well applied our Saviour's saying, 'He that will save his life, shall lose it.'

3. His fear impeaches the Divine Providence, which chiefly glories to exercise itself in times and places of most eminent hazard. I know some valiant men, who have come off unwounded from the heat of at least twenty battles; God oftentimes makes those places safest, where we apprehend the most danger, and those most dangerous we think most secure. Thus, my dear Cousin! You see, a coward, with a commission, is neither a good subject, a good christian, nor a good or wise man, in any sense; but must be, of necessity, a traytor to the king, a thief to his country, a murderer of his own party, and consequently detested of God and man.—Consult therefore your own heart, and if fear dwell at bottom, do not cozen any longer the king's expectation; lest, by staying another battle, you let all the world be witness of that shame, which yet may be easily hid. You may find fair excuses, enough to lay down your commission, and the prince can find men enough to take it up, who better deserve it. But if you will stay and fight, resolve to fight bravely, so as you may do service to the king, and gain yourself lasting reputation.

If there have happened any disgust, between you, and any other commander in the fleet, either for wrongs really received, or supposed, or because he being a man of less desert, is preferred, and advanced before you: Consider that a fraction of the parts tends fairly to the ruin of the whole; and that your safety, and success, does chiefly depend on your unity, and a right understanding. If therefore you would be thought faithful to the king, if you would not be found false to your country, let all private quarrels die; or at least go to sleep, till the publick ones are decided.

In the mean time, assist one another, by all manner of kind offices, as often as it lies in your power; let the enemy only feel the effects of your indignation, and make it appear, by the greatness of your actions, that you are the man of most merit.

Where duty bids go, never stay, for the example of any others; but rather strive, all you can, to make yourself their example.—In a good cause, God prospers best the bold adventurer; let gallant resolution lead the van, and glorious victory shall bring up the rear.

Sheerness, July 16, 1673.

HONOUR'S INVITATION,

OR,

A CALL TO THE CAMP.

Wherein the Triumphant Genius of Great-Britain, by a Poetical Alarm, awakens the Youth of the three Nations, to generous Attempts, for the Glory of their Country.

Written by a Young Gentleman of Quality now in the Service.

Dignos laude viros musa vetabit mori.

[From a Folio Edition, printed at London, by H. B. 1673.]

BRED by fond mother's too indulgent care,
My vainer life spun out its thirtieth year:
Charm'd with the pois'nous sweets of barren ease,
And all the luxuries of wanton peace;
To duel rampant Miss on a soft bed,
Hector the watch, or break a drawer's head,
To drown a younger brother in a look,
Kick a poor lacquey, or berogue a cook,
Top a small crew of tenants that dare stir
In no language, but, *please your Worship*, *Sir*,
To chace the stag, and now and then pursue
The tim'rous hare, were all the wars I knew;
When drunk o'er night with gen'rous Burgundy,
I thought (as gallants use) to sleep all Sunday:
But scarce could Morpheus' leaden plummets close
My eye, and lock my senses in repose,
When, lo! a rev'rend spectrum did appear,
Surprising me with equal joy and fear;
It seem'd a personage of noblest race,
A manly presence and majestick face,
An azure mantle flowing round his waist,
And his strong hands with Neptune's trident grac'd;
Three crowns he* bore, and under them his brow
Circled with laurels fresh, pluck'd from the bough.
I gaz'd a while, till it approach'd more near,
And thus (with voice like thunder) pierc'd my ear:
" Wilt thou, degen'rous youth! ignobly blot
" The trophies, which thy ancestors have got?
" Prove them the sires of a spurious race?
" O'erturn their statues, and their tombs deface?
" Forfeit those honours, which they left to thee,
" By sleeping in a senseless lethargy?
" Now, when each noble soul, greedy of fame,
" Feels his breast glowing with a gen'rous flame
" When scenes of blood on neighb'ring shores appear,
" And furious Mars sways all our hemisphere;

---

* The king of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

“ Wilt thou alone, stupidly drown'd, prefer
“ Sordid delights to th' glory of the war?
“ Decline that road of honour which displays
“ To ev'ry daring hand a wreath of bays,
“ And in a wretched sloth consume thy days?
“ Can the poor yelpings of a deep-mouth'd hound
“ Vie musick with the warlike trumpet's sound?
“ Or faint applauses of a horse-race won
“ (When sprightly Sorrel out-flew nimble Dun)
“ Equal those acclamations that are sent
“ In vollies to the echoing firmament?
“ Which ev'ry victor justly calls his own?
“ For kingdoms conquer'd, and proud States o'er-thrown?
“ Shall troops of heroes from all parts resort,
“ That quit the softer pleasures of the court?
“ Charge Death in th' face, and forward still aspire
“ Through midst of dangers swift as Heaven's fire?
“ Shall the drum's rattling summons nimbly bring
“ Crouds of the vulgar in, to serve their king?
“ That laugh at hardships, and dare bravely die,
“ If fate require't, to purchase victory?
“ And their example never move thy spirit,
“ Nor emulation of the others' merit?
“ What drowsy opium has possess'd thy brain,
“ Dull Soul! that all these joggings are in vain?
“ For shame, at last awake, lest it be said,
“ Your courage does not slumber, but is dead;
“ From before paltry beauties raise your siege,
“ Who think by faint resistance to oblige:
“ Nor let the kinder ladies tempting charms
“ Confine you still to their enfeebling arms:
“ When fate, turn'd prodigal, freely affords
“ The destinies of nations to your swords;
“ Let mighty cities be your mistresses,
“ Whose dowry brings the spoils of provinces.
“ Level their prouder walls, and let it be
“ A doubt hereafter to posterity,
“ When only shatter'd monuments they view,
“ Whether Jove's thunder hath been there, or you;

“ These are atchievements fitting to be done,
“ By each dares call himself stout England's son.
“ As a brave courser, standing on the sand
“ Of some swelling sea-channel, views a land
“ Smiling with sweets upon the distant side,
“ Garnish'd in nature's best embroider'd pride,
“ Larded with springs, and fring'd with curled woods,
“ Impatient bounces into th' cap'ring floods;
“ Big with a nobler fury than that stream
“ Of shallow violence he meets in them;

"Thence, arm'd with scorn and courage, plows a way
"Through the imposthum'd billows of the sea;
"And makes the grumbling surges slaves to oar,
"And waft him safely to the further shore,
"Where landed in the sovereign disdain,
"He turning back surveys the foaming main;
"Whilst the subjected waters, flowing, reel,
"Ambitious yet to kiss their conqu'ror's heel,
"At such a gen'rous rate should'st thou engage,
"In the grand expedition of our age;
"Thy active soul in gallant fury hurl'd
"To club with all the worthies of the world.
"Then rouze at last from this lethargick dream,
"And let heroick actions be thy theme.
"No more to base effeminate follies yield,
"Thy country's Genius calls thee to the field!"

No sooner these last accents had I heard,
But straight the glor'ous vision disappear'd;
And round about, methoughts, a glitt'ring ray
Was spread, creating in my soul new day.
As Cæsar once on banks of Rubicon
Stood shivering and scarce durst venture on,
Till lucky Dæmon by a signal chance
Beckon'd him o'er, and made his troops advance;
So I, confirm'd by this good omen, found
Those mists exhal'd which had my courage drown'd.
Ah! glor'ous art of war, I cry'd! from whence
All honour and all pow'r did first commence,
By which the grandeur of each state doth grow,
And unto which nations their safety owe,
Henceforth my Mistress thou alone shalt be
And all my strength I consecrate to thee.
Hence then, you gay diversions of the town,
Your bubbling vanities I must disown.
Morning-long-sleeps adieu! Let sordid ease
Silken buffoons and painted peacocks please;
Whose lab'ring souls, being stifled with excess,
Scarce keep from stench their rotten carcases;
Whilst I, 'midst blood, and sweat, and toils of war,
Through storms, cold, hunger, and many a scar,
Pursue my fate, resolved thus to have
An honour'd life, or else a noble grave.

June 21, 1673. *With Allowance.*

FINIS.

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AN

ALPHABETICAL INDEX,

TO THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

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